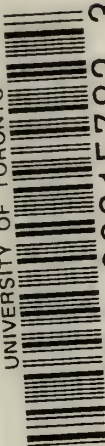


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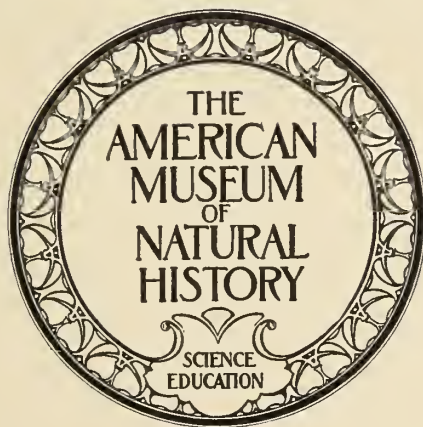




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# ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOLUME XIX



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1926

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**Editor**

CLARK WISSLER



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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS  
OF  
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM  
OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XIX, PART I

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THE WHALE HOUSE OF THE CHILKAT

BY

GEORGE T. EMMONS

Lieutenant U. S. Navy

NEW YORK  
PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES  
1916





THE WHALE HOUSE OF THE CHILKAT.

BY GEORGE T. EMMONS.

Lieutenant U. S. Navy.





## PREFACE.

The material here presented has been gathered from the most reliable native sources throughout a period of twenty-five years of intimate personal acquaintance and association with the Tlingit, and treats of their past, before the exodus from their old villages to the mining camps and salmon canneries of the white man so reduced their numbers that communal life in the large old houses, upon which their social customs and practices depended, was rendered impossible, and the seed of a new life was sown.

I first visited the Chilkat in 1882, when little influenced by our civilization. They were a comparatively primitive people, living under their own well-established code of laws, subsisting on the natural products of the country, clothed in skins, furs, and trade blankets, practising ancestor worship in their elaborate ceremonial, cremating the dead, dominated by the superstitions of witchcraft and the practice of shamanism, proud, vain, sensitive, but withal, a healthy, honest, independent race, and friendly when fairly met.

Their villages then represented the best traditions of the past in both architecture and ornamentation. The houses of heavy hewn timbers, split from the giant spruces, were fortresses of defense, with narrow doorways for entrance and the smoke hole in the roof for light and ventilation.

But today this is all changed. The old houses have disappeared, the old customs are forgotten, the old people are fast passing, and with the education of the children and the gradual loss of the native tongue, there will be nothing left to connect them with the past. So on behalf of native history and my deep interest in the people, I offer this paper, describing in accurate detail one of the last relics of their culture. Had the Chilkat been able to work stone instead of wood, their country would now be the archaeological wonder of the Pacific Coast.

The illustrations in color are from sketches made upon the ground and are reasonably accurate both as to form and color. For their final form I am indebted to Mr. S. Ichikawa. To Winter and Pond I am under obligations for permission to use the photograph of the two Chilkat chiefs.

GEORGE T. EMMONS.

Princeton, New Jersey,  
April, 1916.



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Fig. 1. Coudahwot and Yehlh-gouhu, Chiefs of the Con-nuh-ta-di.

*Photograph copyrighted by Winter and Pond.*





## INTRODUCTION.

Upon the discovery of the Northwest Coast of America, the Tlingit were found in possession of Southeastern Alaska with possibly the exception of the southernmost portion of Prince of Wales Island, which had been wrested from them by invading Haida from Masset on the Queen Charlotte Islands, during the latter half of the eighteenth century. From the testimony of the early explorers, this occupation seems to have been of sufficient age to have developed a racial type, speaking the same tongue, acknowledging established laws, and bound by like conventions. What knowledge we can gather of their origin and early life from their family traditions, songs, and geographical names, although fragmentary and vague, consistently tells of a uniform northward migration by water, along the coast and through the inland channels from the Tsimshian peninsula and Prince of Wales Island, which was constantly augmented by parties of Interior people descending the greater rivers to the sea.

An indefinite belief in an earlier coast population is current among the older people, and in confirmation of this, they refer to some family songs and local names still used but not understood. As the Tlingit are unquestionably a mixed race, this aboriginal element must have been absorbed and contributed its racial characteristics to the evolution of the present race.

The social organization of the Tlingit is founded on matriarchy and is dependent upon two exogamic parties, the members of which intermarry and supplement each other upon the many ceremonial occasions that mark their intercourse. The one claiming the Raven crest is known particularly among the northern Tlingit as Klar-de-nar, "one party," the other, more generally represented by the Wolf emblem has several names, local in character, referring to old living places, as Shen-ku-ka-de, "belonging to Shenk," Sit-ka-de, "belonging to Sit," said to refer to the separation of the people after the flood when this branch settled at Sit, Gee-ya-de, etc. Outside of these there is one family claiming the Eagle crest that has no phratral standing, the members of which, as strangers, marry indiscriminately in either division, but in all cases the children belong to the mother's clan.

The two parties are subdivided into fifty-six existing consanguineal families or clans, and the names of some other's now extinct are remembered. Each of these, while retaining its phratral functions and privileges, is absolutely independent in government, succession, inheritance, and territory, and besides the phratral crest common to all, assumes others that are fully as prominent and often more in evidence. Within the family there is a

well-defined aristocracy wholly dependent upon birth, from which the chiefs are chosen, an intermediate class consisting of those who have forced themselves to the front, through wealth, character, or artistic ability, and the poorer people. In earlier days there were many slaves who had no recognized rights.

Geographically considered, there are sixteen tribal divisions known as kwans, a contraction of ka (man) and an (land-lived on or claimed). These are purely accidental aggregations, with little cohesion, a grouping of one or more families of each phratry through migratory meeting or continual intermarriage, that live together in fixed villages for mutual protection and social advantages, but recognize no tribal head or authority, each family being a unit in itself. Very often the bitterest feuds existed between families within the tribe and of the same phratry, although if attacked by a stranger people all would unite for mutual protection.

Of these several tribes the Chilkat-kwan has been the most prominent since our acquaintance with Alaska. The relative importance of a primitive people measured by an abundant food supply, natural resources and geographic position as to favorable trade conditions was fully satisfied in their case. In their country about the head of Lynn Canal, with its two river systems flowing from lakes, the spawning beds of countless salmon furnished a nutritious and limitless staple food which was augmented by various other sea fish and seal in the inlets; bear, goat, and smaller mammals on the land; and exhaustless berry patches on the mountain sides. Their commanding position at the head of the inland channels controlling the mountain passes to the interior, gave them the monopoly of the fur trade of the upper Yukon Valley, and the placer copper fields of the White River region. These products, unknown to the coastal area, were economically important in primitive days, and after the advent of Europeans the increased demand for furs, and their greater value, made this trade even more lucrative. That they fully realized its value is demonstrated by their determination to retain control of it, for when the Hudson's Bay Company established the factory of Fort Selkirk at the mouth of the Pelly River in 1852, a war party under the celebrated Chief Chartrich, trailed in some three hundred miles, surprised, captured, and burned the post, and warned the occupants against any further encroachment upon their established zone of trade, and they continued to enjoy these rights until the discovery of the Klondike gold fields, when the influx of whites over-ran the country and destroyed their industries.

The earliest mention of this people occurs in a report of the Russian Pilot Ismailof who, when visiting Yakutat in 1788, notes the presence of a large body of Chilkat. In 1794 a boat expedition from Vancouver's vessels,



while exploring the head of Lynn Canal, met with a hostile reception from a considerable number of natives and only averted trouble by a hasty retreat. Lieutenant Whitby, the commander of the party, was told of eight chiefs of great consequence who had their homes on and about the Chilkat River, indicating an extensive population.

Under the Russian régime, beyond the mere claim of sovereignty, no jurisdiction was exercised over this people except the distribution of national flags and Imperial medals. All trading was guardedly carried on from the



Fig. 2. An Old House, Kluckwan.

decks of armed vessels, and long after the American occupation they were permitted to live unmolested, until their country became the highway of travel to the interior.

The Tlingit were a canoe people and might be termed semi-nomadic, as they were on their hunting grounds in the early spring and late fall, while the summer season was spent in the fishing camps by the salmon streams, but notwithstanding these long absences they built substantial villages where, except for social activities, they spent the winter in comparative idleness.

As they looked to the sea for their principal food supply, their villages



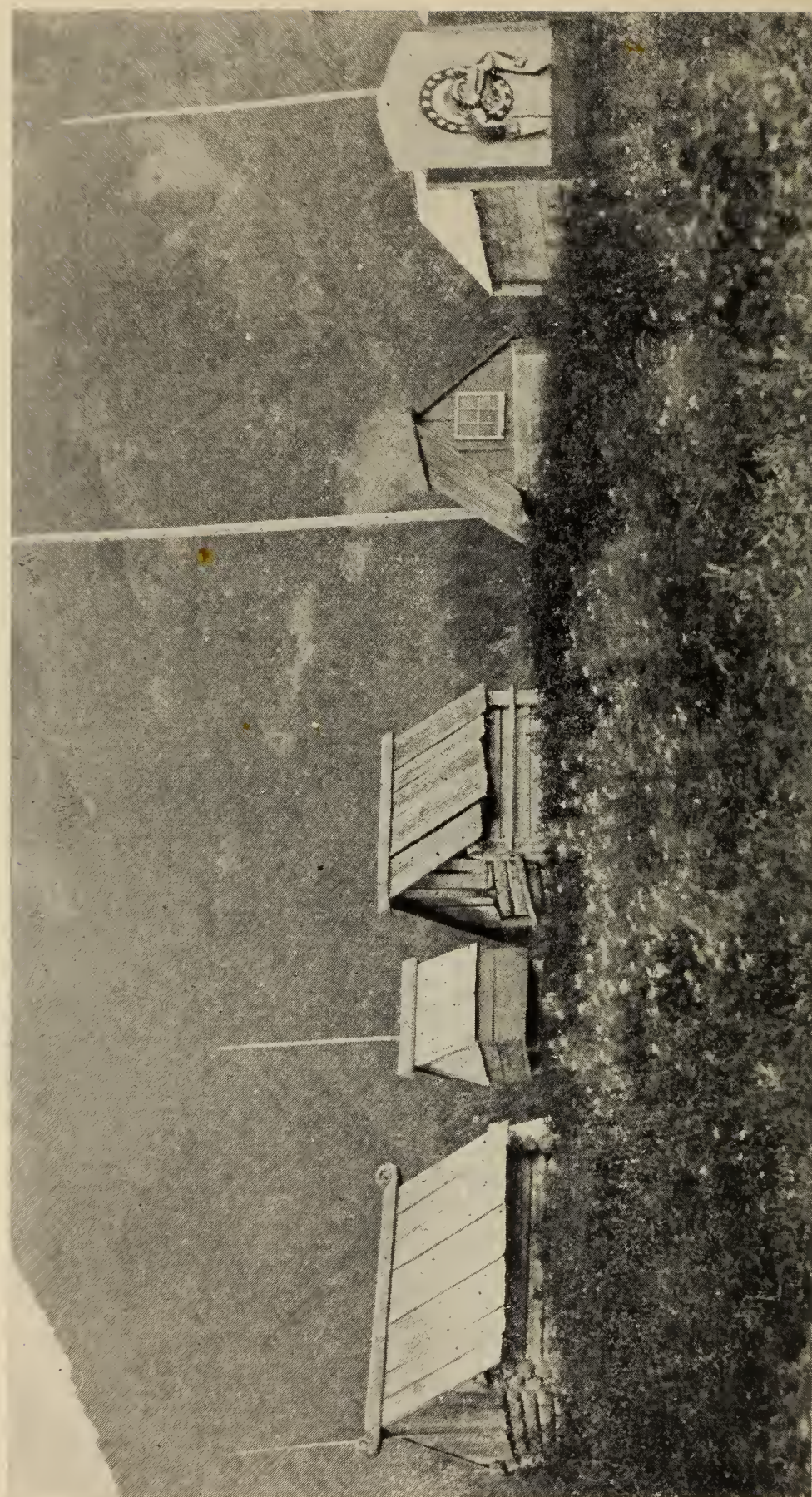


Fig. 3. Con-nuh-ta-di Grave Houses, Kluckwan.



were directly on the shore just above the high water mark, in sheltered coves where they could land and launch their canoes in any weather and at any stage of the tide. But the Chilkat, differing from all of the other Tlingit, lived just beyond the open water, in a rather restricted territory, on rivers that were veritable storehouses of food, bringing their abundance of fish life to their very doors, and so permitting them to remain at home throughout the year, except when on their trading trips to the interior, which gave their habitations a more permanent character, and contributed to the unity of communal life.

Of the four principal old villages, all of which have survived the ravages of constant strife and the still more deadly by-products of civilization — liquor and disease — Kluckwan (mother town) has always held the first place in size, wealth, and the character of its people. It retained its supremacy long after the larger of the more southern coast villages had gone to decay, as its more interior and isolated position and the independent and aggressive reputation of its population kept white traders at a distance. The discovery of gold near Juneau and the establishment of the several salmon canneries at the mouth of the river drew away its people, and communal life in the large old houses, that was dependent upon the united efforts of the whole household was made impossible by the absence of many, and the want of coöperation of others who elected to live by themselves. With the introduction of schools and the efforts of missionaries to break up the old customs, the village has undergone a complete change and the old houses have disappeared or have been modernized.

The village lies at the edge of a gradual slope on the north bank of the Chilkat, twenty miles from its mouth, where the swift current concentrated in a single channel forms a strong eddy that permits the landing of canoes at any stage of the river. The houses in a single and double row follow the trend of the shore for upwards of three-quarters of a mile, but far enough back to allow for the smoke houses, fish drying frames, and canoe shelters, and in the rear are the grave houses (Fig. 3) and the now disused cremation grounds strewn with charred logs and partly burnt funeral pyres. Just beyond the village at either end, in the cottonwood groves, hidden in the underbrush and covered with moss, are the crumbling remains of the shaman's dead houses, guarded by elaborately carved spirit figures and decayed canoes.

The houses of each of the four resident totemic families are grouped about that of the chief for mutual protection, giving the appearance of three separate villages, as the two centrally located families through increase of numbers, have been brought into closer union. In each group the houses of the aristocracy and those of the poorer classes are of like construction,

differing however in size, strength of material, interior appointments, and ornamentation.

Of the five totemic families that form the Chilkat-kwan, not including a sixth subdivision, four are resident here, while individuals of the others through intermarriage are scattered through the village but without house standing. The traditions of all of these speak of a migration from the southern border northward through the inland channels.

The Wolf phratry is represented by three families: the Kágwantān, Tuck-este-nar, and Duck-clar-way-di. The first two are closely related and claim to be offshoots of a parent stock and to have migrated north from the coast between the mouths of the Nass and the Skeena rivers and in earlier times they lived inland on these rivers. The last-named is unquestionably of interior origin and it is possible that all three are of like ancestry.

The sole representative of the Raven party is the Kon-nuh-ta-di with which this paper deals. Their legendary history, so imaginary and interesting, is closely associated with the wanderings and antics of "Yehlh," the Raven creator, while the earliest family traditions are centered about the south and west coast of the Prince of Wales and contiguous islands. There is a hazy belief in the minds of the older people, handed down through generations, that in the earliest days there came to these shores from seaward, a people of unknown origin who landed and lived on Dall Island, and later spread along the southern coast of Prince of Wales Island. The descendants of one of the two original women, represented as sisters, later crossed Dixon Entrance and peopled the Queen Charlotte Islands, founding the Haida, while those who remained, uniting with migratory bands from the Interior were the progenitors of the Tlingit.

The three principal families forming the Tanta-kwan that lived thereabouts in the eighteenth century, until expelled by the Haida invasion from Masset, and then crossed over to the mainland where they are still found, are the Ta-qway-di, Kik-sat-di, and Kon-nuh-hut-di, all of which have formed factors of great importance in peopling the coast of Alaska as far north as Comptroller Bay, and are still represented in all of the more important Tlingit tribes. The tribal name Tanta, was taken from their country, the Prince of Wales Island, Tan, "Sealion" so named from the abundance of this animal on the seaward coast. The Kon-nuh-hut-di are said to have removed, at some early day, to Port Stewart within the mainland entrance of Beam Canal, which they called "Con-nuh," (safe, sheltered) and from which they derived their family name (people of, or belonging to, Con-huh), but finding the climate more severe than that of the islands, and with no compensating advantages of food, they returned to their former home. A slight variation of the name Kon-nuh-ta-di which is not accounted



for, distinguishes the Chilkat and more northern branches of the family from the Tanta and Taku. Another name seldom used, but very pretentious and tribal in character, is Shuck-ka-kwan "highest or first-man tribe" or Shuck-ka-kon-nuh-ta-di," claiming superiority through a relationship with Yehlh, in reference to his struggle with Gun-nook, the supernatural keeper of fresh water, when in his efforts to escape through the smoke hole of the house with what he had stolen he was caught and held fast until he was smoked black.

At a very early period they must have lived on the central west coast of Prince of Wales Island, near Klawak, in a village or country called Tuckanee "outside town" where the people were known locally as Tuckanadi "outside town people" as the scene of one of their principal hero tales is laid hereabouts (the struggle of Duck-toolh with the sealions) which it is claimed was the cause of one of the northward migrations of a body of the family. It was certainly after this happening, and possibly connected with it, that a considerable party separated and traveled north through the inland channels to the head of tidewater, and then up the Chilkat River until they reached the site of Kluckwan where they finally settled and have ever since remained. This movement must date back many years, for the Russian Pilot Ismailof, as previously noted, in visiting Yakutat in 1888 met "a chief Ilk-hak with a large force of one hundred warriors who had journeyed up the coast from their winter home on the Chilkat River to trade."

Ilk-hak or Yehlh-kok "Raven fragrance or smell" is an hereditary name belonging strictly to the Kon-nuh-ta-di family (and as a coincidence it happens to be that of the present chief to whom I am indebted for certain information herein contained), and to have extended their commercial activities to such a distance and with such a numerous retinue would bespeak a considerable age and settled state in their new home.

Other migrations northward are known to have occurred at later periods. One party following the outside coast settled in a bay above Cape Spencer where much glacial ice collected and they took the name Tih-ka-di (people of or belonging to the icebergs) but of these none remain.

Another body, taking a more easterly course among the islands, stopped at Chyeek on the Chatham Straits shore of Admiralty Island with the Hootz-ah-tar-kwan, but trouble with the Dasheton clan arose over a woman and they removed in a body to Stevens Passage and joined the Taku-kwan of which they form an integral part today under the original name Kon-nuh-hut-di.

In the latter portion of the eighteenth century, the Tanta-kwan including this family, was driven out of the southern portion of the Prince of Wales

Island by the Haida and crossing Clarence Straits settled on Annette and adjacent islands. Their principal village was Tark-an-ee (winter town) at Port Chester where New Metlakatla now stands, and was a very large settlement, a totem pole village, as the decayed remains showed thirty years ago. In war with the Stickheen, this village was destroyed and also a later one across the island, Chake-an-ee (Thimble berry town) at Port Tamgass, when they crossed to Cat Island and then to the mainland and made a last stand at Tongass where they remained until the founding of Saxman and Ketchikan.

None of this family is found today on Prince of Wales Island, their original home. The principal branch lives at Chilkat where they have always been accorded the highest place with the Ka-gwan-tan, with whom they have so intermarried through generations, that it often happens that the chiefs of each family are father and son.

The personal names more frequently refer to the Raven, their most honored crest, as they claim to be the first family of this phratry, and it is the more conspicuously displayed on the totemic headdress and ceremonial paraphernalia. They claim and use a great many other emblems as the whale, frog, wood-worm, silver salmon, hawk, owl, moon, starfish, and in their house carvings and painting they illustrate the hero deeds and conquests of their ancestors in their early struggles with mythical animals and supernatural beings.

Facial painting played an important rôle in Tlingit life. The several pigments differently applied in various characters depended upon the purpose and the occasion. As a protection against snowblindness, the glare of the sunshine on the water, the bite of insects and as a cosmetic to preserve and whiten the complexion, a hemlock fungus was charred, powdered, and applied to the face, which had previously been covered with a mixture of melted suet and spruce gum, to which it adhered and hardened, forming a red-black covering impervious to water.

For mourning and anger the face was blackened with charcoal.

When on war parties, the painting was in red or black or both, in fanciful and hideous characters, but if suddenly surprised, they would grab a piece of charcoal from the fire and rub it over the face to disguise their personality and hide any expression of fear.

The most elaborate painting was used in the winter ceremonies and dances. The designs were almost entirely totemic in character even when improvised for the occasion and apparently expressionless. They were either geometric and symbolic in figure, or represented the animal form in profile or some characteristic feature which distinguished it. In the latter case the figure was stamped on the cheek or forehead with a wood die. The



primitive colors were black, from powdered charcoal, and red, from pulverized ocher, but after the advent of Europeans, vermilion of commerce took the place of the duller mineral red. Yellow, white, and greenish blue were occasionally used, more particularly by the southern tribes, but seldom, if ever, by the Chilkat.

The most important painting of the face was that of the dead when placed in state awaiting cremation, and this represented the crest of the phratry rather than one of the assumed emblems of the family or subdivisions. Most all of the Raven party, certainly all of the older and more important families, and particularly the Kon-nuh-ta-di used Yehlh-thluou, "Raven's nose," in the form of an isosceles triangle, in black, the apex at the bridge of the nose, the sides enclosing the nose and mouth, the base extending across the chin. This painting seems to have been the right of all of the Raven families and was almost universally used by them, although minor crest figures were sometimes employed, as the Kon-nuh-hut-di of the Southern tribes are said to have painted the starfish figure although I have never seen it so used, although it was a festival decoration.

It was an old custom, but rather a privilege claimed by the chiefs and house masters of the aristocracy, to give names to the communal houses upon the occasion of their dedication, after the walls were up and the roof was on, when those of the opposite phratry who had assisted in the construction were feasted and compensated. Of course, in the evolution of society, men of strong character, successful in war, with wealth and many followers would compel such recognition as would permit them to found a house and give it a name, but in order to do so, the potlatch would have to be of undue proportion. The strongest characteristics of the Tlingit are pride, vanity, and a dread of ridicule, so unless one was absolutely assured of more than a formal acceptance of the act by both his own and the other tribal families he would hesitate to place himself in a false position, subject to criticism. The highest and most honored names thus given, were those of the totemic emblem, or referring to some particular feature of the crest figure, as "Raven house," "Brown bear house," "Eagle nest house," "Killer-whale dorsal fin house," etc. Other names meaning less were those of position, shape, material, etc., as "Point house," "Box house," "Bark house," "Drum house," "Big house," "Lookout house," etc. In any case a name once given survived the mere structure. It was a dedication of the site and without any further ceremony belonged to all future houses built thereon.

## THE OLD WHALE HOUSE.

When I first visited Kluckwan in 1885, the large old communal houses of the Kon-nuh-ta-di were still standing, the principal one of which, that of the hereditary chief, Yough-hit, "Whale house," was in the last stages of decay and uninhabitable, although the interior fittings were intact and it was still used upon festival occasions. It was unquestionably the most widely known and elaborately ornamented house, not only at Chilkat, but in Alaska. It occupied the site of much older houses and it is claimed much larger ones. It is said to have been built by Kate-tsu about or prior to 1835 and stood in the middle of the village. It represented the best type of Tlingit architecture, a broad low structure of heavy hewn spruce timbers, with noticeably high corner posts, that gave it a degree of character wholly wanting in the larger houses of the Vancouver Island people. It faced the river with a frontage of 49 feet 10 inches and a depth of 53 feet which was approximately the proportions of Tlingit houses large and small. The four broad, neatly finished corner posts, and the intermediate ones on the sides and back were mortised in length, to receive the ends of the wall planks of spruce or hemlock that were laid horizontally along the sides and back, while the front was formed by two heavy bed pieces placed one above the other extending across the front, dove-tailed into the corner posts, and reaching to the height of the door sill, cut out along the upper edge to receive the lower ends of the broad vertical planks that extend to the roof, and fitted under corresponding grooves in the cornice cappings that in the rear of the corner posts were notched and grooved to fit in the post. It will thus be seen that the old houses formed a solid structure, the frame and planking supporting each other without the use of spikes. The doorway, that was the only opening in the walls, was approached by two steps over three feet above the ground, it was narrow and low as a defensive measure, so that but one could enter at a time, and then only in a stooping posture equally impossible for attack or defense. The roof covering consisted of a confusion of overlapping spruce boards and slabs of bark that originally had been held down by smaller tree trunks extending the depth of the structure and held in place by heavy boulders at the ends. The smoke hole in the center of the roof which both lighted and ventilated the interior had been protected by a movable shutter balanced on a cross bar resting on two supports so that it could be shifted to either side as desired.

The interior formed an excavation four feet nine inches below the ground .



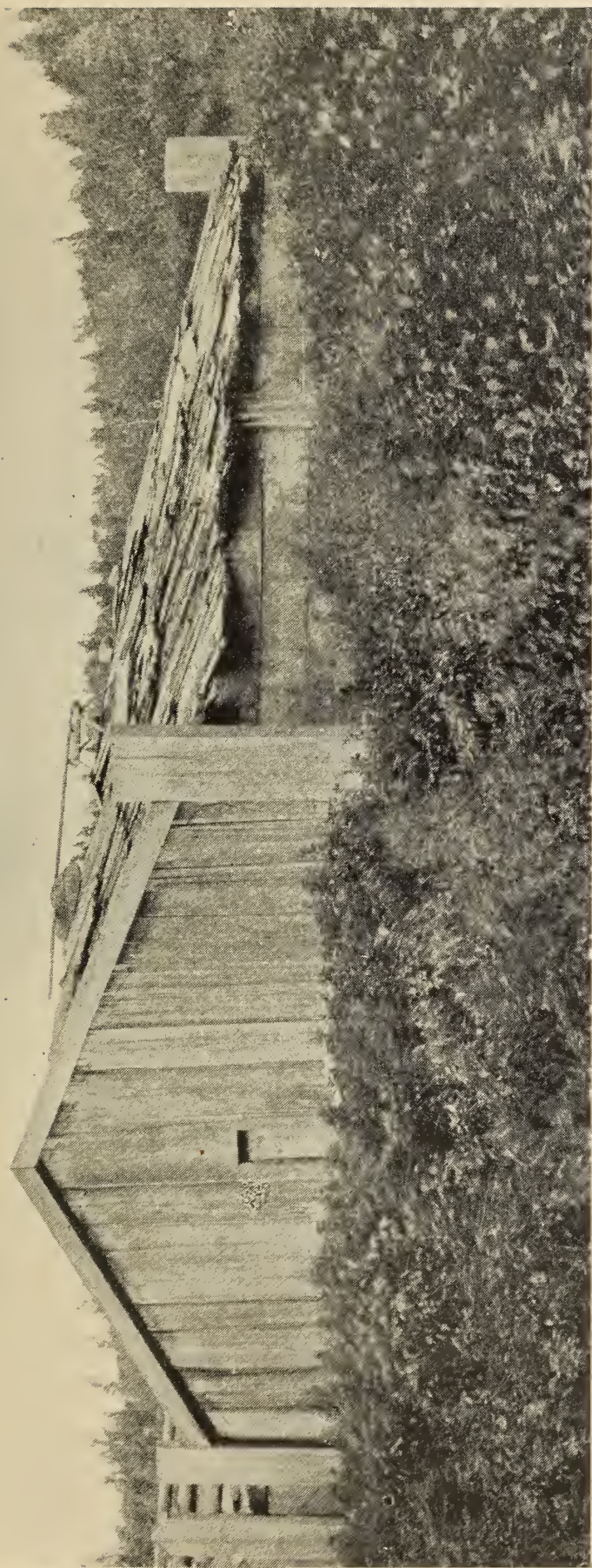


Fig. 4. The Whale House of the Chilkat.



level, with two receding step-like platforms. The lower square floor space 26 feet by 26 feet 9 inches, constituted the general living and working room common to all, except that portion in the rear and opposite the entrance, which was reserved for the use of the house chief, his immediate family and most distinguished guests. This was the place of honor in all Tlingit houses upon all occasions, ceremonial or otherwise. The flooring of heavy, split,

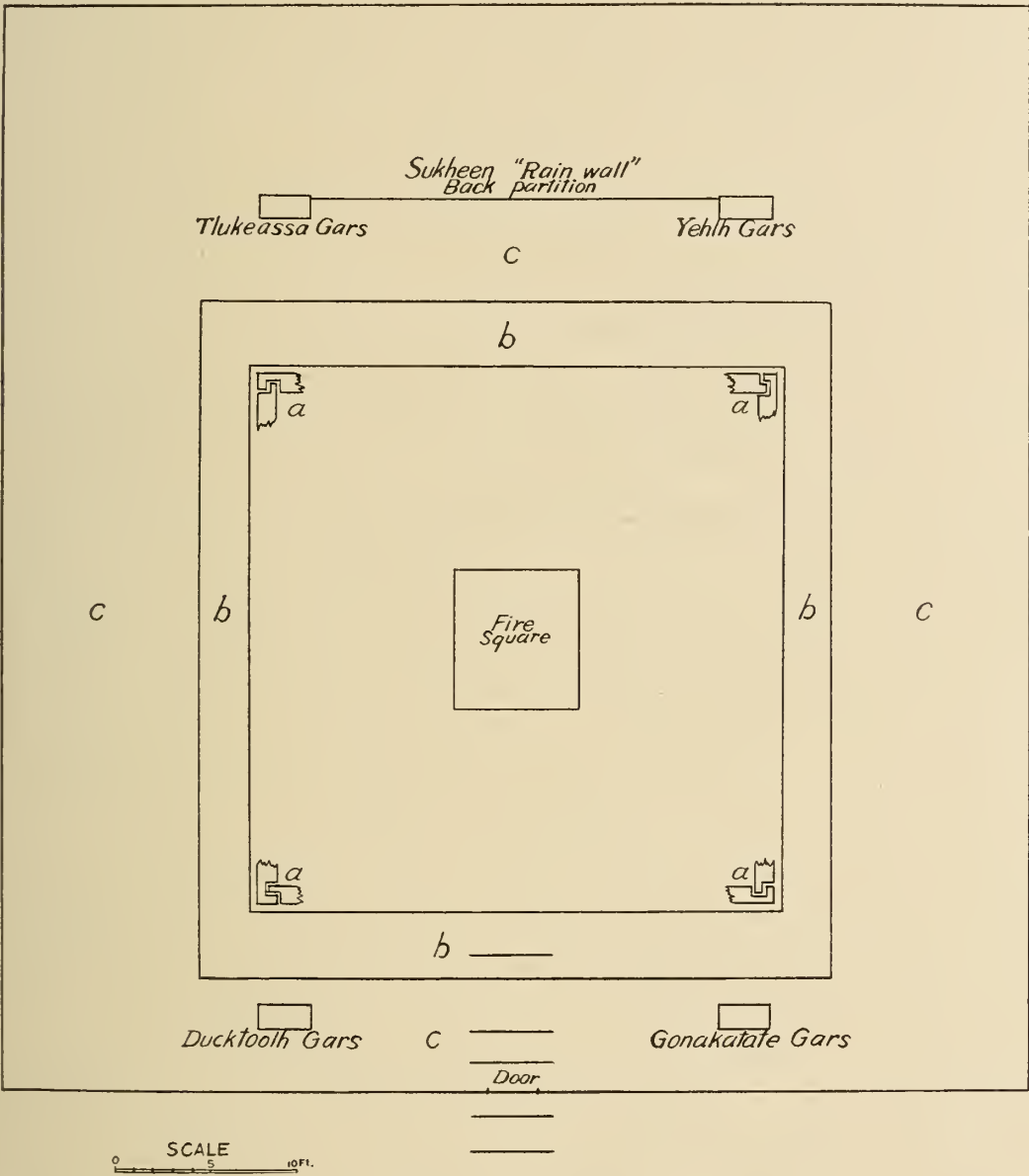


Fig. 5. Groundplan of the Whale House. In size, it was 49 ft. 10 in. front by 53 ft. deep. From a plan drawn by the author.

smoothed planks of varying widths extended around a central gravelled fireplace six feet by six feet and a half, where all of the cooking was done, over a wood fire which also heated the house in winter. In front of and a little to the right of the fire space entered by a small trap door in the floor barely large enough to admit a person, was a small cellar-like apartment



used as a steam bath, by heating boulders in the nearby fire, dropping them on the floor below with split wood tongs, and pouring water upon them to generate the vapor when the bather entered and the opening was covered over.

The first platform extending around the main floor at an elevation of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  feet, comparatively narrow, with a width of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet along the sides, and slightly more at the ends, served both as a step, and a lounging place in the daytime, and that in front, broken by the steps descending from the doorway, was utilized for firewood, fresh game, fish, water baskets, and such larger household articles and implements as were in general use. The retaining walls of this platform consisted of four heavy hewn spruce timbers approximately 27 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 5 inches thick, and so fitted with mortise and tenon at opposite ends that they supported each other without artificial fastenings. The faces of these timbers were beautifully finished in the finest adze work, and those on either side and at the back were carved in low relief to represent a remarkable extended figure, neither wholly human nor animal, with widely outstretched arms and legs, painted in red. It may be that the artist conceived and executed this form merely as a decorative feature, without meaning, or if it was his purpose to present a recognizable figure he followed that characteristic and well established privilege of native art in exaggeration to make the subject conform to the decorative field. The old chief, Yehlh-guou, "Raven's slave," said that the figure symbolized "Kee-war-kow" the highest heaven where those who were killed in war and died violent deaths went, and are seen at play in the Aurora Borealis. Another explanation is that it merely represented a man warming himself before the central fire. (Plate 1.)

The upper and broader platform, rising two feet above that below, was at the ground level, and was floored with heavy planks. It had a depth of ten feet on the sides which was greatly increased at the back and correspondingly diminished in front. The four heavy retaining timbers forming the walls and supporting the platform were thirty-one feet at the front and back and thirty-three feet along the sides, two feet wide, and five inches in thickness, and were fitted together at the ends as previously described, and shown in the house plan. On the carefully adzed face carved in low relief, equidistant from the corners and from each other, arranged in echelon, were three representations of the "tinneh" the ceremonial copper and in connection with this it may be noted that one of the names of the house chief was Tinneh-sarta "Keeper of the copper." This platform constituted the sleeping place of the inmates. Each family occupied a certain space according to number and relative importance, the poorer members being nearer the door. The spaces were separated from each other by walls of

chests, baskets, and bundles containing the family wealth in skins, blankets, clothing, ceremonial paraphernalia, and food products. On the walls were hung weapons, traps, snares, and hunting gear. Cedarbark mats covered the floor over which was laid the bedding consisting of pelts of the caribou, mountain sheep, goat, and bear, and blankets of lynx, fox, and squirrel, which in the daytime were ordinarily rolled up for economy of space. Sometimes these chambers were partly enclosed by skins or old canoe sails. The back compartment occupying the space between the two rear interior posts was partitioned off by a very beautiful carved wood screen which will be described later. This was the chamber of the chief and his immediate family. (Plate 2.)

At the level of this upper platform, firmly imbedded in the ground equidistant from the sides and nearer the front than the back wall, were four vertical elaborately carved posts "gars" nine feet three inches high and two feet six inches wide, which supported the roof structure. The heads were hollowed to receive two neatly rounded tree trunks almost two feet in diameter extending from front to rear; on top of these at intervals were placed heavy cross bars which in turn supported two smaller rounded longitudinal beams placed that distance towards the center that would give the necessary pitch to the roof, lighter cross pieces spanned these, on which rested the ridge pole in two sections to allow for the smoke hole.

The private apartment of the house chief occupied the central portion of the upper rear platform, and was partitioned off in front, by a screen of thin native-split red cedar planks of varying widths, neatly fitted vertically, and sewed together with withes of spruce root, countersunk, to make it appear a solid piece. It extended between the two rear carved posts that supported the roof structure, and was twenty feet long by nine and a half feet high. The front surface was smoothed with dogfish skin or equisetum, and elaborately carved in low relief and painted to represent the rain spirit, which was symbolized by the great central figure with outstretched arms, while the small crouching figures in the border around the sides and top known as Su-con-nutchee "raindrops splash up," represented the splash of the falling drops after striking the ground. The whole partition was called Su-kheen "rain wall."

The round hole through the body, over which was formerly hung a dressed caribou or goatskin, formed the entrance to the chamber, which received its only light and ventilation over the top of the screen from the smoke hole in the roof. There seems to be a difference of opinion today as to who executed this work. Yehl-kok the present chief of the family says that it was done by Kate-tsu, the chief who built the house, and that the painting was the work of Skeet-lah-ka, a later chief and an artist of wide



repute, the father of Chartrich, who in 1834 just prior to the lease of the littoral by the Russian Government to the Hudson's Bay Company, accompanied the first Russians who ascended the Chilkat River, which would carry it well back in the early portion of the last century which was the Victorian age of Northwest Coast art.

Others, while agreeing as to the painting, claim that the carving was designed and executed by a Tsimshian. But whether the work of the former or the latter, the conventionalized design, and particularly the multiplicity of small figures around the principal one is essentially Tsimshian in character and entirely different from the realism of Tlingit art.

It is unquestionably the finest example of native art, either Tlingit or Tsimshian, in Alaska, in boldness of conception,—although highly conventionalized in form,—in execution of detail, and in the selection and arrangement of colors.

The four interior posts "gars" on which rest the heavy longitudinal beams that support the roof structure are elaborately carved in high relief, a comingling of human and animal forms. Each one illustrates some hero tale or important incident in the early life of the family, or a tradition of the wanderings and antics of Yehlh, "the Raven" with whom they claim a certain relationship. Each post is named from the story told. They are of red cedar, brought from the south, and were carved by a Tsimshian who also carved the figures on the faces of the retaining timbers of the first platform. For all of this work he received in payment ten slaves, fifty dressed moose-skins, and a number of blankets.

Besides these there were four other posts known as Teetle-Gars "Dog salmon post." They presented a slightly rounded surface, carved in low relief, painted in dull colors, inlaid with opercula and representing, as the name indicated, the dog salmon. They were much decayed and only two were standing at the height of the upper platform at the sides in 1885. They had been used originally as interior posts in some house but had passed their period of usefulness and were preserved simply as relics of the past.



## DETAIL OF THE HOUSE POSTS.

## GONAKATATE-GARS.

The carved interior post to the right of the doorway entering was known as Gonakatate-Gars and told a story of Yehlh, the Raven. (Plate 3*a*.)

Gonakatate was believed to be a great sea monster, half animal and half fish, variously represented according to the imagination of the artist, but generally shown with fore feet, a characteristic dorsal fin, and the tail of a fish, but again it is said that in rising from the water it appeared as a beautifully ornamented house front. It brought great good fortune to one who saw it.

The principal figure extending from near the top to the bottom with front and hind paws represents this monster holding a whale by the flipper with the tail in its mouth and the head between the hind feet, for the Gonakatate is believed to capture and eat whales. The figure of a woman on the back of the whale is called Stah-ka-dee-Shawut which is an older name of the Qwash-qwa-kwan, a family that came from the interior and settled on the coast about Yakutat, and as the scene of this adventure is placed thereabouts and with the matriarchal system the woman would indicate the family. The use of her figure would serve to mark the locality which is the only explanation for her appearance.

In the blow hole of the whale is the head of the Raven which is the significant feature of the whole carving that illustrates the story. The smaller head at the top, ornamented with human hair is called Gonakatate-Yuttee, "Gonakatate's child," that holds the head of the hawk in its paws. While the hawk is an emblem of the family, these figures are merely ornamental and have no connection with the story.

The story of the Gonakatate-Gars is as follows: —

During the wanderings of Yehlh "Raven" along the coast of Alaska above the mouth of the Alsech River, he saw a whale blowing, far out to sea, and being always hungry he greatly wanted to capture it, but he had neither spear nor line and only his fire bag of flint, stone, and tinder. He thought that he might kill the whale if he could only get inside, so when it came up to breathe he flew in the blow hole and reaching the stomach, struck a light, and made a fire that soon killed it.

When it floated inshore and was rolled on the beach by the breakers, he tried to escape as he had entered, but the blow hole had partly closed and he

could only get his head out. He saw a young man coming down to the shore and he commenced to sing in a loud voice. This greatly surprised him and he hastened back to the camp to tell the old people that there was strange singing in a stranded whale, which brought all the villagers to the scene, and they proceeded to cut open the whale at the blow hole when the Raven flew out singing khoonee, khoonee, "cleaned out the blow hole." When the people had cut up the whale and tried out the blubber into grease the Raven returned in human form, and asked them how they got the whale, and if they had heard singing within, for he told them that long ago this had happened in his country, and all of those who ate the grease had died. This so frightened the people that they left the grease boxes on the shore and returned to the village, when the Raven sat down and ate all the grease they had prepared.

#### DUCK-TOOLH-GARS.

The carved interior post, to the left of the doorway entering, was named Duck-toolh-Gars, and illustrates a hero tale of the family that occurred before their northern migration. The human figure represents Duck-toolh "Black-skin" (typifying strength), tearing the sealion in two. The head at the base symbolizes the rock island on which the sealion hauled, when this incident took place. The head of Duck-toolh is wrapped around with sealion intestines and is ornamented with human hair hanging down over the face. The sealion forms the central figure; the protruding tongue indicates death, as the body is split in half. The fore flippers are parallel with the body under the man's forearms and the back flippers rest on his shoulders.

It is said that in the early life of the Kon-nuh-hut-di, before their migration north, when they lived on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island, at or near the present site of Klawak, at Tuck-anee "just by the outside" from which the inhabitants took the local name Tuck-an-a-di "outside country people" from their home on the ocean coast, there was a young man, the nephew of the chief, named Duck-toolh "Black-skin," but nicknamed At-kaharsee "nasty man" from his generally dirty condition.

The villagers depended largely upon the flesh of the sealion for food, its hide was used for armor and other economic purposes while the whisker bristles were greatly prized for the crown of the ceremonial headdress.

These animals were found in great numbers on a rocky island far to seaward (supposed to have been Foresters Island), but the ocean passage in their frail canoes was very dangerous and with their primitive spears and clubs it took courage and strength to succeed in the hunt, and so they pre-



pared themselves for the undertaking by much exercise, and hardened their bodies by sea bathing in the early morning throughout the winter. But Duck-Toolh seemingly practised none of these things, he slept late and although of great size was looked upon as lazy and weak until he became the laughing stock even of the children. In the household was a powerful man named Kash-ka-di, who in passing for his morning plunge would kick Duck-toolh and call him by his nickname, which he never resented. Upon coming out of the water each morning the bathers would test their strength by trying to pull up and break smaller trees. All of this time Duck-toolh was shamming, for every night after all had gone to sleep he would steal out and sit in the ice cold water by the hour, and coming out would beat himself with bundles of brush to keep up his circulation, then he would enter the house and throwing a little water on the hot coals to make steam, and wrapping himself in his bark mat would lie down and go to sleep in the ashes which covered his body and gave him his nickname. One night while he was sitting in the water he heard a whistle, and saw a heavily built man rise out of the sea. He came to him and told him to get up, when he whipped him on the back four times and with each stroke he fell down. Then he gave Duck-toolh the sticks and told him to whip him, which had no effect upon him and he said, "You have not gained strength yet." This operation was again repeated which gave Duck-toolh great strength, and then they wrestled with each other, but neither could throw the other. The strange man said, "Now you are very powerful I have given you my strength," when a heavy fog suddenly drove in from the sea and enveloped him and he disappeared. Then Duck-toolh ran about and broke the limbs off the trees with little effort, but he put them together again and they froze in place for he did not want any one to know that strength had come to him. He felt very happy, and was very willing to do anything for any one or to accept the ridicule and abuse heaped upon him. In the morning, Kash-ka-di, after coming out of the water, ran about trying his strength and he took the great limb that was stuck together in his hands and pulled it apart. He boasted to everyone that strength had come to him and that he was ready now to go out against the sealion. Duck-toolh said, "Yes, he would go too," which made every one laugh. Even the girls made fun of him and asked him what he could do, for he was like them, and he said that he could bail the canoe, which was a woman's or child's work. He washed and put on clean clothes and going to his grandmother said, "You have no tlhan," (strips of fur woven into blankets); "you have no da" (martin skin). She answered, "Yes" and gave him a strip of fur with which he tied up his front hair, taken in a bunch (this was done when one felt angry), and he dabbed his mouth with red paint, but still the people laughed at him, although he

looked like a chief. Then the canoe started for the sealion grounds and while Kash-ka-di boasted of his great strength and what he would do, Duck-toolh sat silently in the bottom of the canoe. When they reached the rocks Kash-ka-di jumped out and grabbing a great sealion by its hind flippers tried to tear it in two, but he was thrown high in the air and killed on the rocks. Then Duck-toolh laughed and said, "Who broke the tree," "I break it," and he jumped on the rock and grabbed the sealion and tore it apart, beat the brains out of the smaller ones, and for some unknown reason he wound the intestines of the animals around his head. Then they loaded the canoe with the carcasses and returned home and everyone knew that Duck-toolh was strength and he became a very powerful and wealthy man. Some versions of this story say that he remained alone on the island for some time during which the spirit of the doctor came to him, but my informant knew nothing of this.

#### YEHLH-GARS.

The carved post on the right of the ornamental screen was named Yehlh-Gars "Raven Post," and told the story of the capture of Ta "the king salmon." The main figure shows the Raven in human form holding a head with a projecting blade-like tongue, which is known as Tsu-hootar "jade adze." At the bottom is the head of a fish which should have been that of the king salmon, but through a mistake of the carver it resembles more nearly that of the sculpin. Coming out of the mouth of the Raven is a bird form called Tu-kwut-lah-Yehlh, "telling lies raven," which symbolizes the lies the Raven told to the little birds mentioned in the story. (Plate 4a.)

Many of the myths relative to the later wanderings of the Raven after the release of the elements necessary to life on the earth, and particularly those in connection with animals, represent him as always hungry, unscrupulous and deceptive, and friendly only for selfish purposes. In the early spring before the salmon had come into the rivers, or the berries had ripened on the mountain sides, the season of little food, Yehlh happened to be on the seashore near Dry Bay and very hungry. He saw a king salmon jumping in the ocean and he commenced to plan how he could take it, for he had neither canoe, spear, nor line. Going back from the shore he found in a deserted camp a piece of an old cedarbark mat, an old woven spruce root hat, an eagle skin, and a jade adze "tsu-hootar." Putting on the hat, folding the mat about his body, and dressing his hair with eagle down, he took the jade and seating himself on a big boulder at the edge of the water said to the salmon, "Tsu-hootar is calling you bad names, he says that you have an ugly black mouth and that you are afraid to come up to the shore." This so



enraged the salmon that he came towards the shore, when Tehlh said, "Wait a little, I have to go to the woods" for he had no club and the salmon must always be killed by striking it on the head with a club. When he returned, he again reviled the salmon and when it came and jumped in shallow water he killed it. He then kindled a fire with his rubbing sticks and prepared the fish for cooking. In the meantime many small birds came around hoping to get something to eat, and the Raven sent them off to gather skunk cabbage leaves to wrap the fish in, but those that they brought he condemned as too small or smelling bad, and told them to go to the far mountain where the proper kind grew. As soon as they had disappeared he wrapped the fish in the discarded leaves, scraped away the fire and the gravel beneath, buried the fish, and covered it with the hot stones and the fire. When the fish was cooked, he ate all of it and collecting the bones, carefully wrapped them in the old leaves and covered them with the fire and when the little birds returned with the mountain leaves he showed them the bones, saying that the fire had eaten the flesh. Then all of the birds felt very badly, the little chickadee cried bitterly and continually wiping its eyes with its feet wore away the feathers which ever after showed a white stripe from the corners down. The blue jay was so angry that he tied up the feathers on top of his head which have ever since formed a crest, for when the Tlingit are angry they tie the front hair up in a knot; while the robin in his grief sat too close to the fire and burned his breast red.

#### TLUKE-ASS-A-GARS.

The carved post on the left of the ornamental screen was named Tluke-ass-a-Gars "Wood-worm Post" and illustrated a very important happening in the early life of the family that is believed to have caused the separation of the body that first migrated northward. The large upper figure represents Ka-kutch-an, "the girl who fondled the wood-worm," which she holds in front of her body with both hands. Over her head are two wood-worms whose heads form her ears. Beneath is shown a frog in the bill of a crane. The whole post symbolizes the tree in which the wood-worm lives, the crane lights on the outer surface and the frog lives underneath among the roots.

It is said that in early days in a village that would seem to have been near Klawak, on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island, there was a chief of the Tlow-on-we-ga-dee family whose wife was of the Kon-nuh-ta-di. They had a daughter just reaching womanhood. One day after the members of the household had returned from gathering firewood, the daughter, picking up a piece of bark found a wood-worm which she wrapped up in her blanket

and carried in the house. After the evening meal she took it into the back compartment and offered it some food, but it would not eat, and then she gave it her breast and it grew very rapidly and she became very fond of it, as if it were her child, and as time went on her whole life seemed to be absorbed by her pet which she kept secreted. Her constant abstraction and absences grew so noticeable that the mother's suspicions were aroused and one day she detected her fondling the worm that had now grown as large as a person. She called the chief and they wondered greatly for no one had ever seen anything like it. As she played with the worm she sang to it all the time:—

“Da-a-a	see-ok	hus	k-e-e-e.	Tchi-ok	kon	nok
They have small faces.				Sit down here.		
Tu	usk-k	ka	tel	kin	ka	Tchi-ok kon nok
They have small fat cheeks.				Sit down here.”		

The father told the uncle and he sent for his niece and set food before her, and while she ate he stole away to see the worm, which she had hidden behind the food chests in the back apartment. That evening the uncle called the people together and told them that his niece had a great “living creature” Kutze-ce-te-ut that might in time kill them all and they decided to kill the worm. Another reason given for the destruction of the creature was that it was held accountable for the loss of much food that had been mysteriously disappearing from the grease boxes for some time past.

The following day the aunt invited her to come and sew her martin skin robe, and in her absence the men sharpened their long wooden spears and going to the house killed the worm. Upon her return she cried bitterly and said they had killed her child and she sang her song night and day until she died. Then her family left this place and migrated north. In commemoration of this event the Tlow-on-we-ga-du family display the tail of the worm on their dance dress, pipes, etc., as they attacked that part, while the Kon-nuh-ta-di display the whole worm figure as they killed the head which was the most important part.

## OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE HOUSE.

Closely associated with the “Whale House,” and in the keeping of the chief, were many ceremonial objects in crest form, that were never exhibited except upon such important occasions as when the whole family was assembled and much property was distributed to those of the opposite





Fig. 6. Wood-worm Dish, as seen in the House.





phratry who had assisted at house and grave building, cremation, etc. Most prominent among these was a great wood feast dish, and an exceptionally large basket. The former was known as Thluke-hotsick "wood-worm dish," and as a crest object it told the same story as the carved interior post previously described. It was hollowed out of a tree trunk 14 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches wide and 1 foot high. It was shaped and ornamentally carved and painted to represent a wood-worm and inlaid along the rounded upper edge with opercula. In 1885 it had so far decayed that its usefulness was past although it was still displayed upon ceremonial occasions (Fig. 6).

The basket although at least two generations old, has been carefully cared for so that it is in an excellent state of preservation. It is named Kuhk-claw "basket mother" on account of its great size, measuring 33 inches in both height and diameter. It was woven of split spruce root in cylindrical form, by a woman of the family, in the characteristic weave of the Chilkat, where alternate spirals of woof are in the double twining and plaiting, giving a rough and irregular appearance to the wall surface. The only variation on the outside are four short darker colored lines of weave which mark its capacity at different heights as we mark a commercial measure. It is fitted with twisted root handle for carriage. Both of these receptacles were used at feasts, filled with native food, and are generally known throughout southeastern Alaska.

### THE PRESENT WHALE HOUSE.

In 1899 this house and Yehlh-hit (Raven) House adjoining were torn down and preparations for the erection of new buildings were gotten under way, and in the winter of 1901, after the walls were up and the roof on, a great potlach was given by the Kon-nuh-ta-di, to the three Wolf families of the opposite phratry in the tribe and the Ka-gwan-tan of Sitka, in which over ten thousand dollars in property, food, and money were distributed. The head chief of the family the master of the whale house Yehlh-guou "Raven's slave," welcomed his guest upon landing, wearing the Raven hat. The new house although modern in form and of two stories took the old name, and it stands today windowless and doorless, the interior grown up in weeds, a monument of the last great potlach of the Chilkat, as the chief died soon afterwards and his successor has neither the means to finish it nor the desire to live in it and the elaborate carvings have never been placed but are stored and will probably so remain.



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## PLATE 1.

Decorative figures carved in bas-relief on the face of the retaining timbers supporting the two interior superimposed platforms. For their positions in the house see Fig. 6. The three upper figures represent the native hammered copper plate, "Tinneh," which was an important feature in the ceremonial life of the Northwest Coast and was the most valued of possessions, while that below was said to symbolize "Kee-war-kow," the highest heaven. (See p. 22.)



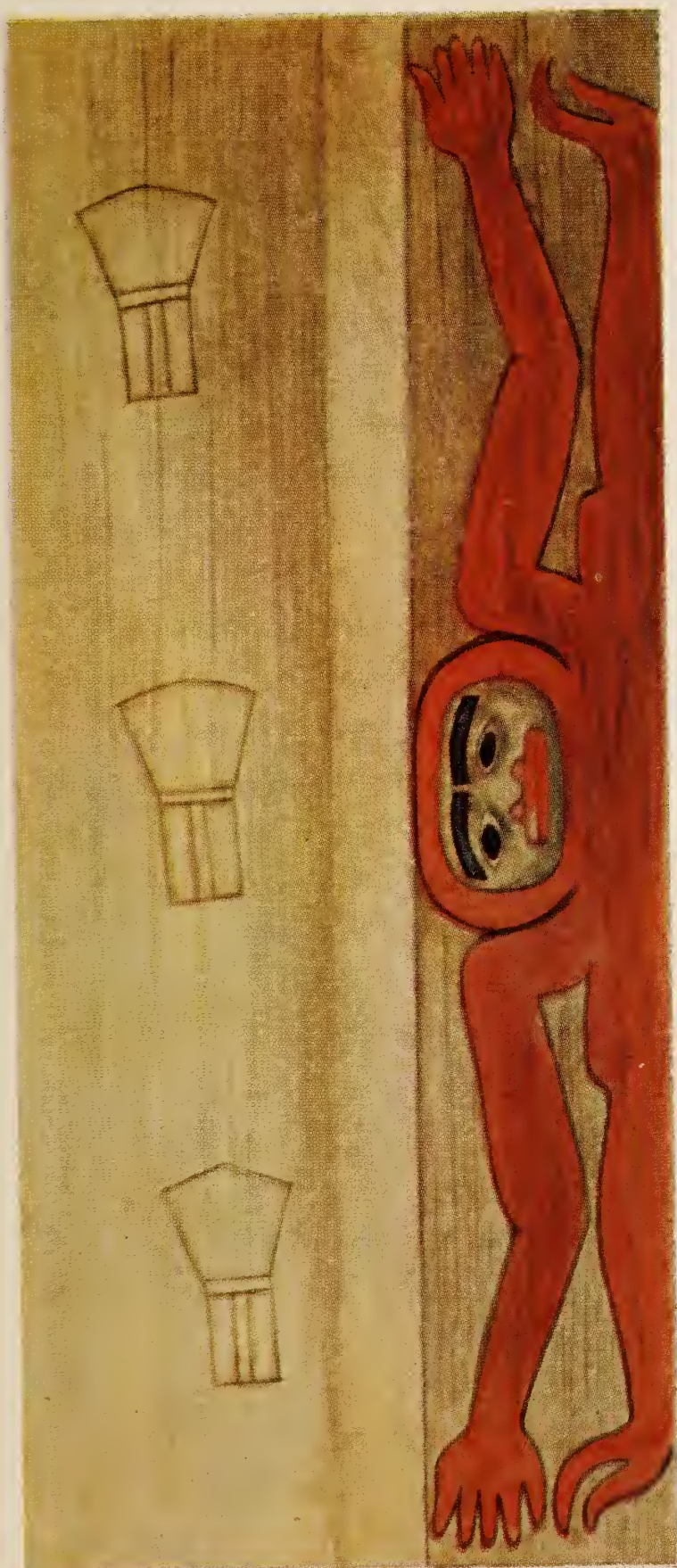


PLATE 1.







## PLATE 2.

Carved and painted screen at the back of the house partitioning off the chief's apartment. It is called Su-kheen, or "rain wall." The central figure with outstretched arms represents the Rain Spirit, while the small crouching figures in the border are called Su-cou-nutchee, "raindrops splash up," or the splash of falling drops after striking the ground.

A portion of the screen has been broken off and the otherwise unsymmetrical form of the drawing is due to photographic distortion. Its position in the house is indicated by Fig. 6. The hole through the body of the symbolic figure is the door or entrance to the apartment behind. (See p. 23.)





PLATE 2.





PLATE 3.

A Carved interior post to the right of the entrance, Gona-kata-Gars, representing the mythical sea monster that brings good fortune to one who sees it and illustrates a story in the early wanderings of Yehh, the Raven. At the top is "Gona-kata's child," who holds a hawk in its paws. Next is the head of "Gona-kata," the principal figure whose body extends to the bottom of the post. He holds in front of him a whale, peeping from whose blow hole is the head of the Raven. On the back of the whale is the figure of a woman. (See p. 25.)

A Carved interior post to the left of the entrance, Duck-Tooth-Gars, representing the legendary hero, "Black-Skins," rending the scallion. The large human figure is Duck-Tooth, who holds a scallion by the hind flippers. The head at the base of the post represents the island upon which he stood while tearing the scallion asunder. (See p. 26.)

### PLATE 3.

*a* Carved interior post to the right of the entrance, Gonakatate-Gars, representing the mythical sea monster that brings good fortune to one who sees it and illustrates a story in the early wanderings of Yehlh, the Raven. At the top is "Gonakatate's child" who holds a hawk in its paws. Next is the head of "Gonakatate," the principal figure whose body extends to the bottom of the post. He holds in front of him a whale, peeping from whose blow hole is the head of the Raven. On the back of the whale is the figure of a woman. (See p. 25.)

*b* Carved interior post to the left of the entrance, Duck-Toolh-Gars representing the legendary hero, "Black-Skins" rending the sealion. The large human figure is Duck-Toolh, who holds a sealion by the hind flippers. The head at the base of the post represents the island upon which he stood while tearing the sealion asunder. (See p. 26.)





PLATE 3.





PLATE 4

a Carved interior post to the right of the decorative screen in the rear of the house, Yohl-Gars, Raven Post, telling the story of the Raven capturing the king salmon. The main figure with head at the top represents the Raven, holding the head of Tsn-hoots, or "jake adze," and standing upon the head of a fish. From the mouth of Raven is issuing a bird representing Iles. (See p. 28.)

b Carved interior post to the left of the decorative screen in the rear of the house, Tlaka-as-a-Gars, illustrating the story of the girl and the wood-worm. The human figure above is that of Ka-kutch-an, "the girl who fouled the wood-worm." She holds the wood-worm in front in her hands. Two worms are peeping around her head. The lower figure represents a crane holding a frog in its bill. (See p. 29.)



#### PLATE 4.

*a* Carved interior post to the right of the decorative screen in the rear of the house, Yehlh-Gars, Raven Post, telling the story of the Raven capturing the king salmon. The main figure with head at the top represents the Raven, holding the head of Tsu-hootar, or "jade adze," and standing upon the head of a fish. From the mouth of Raven is issuing a bird representing lies. (See p. 28.)

*b* Carved interior post to the left of the decorative screen in the rear of the house, Tluke-ass-a-Gars, illustrating the story of the girl and the wood-worm. The human figure above is that of Ka-kutch-an, "the girl who fondled the wood-worm." She holds the wood-worm in front in her hands. Two worms are peeping around her head. The lower figure represents a crane holding a frog in its bill. (See p. 29.)





PLATE 4.







149.  
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS  
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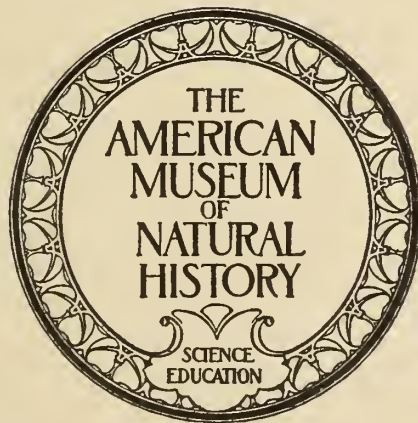
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THE HISTORY OF PHILIPPINE CIVILIZATION AS REFLECTED IN  
RELIGIOUS NOMENCLATURE

BY

A. L. KROEBER



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## PART I. ANALYSIS OF THE NOMENCLATURE.

The cultural relationships of the several Philippine peoples are considerably illuminated by the religious words used by them. Religion has the advantage, in an inquiry directed to such relationships, of being comparatively independent of the physical soil. Whether rice is grown in an open field or under irrigation is likely to be in some degree a function of climate. At least a people may know both of these methods but be compelled to practice only one of them. A specific religious element held in common by two nations, however, is obviously the result of their having at some time come under a common cultural influence. Among such elements, names are the best indices. Rites or beliefs become modified, or may be only partially similar, so that information must be detailed before they can be adjudged as belonging to one or to more classes. Names, after their dialectic alteration is allowed for, are either the same or wholly different. Distinctly proper names, such as the designations of deities and ceremonies, are particularly valuable, since their original identity remains beyond suspicion even when their meaning changes radically.

## THE BLUMENTRITT DATA.

Blumentritt's "*Diccionario Mitológico*"<sup>1</sup> is an assemblage of practically all religious names reported from the Philippines up to 1895. The following list is an extract of those shared by two or more tribes. Additional entries from newer sources have not been made, although they would have increased the total, because the Blumentritt data seem ample for the comparisons desired. Also, the Spanish materials compiled by him promise not to harmonize very satisfactorily at some points with the information secured since the American occupation by students working from other points of view.

1. *Religious Terms Common to Several Groups.*

*Anito*, spirit. Pangasinan, Sambal, Tagalog, Bikol, Bisaya, Bagobo, Magindanao.<sup>2</sup>  
*Adimat*, *aguimat*, amulet. Tirurai, Moro.  
*Alamat*, "tradition," divination. Tagalog, Tirurai.

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<sup>1</sup> In W. E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, II, Madrid, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> The word *anito* is not counted as Igorot because of its adoption by the Spaniards and consequent possible introduction by them into certain regions.

- Asog*, priest. Bikol, Bisaya.
- Asuang*, demon. Pampanga, Tagalog, Bikol, Bisaya, Mandaya.
- Bailan*, *belian*, *baglan*, *babailan*, priest medium. Ilokano, Bikol, Bisaya, Mandaya, Bagobo, Tirurai.
- Bangan*, etc., a goddess. Ifugao, Igorot.
- Baon*, *balon*, boat offering to dead. Tagalog, Bisaya.
- Bathala*, *batala*, *bahala*, *Badlao*, *Batla*, a god. Pampanga (a bird), Tagalog (chief god and a bird), Bikol (a spirit), Bisaya (idols), Mandaya (a god).
- Bayok*, *bayoguin*, transvestite priest. Sambal, Tagalog.
- Bongo*, *bongan*, *bongat*. Bikol (a demon), Tirurai (abode of dead), Bagobo (a divination).
- Bugan*, a goddess. Ifugao, Igorot.
- Busao*, demon. Mandaya (essence of a god), Bagobo, Tirurai, Magindanao, Manobo.
- Amanolay*, *Anagaoley*, a god. Gaddang, Pangasinan (idol).
- Diwata*, *devata*, *devatu*, *dewa*, etc., gods or spirits generically. Bisaya, Subanun, Mandaya, Bagobo, Tirurai, Magindanao, Manobo, Tagbanua, Batak.
- Kabal*, *kebel*, charm or herb of invulnerability. Tagalog, Bisaya, Tirurai.
- Kabigat*, a god. Ifugao, Igorot.
- Kabunian*, *Buni*, a god, or chief deity. Apayao, Kalinga, Ifugao, Igorot, Ilokano.
- Kanyao* (*cañao*), ceremonies generically. Ifugao, Igorot.
- Katalonan*, *katolon*, *katoolan*, priest or medium. Tagalog, Bisaya (if prophesying).
- Laki*, *Apo-laki*. Pangasinan (war god), Bikol (mountain monster).
- Laloan*, *laraouan*, mourning rite. Bisaya, Bagobo.
- Limokon*, omen bird. Bisaya, Mandaya, Bagobo, Tirurai.
- Lumaoig*, *Lumabit*, god, or chief deity. Ifugao, Igorot.
- Malim*, *Taga-maling*, a giant. Subanun, Bagobo.
- Manaug*, idols. Mandaya, Manobo.
- Mangalo*, *mangalok*, *mangangalek*, an evil spirit. Bisaya, Magindanao (shake with mysterious fright), Balalacaunos of Palawan.
- Mantala*, formula. Tagalog, Bisaya.
- Naga*, prow figure, monster fish. Pampanga, Tagalog, Tirurai.
- Nagbuagan*, evil spirits. Ifugao, Igorot, Tinguian.
- Nonok*, *nunuk*, sacred *baliti* tree. Tagalog, Bisaya, Tirurai.
- Pati-anak*, *ti-anak*, *pati-anay*, demon from foetus. Tagalog, Subanun.
- Rahu*, *lahu*, moon-devouring monster. Tagalog, Magindanao.
- Sakuyan*, miniature boat for offerings. Batak. Bagobo, Tagbanua, Basilan, same custom.
- Sanian*, a god. Ifugao, Igorot.
- Siling*, *siring*, a demon. Subanun, Bagobo.
- Sitan*, *Pandake-sita*, *saitan* (Satan), class of evil spirits. Tagalog, Bisaya, Tirurai.
- Sui-gaguran*, *Gugurang*. Bisaya (a god of lower world), Bikol (a god).
- Taguibanua*, *Tagabanua*, *Banua*, a god. Bisaya, Mandaya, Bukidnon, Batak.
- Tali*, *pag-tali*, a divination. Bisaya, Mandaya.
- Tanggal*, *mag-ta-tanggal*, headless demon. Tagalog, Bisaya.
- Tatuo*, *taotauhan*, *taotao*, idols. Igorot, Tagalog, Bisaya.
- Ulango*. Tagalog (spirit house), Bisaya (a shrimp used superstitiously).

## DISTRIBUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

Expressing in figures the names shared by tribes and groups, we obtain:—

2. *Religious Terms Held in Common.*

	No. of Terms	Igor.	Ilok.	Pang.	S.- Pamp.	Tag.	Bik.	Bis.	Mind.	Pa- law.
Igorot (including Ifugao, Tinggian, Apayao, Kalinga, Gaddang)	9	8	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—
Ilokano	2	1	×	—	—	—	1	1	1	—
Pangasinan	3	1	—	×	1	1	2	1	1	—
Sambal-Pampanga	5	—	—	1	—	5	3	3	4	—
Tagalog	17	1	1	1	5	×	3	12	9	—
Bikol	8	—	1	2	3	3	×	6	5	—
Bisaya	21	1	1	1	3	12	6	×	12	3
Mindanao (all groups)	24	—	1	1	4	9	5	12	11	4
Palawan (all groups)	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	4	1

It is clear from this table that:—

(1) The Igorot group is sharply marked off from all other peoples on the islands. Practically all the terms shared by any Igorot tribe with any other tribe are shared with other Igorot tribes, and with them only.

(2) All the other groups do not fall into well defined classes. All seem to possess certain elements in common; the degree to which they share or fail to share these with each other is proportionate to their distances from each other.

Ilokano alone may possibly link with the Igorot group as closely as with the others. The numbers are too small for a decision.

Sambal-Pampanga has definite affinities as far south as Mindanao, but ties up most closely with its immediate neighbor Tagalog.

Tagalog in turn has a greater proportion of similarities with Bisaya than with Mindanao, as would follow from the intermediate location of Bisaya. But the ratio is about what would be expected from the geographical positions, and gives no indication whatever of any special affiliation of Tagalog and Bisaya, as if they had constituted a definite cultural group contrasted with Mindanao.

The same appears from the Bisayan figures: twelve terms shared with Tagalog to the north, twelve with Mindanao on the south. The ratio is really somewhat higher for Tagalog (12-17) than for Mindanao (12-24), but not notably so.

Bikol leans to the south: six of its eight names recur in Bisaya, five in Mindanao, only three in Tagalog. If the Bikol language shall prove on systematic comparison to be closer to Bisaya than to Tagalog, as has sometimes been asserted this south-



ward affiliation of Bikol religion would be at least partly explained, for the group would then be essentially a Bisayan branch settled in Luzon. Until this point is determined, the geographical explanation is the simplest. The Bikol peninsula is but slightly connected with the Tagalog portion of Luzon, but juts out toward the Bisayas and in part faces them, so as to constitute virtually a northern Bisayan island.

Mindanao is far from a unit. Of its twenty-four shared terms, only eleven are recorded as common to two or more Mindanaoan tribes, twelve recur among the Bisaya, nine with the Tagalog. It would be very unjust to set off its pagan tribes as constituting a separate class analogous to the pagan Igorot of northern Luzon.

Palawan, finally, has evidently received the imported part of its ancient religion from Mindanao and the Bisayas, whence also Mohammedanism and Christianity respectively reached it, not to mention the Filipino immigrants now settled on the island, who are part Moro and part Bisaya speaking. In other words, the relations of trade, culture, and migration between Palawan and the remainder of the Philippines were evidently the same before the Spanish discovery as since.

The uniqueness of the Igorot<sup>1</sup> group recurs in other phases of culture as also to a certain extent in physical type and speech, and is discussed in detail in the second part of this paper. It is however notable that the peculiarity of the Igorot is much greater in their religious nomenclature than in their religious concepts or practices. While their religious terms are almost all peculiar, their beliefs are much more similar to those of the other Filipinos, and their ceremonial acts very nearly identical. Farther, it is chiefly proper names that the various Igorot tribes tend to share among each other. Designations of rituals, of ceremonial apparatus and personages, are rarely common to more than two or three Igorot divisions, and often are peculiar to single ones.

The Igorot, then, in spite of their apparent unity as against the remainder of the Filipinos, and in spite also of the comparative crowding of their several divisions into a small geographical compass, have diversified considerably *inter se*.

#### OTHER DATA.

The following lists, in which the older data compiled by Blumentritt have been combined with more recent information, illustrate (1) these intra-Igorot relations; (2), the endless diversity shown by the Filipinos generally, not only in nomenclature but in the details of their religion; and (3), the basic identity that runs through their religious attitudes and practices. The lists may also be of some service for reference.

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<sup>1</sup> The word "Igorot" is used throughout this paper as a conveniently brief term meaning "pagan mountaineers of northern Luzon other than Negritos." It therefore includes the Apayao, Tinggian, Kalinga, Bontok, Kankanai, Nabaloi, Ifugao, Gaddang, and probably Ilongot.

3. *Chief Deity.*

Ilokano	}	<i>Ka-buni-an, Buni</i>
Apayao		
Ginaan Kalinga		
Northern Kankanaï		
Nabaloi	}	
Bontok		<i>Lumawig</i> (syn. <i>Kambunyan</i> )
Goban Kalinga		<i>Lakwil</i> (?), goddess.
Tinggian		<i>Kadaklan</i>
Sambal		<i>Akasi</i>
Tagalog		<i>Bathala</i> (Sanskrit <i>bhaṭṭara</i> )
Bikol		<i>Gugurang</i> (god prayed to in greatest ceremony)
Bisaya	{	<i>Dia</i>
		<i>Lauon, Laon, Lalahon</i>
		<i>Sidapa, Sidapau</i>
Mandaya		<i>Mansilatan</i>
Bagobo		<i>Pamuluk Manobo</i> (creator) or <i>Tigyama</i> (?)
Tirurai		<i>Tulus</i> ("knowing")
Subanun		<i>Gulai</i>
Tagbanua		<i>Manalok</i>
Batak		<i>Banua</i> ("earth")

4. *Ka-buni-an, Kambunyan, Buni, Funi.*

Ilokano, Nabaloi, Northern Kankanaï,<sup>1</sup> Ginaan Kalinga, Apayao, chief god.

Bontok, synonym of Lumawig, the usual name of the chief deity.

Southern Kankanaï,<sup>2</sup> generic name for god or spirit, synonym of *anito*.

Tinggian, a powerful spirit, but not the greatest; institutor of most ceremonies.

Ifugao, name of the lowest sky.

Goban Kalinga, known (as a deity).

With the exception of the Ilokano the tribes knowing Kabunian are all of the group here designated as Igorot. Conversely, every known Igorot tribe employs the name in some religious sense.

5. *The Igorot Cycle of Hero-Gods.*

*Kabigat.* Nabaloi, most frequently mentioned character in myths and formulas, and evidently the most admired; Southern Kankanaï; Ifugao, an important hero; Bontok, the moon deity, female.

*Balitok*, "Gold." Nabaloi, sometimes appearing as the brother of Kabigat, sometimes alone; Southern Kankanaï; Ifugao, sometimes the brother of Kabigat, sometimes the son of Bugan, sometimes of Wigan.

*Bugan*, the most famous heroine of romance, myth, and formula. Nabaloi, sometimes the wife, sometimes the sister of Kabigat, also of other heroes; Southern

<sup>1</sup> Of Lepanto.

<sup>2</sup> Of Benguet.

Kankanai; Ifugao, sometimes the sister of Kabigat, sometimes of Balitok, sometimes of Wigan, sometimes daughter of Tadona, sometimes of Hinumbian, sometimes of Wigan, sometimes the goddess of locusts; Bontok, sister of Fatanga, wife of Lumawig.

*Bangan, Baingan*, another heroine or goddess. Southern Kankanai; Blumentritt "Igorot" and Ifugao.

*Wigan*, a hero or god. Nabaloi, sometimes the brother of Kabigat; Southern Kankanai; Ifugao. The name may reappear in Vigan, the capital of Ilocos Sur.

*Singan*. Nabaloi, a rice protecting goddess; Southern Kankanai.

*Bintauwan, Binantawan*; Southern Kankanai; Ifugao.

*Lumawig*. Nabaloi and Southern Kankanai, a hero in tales; Ifugao; Bontok, usual name of the greatest deity.

This list can no doubt be extended considerably. It includes only the deities most frequently mentioned. These are the heroes of romantic tales and of myths and narrative formulas; they are less frequently sacrificed to.

It is clear that many of these names are used rather randomly. Very similar narratives are told of quite different personages, and almost any personage is likely to appear in any tale. The names appear to float loosely in the body of myth, and to be typical rather than individual. In part this instability may be due to local differences within a single group; but much of it is inherent. Sometimes we encounter two personages of the same name in one tradition. The same personage stands variably in the relation of brother and husband, or of father and brother, to another. The case of the Ifugao Bugarin in the list is typical.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that no Igorot group adheres to a consistent scheme of kinship or active relations between these god heroes.

As to a grouping within the Igorot area, the Tinggian are conspicuous in not participating in the recognition of this set of deities. As the largest published collection of tales, formulistic and explanatory myths, and fable is from the Tinggian, there can be no doubt on this point. Apo-ni-tolau, Apo-ni-balagen, Apo-ni-bolinayen, Apo-ni-gawani, and Kanag are the nearest Tinggian equivalents of Kabigat, Balitok, Wigan, and Bugarin.<sup>2</sup>

As to the Apayao, Kalinga, and Gaddang, no data seem to be available. The Nabaloi, Kankanai, Ifugao, and Bontok form a substantial unit, with the Bontok perhaps more differentiated from the three others than these from one another.

## 6. Leading Ceremonies.

Tinggian: *sayang*, over heads.

Apayao: *sayam*, after harvest, an important rite.

Ifugao: *uyauwe*, to show rank, or *hongga*, for welfare, or *kulpe*, *kolating*, *tungul*, agricultural.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Beyer's remark in *Philippine Journal of Science*, VIII, sec. D, 114, footnote 66, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Cole, *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthr. Ser.* XIV, 6, 1915.



Northern Kankanai: *bayas*, to show rank, or *begnas* (syn. *pakde*), for welfare.

Southern Kankanai: *mandit*, to show rank.

Nabaloi: *pachit*, to show rank, or *bindayan*, over heads.

Tagalog: *pandot*.

Bikol: *atang*.

Bisaya: *balilik*.

Mandaya: *bililik*.

Bagobo: *ginum*, "drinking," agricultural and for welfare, perhaps originally over heads.

Subanun: *buklug* (name of a dancing platform): against illness, for a good harvest, or for the dead.

The greatest rite and festival held by each group is not always easy to determine, perhaps because the natives do not so rank their ceremonies. List 6 makes an attempt to collect the data on this point. It is clear at once that there is no one outstanding ritual common to all the Philippine tribes or even to any considerable body of tribes. The elements or patterns of rituals are widely diffused in very similar forms; the particular mosaics of ceremony constituted from these elements vary kaleidoscopically; the names are equally unstable. This fact indicates a diffusion of religious material over the entire archipelago, but in a detached or unsystematic condition; and numerous independent local combinations of this common material. There clearly were few definite cults worked out by one people and adopted in their entirety by others; and certainly no waves of organized religion spreading from the more advanced to the more backward nations. It is true that the Mandaya share the *balilik* with the Bisaya, and that the Kankanai-Nabaloi *mandit* or *pachit* — the two words are one, etymologically — is likely to be connected with the Tagalog *pandot*. But we do not know that the rites themselves were as similar as the names. The diversity between the Tinggian *sayang* and the Apayao *sayam* makes it possible that the other ceremonials with common names were considerably dissimilar. And in any event it is clear that nothing like any organized cult (other than Mohammedanism or Christianity), nor even a single ceremony as definitely unique as the Sun dance of the Plains or the Hamatsa of the Northwest Coast of America, is traceable through the Philippine Islands or any considerable portion of them.

#### RITUAL MOTIVES.

The same conclusion appears from a review of all known Philippine rituals, as presented in Table 7. The occasions for ceremonies, or their motives, are obviously much the same everywhere in the archipelago — clearly so for the modern pagans of northern Luzon and southern Mindanao, and apparently also for the ancestors four hundred years ago of the groups

that are now Christian and literate. There is at any rate scarcely a rite mentioned in the earlier Spanish accounts of the Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisaya whose purpose is definitely different from the purpose of the Nabaloi, Ifugao, Subanun, or Bagobo rites; and many agree exactly in motive with the surviving rites of these more conservative tribes. Ceremonies to promote agriculture, at weddings, at funerals, in connection with warfare, against illness, or to evidence social rank, are reported with remarkable unanimity wherever information begins to approach completeness.

Similar as is the range of ritual throughout the islands, the names of corresponding rites vary enormously, in fact rarely agree even among neighboring tribes. This is perhaps the outstanding fact about Table 7. The religious material operated with is substantially identical among all Filipino tribes; its precise shape, as revealed by the names, is endlessly variable. No crystallization of form has taken place. The condition is similar to that which must have existed among the Greek peoples before literature had effected a partial standardization of religious concept and practice — except of course that Greek cults were always attached to specific localities in native consciousness, whereas Philippine observances never are. Filipino rituals remained in the category of customs. They are not part of a formulated system. They are not at all the expression of “religion” in our sense of the term; are of a different order from Buddhism, Isis-cult, Mithraism, Shintoism, Judaism, Christianity.

The conclusion is therefore unavoidable that it is unlikely that any wave of Hindu or Asiatic propaganda, or even any direct Hindu cults as such, have ever reached the Philippines. Influences emanating from India there have certainly been; and even influences originating in the Mediterranean region can be inferred with considerable probability: bird augury, liver divination, perhaps the sacrifice of domestic animals and wine. But these influences have penetrated as disjected fragments, not as organized wholes; they have seeped in, not been swept into the islands by a powerful wave; were evidently carried to the Malaysians of the Philippines by other Malaysians; and, once introduced in the islands, gradually penetrated every portion of them.

## 7. *Classification of Philippine Ceremonies.*

### Agricultural Rituals.

*Preparation of rice fields.* Ifugao; Tagalog: *pasing-tabi sa nono*; Subanun; Bagobo, rites at smithy for tools used in clearing; also possibly the *ginum*, held at any time before the harvest.

*Rice planting.* Cagayan, three ceremonies before planting; Bontok: *pochang*; Ifugao: *kulpe*; Mandaya; Bilaan; Bagobo: *marummas*; Kulaman.



*Transplanting of irrigated rice.* Bontok: *chaka*, including *suyak*, *walit* and *mangmang*, *mangapui*, *asigkacho*, *patay*; also perhaps *suwat*; for warmth of transplanters, *chinamwi*.

*Promotion of growth of rice.* Bontok: *keeng*, including *totolod*; Nabaloi: *kosdai* and *tawal ni payu*; S. Kankanai: *kosde* and *bugid*; N. Kankanai<sup>1</sup>: *bagaoas*, against mice and drouth; *bakid*, for sufficient water; Subanun (before weeding).

*Before beginning rice harvest.* Bontok: *safosab*; Ifugao: *kolating*; Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *pungam*; Sambal: *mamiarag*; Subanun; Bilaan: *pandoman*; Bagobo.

*At end of rice harvest.* Apayao: *sayam*; Bontok: *lislis*, including *chapeng* and *fug-fugto*; Ifugao: *tungul*, *tuldag*; Subanun: *posonghu*; Mandaya; Bagobo: *kapungaan*, including *gatokbiaan* or *pakakaro*, *bagkes*, and *gomeng ka taragomi* or *bitinbagaybo*.

*Before new rice is eaten.* Ifugao; Nabaloi: *bakak*; S. Kankanai: *bugak*.

*To slow consumption of rice.* Ifugao: *humangali page*.

*To produce rain for crops.* Bontok: *fakil*; Bisaya: *holom*.

*For crops other than rice.* Bontok, at camote planting: *loskod*; at bean planting: *okiad*; Kulaman, at sago gathering.

#### Rituals Connected with Phases of Life.

*Birth.* (1) *To promote delivery.* Nabaloi: *mantaidin*; Mandaya; Bilaan; Bagobo. (2) *For health of child.* Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *abasang*; Bagobo.

*Name giving.* None are described.

*Adolescence.* None are described, except possibly Bikol *karinga* (on a child reaching a certain age). Express denial of occurrence is made for Bontok, Bagobo, Mandaya, Bilaan.

*Betrothal.* Tinggian: *pakalon*; Ifugao: *mommon*, *imbango*, *hingot*; Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *kaising* and *kalon*.

*Marriage.* Tinggian; Bontok; *inpake* and *kapiya*; Ifugao: *bubun*; northern Ifugao: *tanig*; Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *mangidin*; Bilaan; Bagobo: *taliduma*; Mandaya; Kulaman. Denied for Saltan Kalinga.

*Removal of prohibition against marriage of cousins.* Ifugao: *ponga*; Subanun.

*Reestablishment of a wavering marriage.* Tinggian: *nagkakalonan*.

*Death and burial.* Tinggian, including *sangsanget* song; Bontok: *kapiyan si natü*; Ifugao: *munhimung* (death rite), *dangale* (funeral feast), *binokbok* (three days after burial); Nabaloi: *siling* (in death chair), *okat* (in coffin); S. Kankanai, *siling* and *pugas*; Sambal; Tagalog: *uakas*; Bisaya: *damag*, *laraouan*, *maglahe*; Subanun: *timala* (*pimala*) and *puluntuh* ("causing to rise"); Tirurai: *tii* (seventh day after death); Mandaya; Bilaan; Bagobo: *laloan* (mourning), *damag* (the death watch); Kulaman.

*Conclusion of mourning.* Cagayan, with human sacrifice; Tinggian: *layog*; Ifugao: *liu-liua*; S. Kankanai: *pugas*, to prevent farther deaths; Tagalog: *tibao*; Bagobo.

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<sup>1</sup> "N. Kankanai": Lepanto, in J. A. Robertson, *Phil. Journ. Science*, IX, D, 465-527, 1914. "S. Kankanai": Benguet, in C. R. Moss, "Nabaloi Law and Ritual" and "Kankanay Ceremonies and Myths," manuscripts in press in the University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, volume 15. My thanks are due Mr. Moss for his generous permission to draw freely on his valuable data.



## Rituals of War and Head-Hunting.

*Preparation for a raid.* Ifugao: *mungamu-gaman*; Bilaan; Kulaman.

*Celebration over heads taken.* Tinggian: *sayang*; Bontok: *kafokab* (*sedak* and *chaois* also mentioned); Ifugao; Nabaloi: *bindayan*; S. Kankanai; *bindian*; Goban Kalinga; Sambal: *Mang-alagar* is the associated deity.

*For a head lost:* Bontok: *mangayu*.

*Establishment of peace:* Nabaloi: *pachit* (presumed original purpose); Ifugao: *hidit*.

## Rituals to Prove Wealth or Establish Social Standing.

Ifugao: *uyauwe*; *hagabi* (setting up a bench as symbol or rank); perhaps also *bumayah*; Nabaloi: *pachit*, *chawok*, and *bayok* (all three also against sickness); S. Kankanai: *mandit*, *dawak*, and *basit dawak*; N. Kankanai: *bayas* or *bumayas*; Tagalog: *pandot* (a great ceremony).

## Generalized Rituals for Community Welfare.

Ifugao: *hongga*; N. Kankanai; *begnas* or *pakde* (perhaps primarily an agricultural rite); Bikol: *hidhid* (at a public calamity); Bisaya: *lantang* (to celebrate any accomplishment); Subanun: *buklug* (also to fulfill a vow made during sickness).

## Rituals of Divination.

Ifugao: *ubaya*<sup>1</sup> (*agba*, a magic stick); Nabaloi: *sabat* (swinging stone), *bakno* (wine mirror), and *buyon* (balanced stick), to determine the ceremony most efficacious on any occasion; *manoni* (hepatoscopy); S. Kankanai: *anap*; *manman*, (hepatoscopy); N. Kankanai: *ubaya*; Tagalog: *pang-atahoan*, *bilauo*; Bisaya: *kabkab* (by liver); *siyon*; *tali* (with egg or stone); Subanun; Mandaya: *pag-tali* (swinging brand); Tirurai: *alamat*; *fengintuanan* (by lines of palm); Bagobo: *pasilume* (ordeal for theft); palm reading; Magindanao: *pantok*, *tambilung*.

## Rituals Against Disease.

Tinggian: *dawak*, *palaan*, *sangasang*, *ibal*, and probably others (the last two also against misfortune and danger); Apayao; Bontok: *afat*; Ifugao: *pinokla* (to cure wounds); Nabaloi: caused by spirit of a recently deceased person: *tabwak*; of a specific ancestor: *kapi*; of hungry ancestors generally: *batbat*, *saad*; by non-human forest or other class spirits: *ampasit*, *pasang ni mansakit*, *timungau*, *kiad*, *inamdagan*, by flight of soul: *tawal*, *tingiting*; by witches or hostile ritualists: *palis*, *sagasau*; against specific diseases less definitely associated with spirits or personalities: *buang*, *nansaang*, *palis chi kabunian*, *dosad*, *sigop*, *kolos*, *basil*, *sagosab*, *diaru chuntog*, *diaru kasib*, *gangau*, *tamo*, *pasang*, *padad*, *sibisib*, *salchi*; N. Kankanai: *keslei*, *tobag*, *tongkala* (in fulfillment of a vow), *pasang* (against sterility, *palis* (against witches); S. Kankanai: against sickness caused by the spirit of a dead ancestor or relative: *kiad*, *kapi*, *batbat*, *saad*, *tanong*; by non-human classes of spirits: *dagas*, *bilig*, *laglagi-win*; by departure of soul: *lawit*, *tingiting*; against specific diseases: *manbating*, *bilang*, *mantuis bilig*, *mayodos*, *sibisib*, *mayilutlutkan*, *liblibian*, *ampasit*, *tamo*, *dayau*

<sup>1</sup> The *ubaya* is also made by the most northwesterly Bontok (of Villaviciosa) and by the southernmost Tinggian (of Lumaba), but apparently for wealth and welfare. Cole, *Field Museum Natural History, Anthr. Ser. XIV*, 176, 1915.

*buang, saldi; pasang* (against sterility); *palis* (against witches); Tagalog: *bongoy, mag-diwang; mang-aga-mot, mang-aga-uay, mang-aga-yoma* (perhaps name distinct ceremonial methods of curing rather than specific ceremonies); Mandaya, *pag-kayan*; Subanun: to ward off epidemics: *buklug* (also for general welfare, etc.); Bagobo.

#### Miscellaneous.

*To allay storms.* Bontok: *kalob*; Tirurai: *kambung*; Bagobo.

*Before hunting, and after killing seven wild boars.* Subanun.

*For change of ato affiliation.* Bontok: *puke* or *palugpeg*.

*For luck on a journey.* S. Kankanai: *sagausau*.

*To prevent quarrels at great ceremonies.* Ifugao: *tikman*.

*To settle a blood feud.* Sambal: the associated deity is *Mang-lobar*.

*To worry debtors into payment, etc.* Ifugao: sacrifice to *halupe* spirits.

*To kill or bewitch.* Ifugao: *ayak*; Nabaloi: *sagausau* (also to protect against witches); Tagalog: *man-hihikap, kolam*.

*Inter-sex songs of revilement* (a phase in other ceremonies). Nabaloi: *lio-liwa*; Ifugao: *liu-liua* (at end of mourning); Bagobo: *gindaya*, antiphonal chanting between sets of men, sometimes with accusations.<sup>1</sup>

#### RELIGIOUS MECHANISMS.

Similar conclusions result from a comparative review of the mechanism of native religion, at which some attempts are made in Tables 8 to 13.

#### 8. *Altars.*

Tinggian: *saloko*, split bamboo post.

*baneet*, hanging coconut husk.

Bontok: *sakolong*, for heads.

Tagalog: *bagol*, coconut cups.

*dambana, lambana*, altar or "adoratorio".

Bikol: *salagnat*, "table" for offerings in *atang* rite.

Subanun: *bukar*, in mourning.

*ponolud*, at close of *buklug*.

*palanka*, a small jar for wine.

Tirurai: *ranga*, split cane for areca offering.

Bagobo: *tambara*, plate in split bamboo post.

*tigyama, balekat*, hanging plates.

There are two principal types of altars which are apparently in nearly universal use, and are described clearly for both the Tinggian of the extreme north and the Bagobo of the farthest south. The names are as different as usual. When pottery is substituted for the presumably original coconut shell receptacle, it is not native but Chinese ware. This, by the way, is illuminative of the cultural relations of the Philippines in general. There is a conscious attempt by the wildest and remotest tribes to use a foreign

<sup>1</sup> Benedict, *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sc.*, XXV, 165, 1916.

article. The article is imported in quantities. But it is put to use in a specifically native setting; and it is taken over without any accompaniment or attached associations. The Chinese jars that are or were prized so highly throughout the Philippines and Borneo as family heirlooms, are an even more striking case because of their importance in native estimation. They flowed in for centuries without appearing to affect either the color of native religion or the native pottery industry.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the influences of the Chinese have been those of traders, the less direct but profounder influences of the Hindus those of teachers. But in both cases the influences penetrated as isolated bits, not as compact systems.

### 9. Spirit Houses.

Tinggian: *balaua*; also *kalangan*, *tangpap*, *bawi*, *palaan*.

Tagalog: *ulango*, perhaps also *simbahan*.<sup>2</sup>

Bikol: *moog*, caves for idols.

Subanun: *maligai*.

Tirurai: *tenin(es)*, entered by priests only.

Bagobo: *buis*, near settlements and on roads; *parabunnian*, in rice fields.

The spirit houses are miniature dwellings, often without floor or walls, but always roofed; and the nearest approach to temples found in the Philippines. The Tinggian-Bagobo correspondence again establishes the institution as ancient and generically Filipino. But there seems to be no clear record of spirit houses for Nabaloi, Kankanai, Ifugao, or Bontok, and there is a specific denial for the Apayao.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the Igorot group therefore stands apart in this custom.

### 10. Omen Birds.

Tinggian: *labeg*.

Bontok: *ichu*.

Ifugao: *idu*, the spirit, *pitpit*, the bird.

Nabaloi: *tuttut*.

"Igorot" and Ginaan Kalinga: *suiit*.

Ilokano: *salaksak*.

Sambal: *salaksak*, *pasi-manuken*.

Tagalog: *balan tikis* or *balatiti*; also *Bathala*, the name of the supreme deity, applied to the *tigma-manukin* bird (*Irena cyanogastra*).

Pampanga: *batala*.

Bikol: *haya*; *sayasaya*.

<sup>1</sup> Cole, F. C. and Laufer, B., "Chinese Pottery in the Philippines" *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthr. Ser.* XII, 1-47, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Name of the head man's large house when used for ceremonials, and the modern word for a church. The term may also have been applied to spirit houses, since Blumentritt defines it as "casitas" for worship.

<sup>3</sup> Cole, *Am. Anthropol.*, N. S., XI, 342, 1909.



- Bisaya: *limokon*.  
 Subanun: *tibogok*; *ghinagau*.  
 Tirurai: *lemuguen*.  
 Mandaya: *limokon*.  
 Bagobo: *limokon* (*Phabotreron brevirostris* or *Calcophaps indica*).

### 11. *Priests or Mediums.*

- Tinggian: *alopogan*.  
 Bontok: *insupak*.  
 Ifugao: *mon-lapu* (Kiangian district).  
           *tumunoh* (Central district).  
 Nabaloi: *mam-bunong* (*bunong*, prayer).  
 Ilokano: *baglan* (generic).  
           *mang-oodon*, *mang-ododon*, priests.  
           *mannilao*, *mammables*, diviners.  
 Sambal: *bayok*, *bayog*,<sup>1</sup> transvestite head priest.  
 Tagalog: *katalonan*, *katolon* (generic).  
           *sonat*, pontifex maximus.  
           *tauak*, medicinemen with snake guardians.  
           *bayoguin*,<sup>1</sup> transvestite priests.  
 Bikol: *balyan* (generic).  
           *sakom*, medicinewomen.  
           *asog*, transvestite priests.  
 Bisaya: *ba-bailan* (generic).  
           *asog*, a class of priests, (cf. Bikol).  
           *katoolan*, seers or prophets (cf. Tagalog).  
           *sigbinan*, wizards of were-wolf type.  
 Subanun: *balian*.  
           *tanguilin*.  
           *labia*, transvestites (not necessarily priests).  
 Tirurai: *belian*.  
 Mandaya: *bailan*.  
 Bagobo: *bailan*.  
           *matanom*.

The fundamental term, at least the most widely spread, is *bailan* or *balian*, which is lost among the Tagalog but reappears with the Ilokano, and is known elsewhere in the East Indies. The Tagalog name *katolon* is not indicative of an isolated development or influence, since it reappears among the Bisaya as the name of a special class of priests. A similar tendency to elaborate and specialize the office is evidently the cause of the diversity of nomenclature in the central region generally and perhaps in Mindanao: head priests, transvestite priests, snake priests, curing priests, foretelling priests were separately recognized.

In the Igorot region, such classifications are wanting. No two tribes

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<sup>1</sup> The word *bayog* reappears among the Southern Kankanaï as the name of a song in the *mandit* ceremony.

agree in nomenclature. Evidently, descriptive terms were freely coined. The inclination of the Igorot toward local specialization of detail and nomenclature by the side of nearly complete participation in the content of the institutions of the other Filipinos, is once more manifest. It would therefore be unreasonable to conclude from their want of the name *bailan* that the Igorot have undergone a separate religious development. It is indeed possible that a particular wave of cultural influence which carried the word *bailan* failed to reach them; but it is at least equally likely that the term came to them and failed to be accepted or was subsequently discarded by reason of their local separatist tendencies.

The institution itself seems to be about the same throughout the Philippines in its combination of the functions of priest, medium, and shaman, and its indifference to sex of incumbents.

#### 12. *Intoxicants used in Ceremonies.*

	Fermented Rice	Fermented Cane Sugar
Nabaloi	<i>tapui</i>	
Bontok	<i>tafei</i>	( <i>basi</i> )
Ifugao	<i>bubud</i>	<i>bayah</i>
Pangasinan		<i>kila</i>
Bisaya	<i>pang-asi</i>	<i>kilang</i>
Subanun	<i>g-asi</i>	
Bagobo		<i>balabba</i>

#### 13. *Condition of Taboo after a Death.*

Nabaloi:	<i>pidju, pidiu</i>
Bontok:	( <i>fosog, tengao</i> , rest days)
Ifugao:	<i>paniu</i>
Tagalog:	<i>sipa</i>
Subanun:	<i>liing, liing-an</i>

#### 14. *Souls and Ancestral Spirits.*

	Soul	Spirit of an Ancestor
Goban Kalinga		<i>kadikak</i> <sup>1</sup>
Bontok	<i>tako</i> <sup>2</sup>	(“ <i>anito</i> ”)
Ifugao	<i>linauwa</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>a-amud</i> <sup>4</sup> (pl.)
“Igorot”		<i>ani-ani</i>
S. Kankanai		<i>amud</i> , <sup>4</sup> <i>kakading</i> <sup>1</sup>
Nabaloi	<i>adia</i>	<i>amud</i> , <sup>4</sup> <i>kalaching</i> <sup>1</sup>
Ilokano	<i>karkarma</i> , <i>kararua</i>	
Tagalog		<i>nono</i> (“grandfather”)
Bikol		<i>tagno</i> <sup>2</sup> (idols)
Bisaya		<i>umalagad</i>
Subanun	<i>g-inawa</i> <sup>3</sup> (“breath”)	<i>g-imud</i> <sup>4</sup>
Tirurai	<i>k-amatu</i> <sup>4</sup>	
Bagobo	<i>g-imokud</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>kayung</i>

There are several terms for soul or spirit that have some distribution. These have been connected in list 14 by having the same numbers placed after them. It is not always possible to decide from the data whether a word for "soul" refers to that of the living or the dead. To an orthodox Christian, the difference is supposed to be trivial. To most primitive people, and certainly to the Filipinos, the difference is enormous. One's own soul is likely to have experiences extremely dangerous to one's life; the soul of a dead relative can cause or avert sickness or danger or prosperity. Nevertheless, if the information and attempted etymologizing can be relied on, two terms, *tako-tagno* and *amud-gimokud*, have shifted locally from the meaning of "soul" to that of "spirit" or reversely.

The Igorot tribes do not show their usual diversity in these terms. Not only do they display at least as much uniformity among themselves as the civilized groups, but they seem definitely connected with the pagans of Mindanao, who in most instances so far considered affiliate with the Moro and Bisaya. It rather seems that northern Luzon and Mindanao represent an original generic diffusion of terms for soul and spirit; from which the intermediate groups departed with advancing civilization.

TERMS OF ASIATIC ORIGIN.

Returning once more to Blumentritt's data, we may consider the religious terms derived by the Filipinos from Asia or shared with other Malaysians.

15. *Non-Malaysian Terms Common to Several Philippine Tribes.*

	Igorot	Il.- Pang.	S. Pamp.	Tag.	Bik.	Bis.	Minda- nao	Pala- wan
<i>Sanskrit</i>								
Bathala (Bhaṭṭara)	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	—
diwata (devata)	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	×
mantala (mantra)	—	—	—	×	—	×	—	—
naga (naga)	—	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
rahu, lahu (rahu)	—	—	—	×	—	—	×	—
	—	—	2	4	1	3	4	1
<i>Mohammedan</i>								
sitan (Satan)	—	—	—	×	—	×	×	—

It is clear that Hindu influence direct enough to cause the introduction of Hindu nomenclature has not penetrated northern Luzon, but that over the remainder of the islands it has been approximately uniform in strength. The lower figures for Pampanga, Bikol, and Palawan seem to reflect only the general insufficiency of information for these groups.



On the whole, the number of religious terms of Hindu origin is small as compared with the fairly considerable number of other words of Sanskrit origin that have been determined in Tagalog and Bisaya by Kern.<sup>1</sup> The impression which the foregoing little table yields is that the Hindu element has entered Philippine religion by several routes, or that, if it came through a single channel, it filtered in so long ago, and in association with so many other cultural elements, as to become generally disseminated by the time of discovery, except in northern Luzon. Kern concludes from the preponderance of Sanskrit words in Tagalog over Bisaya, and the still smaller proportion in Celebes, that the Hindu influence came directly from the Malay Peninsula or Indo-China to central Luzon, and presumably that it then worked southward to Mindanao and Celebes, or that Celebes received its Hindu vocabulary along a separate southern route. The religious data here compiled are too few to support or controvert this opinion very seriously; but they do suggest that the Tagalog were not the gate through which Hinduism chiefly flowed into the Philippines, else the rude inlanders of distant Mindanao would scarcely be sharing most of the Tagalog import of Sanskrit religious terminology while the nearer Igorot did without. It is true that the interior of Mindanao is in a sense more open toward the sea than is the mountain mass of northern Luzon; but such difference as there may be in this respect is insufficient to reverse completely the presumable effects of much greater proximity. It is therefore possible that certain influences going back to an ultimate Hindu source reached the Tagalog directly across the China Sea from the northwestern Malaysian nations, as Kern concludes; that another set of influences entered Mindanao from the southern Malaysians by way of Borneo; and that these two streams not only commingled among the Bisayans, but largely interpenetrated each other in Luzon and Mindanao, the Igorot alone remaining unpermeated as in so many other respects.

The alternative to this conclusion would be that Hindu elements had indeed penetrated the Philippines at one point only, but so long ago that these elements had had time to be carried to all the more advanced nations of the archipelago as well as the more exposed of the ruder ones, such as the inland dwellers of Mindanao and Palawan. Exacter studies may be needed to decide the issue between these two possibilities. What is certain is that the Philippines may be divided in this matter into an Igorot and a non-Igorot portion; that the Igorot have been almost wholly unaffected by recognizably Sanskrit elements; that the many non-Igorot groups have

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<sup>1</sup> *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ser. 4, IV, 535-564, 1880, V, 128-135, 1881. He gives 174 terms in Tagalog and 95 in Bisayan, 35 of these being common to the two languages.

been affected about equally; and that the source of this Sanskrit element is sufficiently complex or ancient to defy its determination by any off-hand inspection.

It may be added that a strong desideratum is a much greater caution in judging the Sanskrit contributions to the Philippine languages than a number of authors have displayed. When a well known and widely spread Malayo-Polynesian stem such as *anito* is attributed to Sanskrit; and on the other hand perfectly plain Sanskrit words like *deva*, *devata*, are given Malaysian etymologies, almost anything can be proved. The same is true of other fields than religion; as in the matter of *pana*, the Malayo-Polynesian word for bow, appearing in the Philippines both for bow and for arrow, against whose derivation from Sanskrit *vâna*, arrow, Codrington has advanced a most cogent argument.<sup>1</sup>

#### SUMMARY.

The inferences deducible from the foregoing tables can be summarized as follows.

1. The Igorot <sup>2</sup> stand apart from the other Filipinos in religious nomenclature: tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. The only exception of consequence is in 14.

2. The nomenclature of the several Igorot tribes is highly diversified: 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12. Exceptional uniformity: 3, 4, 5.

3. The non-Igorot tribes and nations show no notable grouping or classification in their nomenclature other than on a basis of local geography: 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14.

4. The fundamental concepts and execution of religion are closely similar among all the Filipinos, Igorot and non-Igorot: 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

5. Hindu influences have entered the Philippines probably by several channels, or if not, have subsequently been rather uniformly diffused among all tribes except the Igorot. Their history is probably both old and intricate: 7, 15.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Melanesian Languages*, (Oxford, 1885), 61.

<sup>2</sup> All non-Negrito pagans of northern Luzon.

## PART II. COMPARATIVE CONSIDERATIONS.

The question remains how these findings from religious phenomena and nomenclature stand with reference to the broader findings of inquiries into Philippine race, speech, and civilization generally.

## RACE.

As regards race, the first Spaniards concluded that the Negritos represented the earliest stratum of population in the Philippines; and this opinion seems never to have been challenged. There is certainly no known piece of evidence that would support the contrary view.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century it began to be held that two strata of the brown or Malayan race could be distinguished in the Philippines and East Indies generally, the later standing in the same relation of invasion, conquest, and cultural dominance toward the earlier, as the earlier had exercised toward the Negrito. The earlier swarm was spoken of as Indonesian, Proto-Malayan, Primitive Malay; and was variously connected with Polynesian, Caucasian, and other racial stocks.

Unfortunately, this Indonesian theory not only originated as a theory but remained speculative for many years. The sources and connections of the Indonesian and Malayan types were sought before the two types had been established, and evidence was adduced to support opinion without being reviewed completely or coherently. The hypothesis therefore met with some deserved opposition, in spite of its plausibility.

So far as the Philippines are concerned, the question has been settled affirmatively by the recent monograph of Mr. L. R. Sullivan.<sup>1</sup> Using all the available evidence instead of selecting from it the parts favorable to a preconceived opinion, and confining himself to data uncolorable by subjective impressions — that is, measurements — he has shown that the Philippines contain native groups belonging to at least three racial types: the Negrito and two brown skinned, straight haired stocks. Of these two brown stocks, the one prevailing among the interior and less advanced peoples is shorter, longer headed, and broader nosed than the type dominant on the coasts and lowlands among the more advanced peoples. The interior type cannot possibly be the result of Negrito and Malayan mixture, as its

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<sup>1</sup> "Racial Types in the Philippine Islands" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, XXIII, part 1, 1918).



short stature and broad nose might suggest, because it is longer headed than either of these two stocks; not to mention that its hair shows no trace of the Negrito woolliness, as is readily observable from photographs.

The only other explanation that might be advanced against the distinct origins and arrivals of these two non-Negrito types in the Philippines, is the supposition that one type became modified from the other on the spot, as a result of the difference of physical environment on the coast and in the interior, or of difference of mode of life following from the prolonged exposure of the coast dwellers to Hindu-Malaysian, Mohammedan, and Christian influences. Such a counter explanation would admittedly rest on assumption. Moreover the fact that the same two types recur side by side elsewhere in the East Indies, as in Borneo and Java, militates very strongly against any belief in the effect of environment in the Philippines.

It must therefore be accepted as established that the brown peoples of the Philippines and of at least certain other parts of Malaysia are of two types; that these types, while apparently rather closely related, are demonstrably distinct; and that their diffusion probably occurred in successive periods.

Now the region in which the earlier or Indonesian or primitive Malayan or less Mongoloid type occurs in greatest purity among tribe after tribe, is the mountainous district of the interior of northern Luzon. This is precisely the habitat of the pagan "Igorot" tribes which the foregoing discussion has shown to be the most unique of all Philippine peoples in their religious nomenclature. In Mindanao, where the pagan tribes participate much more closely in the elements and designations of religion characteristic of the groups that are now Christianized or Mohammedanized, the line of racial demarcation, while still partly traceable, has been considerably more effaced. In the central islands, no doubt because of their smaller size, pagan culture has been preserved only among a few small and isolated groups, of whose religion we know little and of their physical type equally little or less.

This correspondence of the comparatively distinct "Igorot" racial type and comparatively distinct "Igorot" religion is certainly an important fact. The readiest inference is that the Igorot owes his religious aloofness at least partly to the circumstance of being settled with established institutions before the later brown immigrants reached the Philippines; and that these, coming as a separate people, brought with them a distinct culture, or remained open to Hindu or Hinduized influences which failed to find an equally favorable soil among the Igorot. In Mindanao, for some reason, partial assimilation of the two races and nearly complete assimilation of their cultures has taken place.

## SPEECH.

It would be gratifying if the languages of the Philippines also fell into a Primitive Malayan and Later Malayan group, or an Igorot and non-Igorot division. Unfortunately they do not. There is only one mother tongue known in the Philippines; and in this, vague statements and dogmatic assertions to the contrary, all peoples of the archipelago, including even the Negritos, participate. Furthermore, this stock language does not fall into well marked major varieties corresponding to racial or cultural groups. The Negrito speaks a dialect of Apayao or Ibanag or Sambal or Pampanga, that is, a form of the language which is current in the vicinity of his local habitat. There is no Negrito type or class of dialects. Nor has any Igorot class of dialects ever been asserted by any linguistically trained scholar. In fact, Igorot and non-Igorot dialects agree in particular traits as opposed to other Igorot and non-Igorot dialects.

Thus Conant,<sup>1</sup> investigating the *pepet* vowel, obtains results that may be classified as follows: —

	" Igorot "	" Non-Igorot "	" Non-Igorot "
	languages	languages of Luzon and central islands	languages of Mindanao
Pepet becomes I	Bontok (probably) Ifugao (possibly)	Tagalog	
Pepet becomes E	Nabaloi Kankanai	Ilokano Pangasinan Kalamian	Tirurai Magindanao
Pepet becomes A	Gaddang	Ibanag (Cagayan) Pampanga	Ata (probably) Bilaan (probably)
Pepet becomes U	Tinggian [Isinai]	Bisaya Bikol	Sulu Bagobo Tagbanua

He concludes: "Languages of the same class [of *pepet* vowel] are often widely separated geographically, and conversely, several classes may have representatives within a comparatively small area. In fact, the different classes are so universally commingled geographically, that no given territory can be said to favor any one of the different vowels evolved from original *pepet*." <sup>2</sup>

Much the same results were obtained by the same author as regards the occurrence of the sound F, which is present in the Igorot dialects Gaddang, Bontok, Nabaloi, and the non-Igorot Ibanag, Tirurai, Bilaan, and Taga-

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Conant, "The *Pepet* Law in Philippine Languages," *Anthropos*, VII, 920-947, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> The same, 943.



kaolo; and of roots reduced to monosyllables, which appear in such far-separated forms of speech as Ibanag, Pampanga, and Sulu. In short, any tendencies to specialization are wont to crop out repeatedly but sporadically in the Philippine languages, and not to attach themselves to solid blocks of tribes. Accordingly, very little corroboration of any views of racial or cultural diffusion seems legitimately obtainable in our present knowledge of Philippine speech.

#### SPEECH CLASSIFICATION.

However, some grouping of languages must exist and must in time be discerned. So far as the problem now under discussion is concerned, such grouping would have to be connected with a genetic classification of East Indian speech as a whole, in order to attain to either considerable validity or considerable significance. To date, no such broader classification appears to have been attempted. Indonesian<sup>1</sup> philologists have been interested in sound shifts, stem modifications, use and nature of stems, and similar processes of purely linguistic interest. The history of the great Malaysian language unit as such they have rather unanimously refused to consider. If the ethnologist asks whether Malagasy shows any greater affinities to some Sumatran dialect group than to the other East Indian languages, or whether Formosan is specially related to the near-by tongues of the northern Philippines, no clear cut answer is forthcoming to these questions of obvious historical importance. Ethnologists and historians, on the other hand, have either avoided philological evidence even when it obviously might bear decisively on their problems, or have handled it in a random and uncritical manner. The consequence is that there is almost no body of knowledge on East Indian speech that is available for cognate studies. But there can never be a complete understanding of the history of civilization in the East Indies, nor a wholly adequate certainty as to their racial history, except through utilization of the history of speech in the region.

If on the basis of the more readily obtainable materials and impartial pronouncements we essay to fill tentatively this lacuna, so far as the Philippines are concerned, by classifying their idioms with consideration of all possible features rather than with reference to one or two alone, the following approximate grouping eventuates.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The term Indonesian is used in philology to mean generic Malaysian or East Indian; not as in physical anthropology, primitive Malayan as contrasted with later Malayan. This unfortunate conflict of usage illustrates the lack of correlation still obtaining among the branches of the human history of the East Indies.

<sup>2</sup> This classification rests on that indicated, although without presentation of evidence, by H. O. Beyer in his *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916* (Manila, 1917); on a collocation of studies such as those of Conant cited above; and on some comparisons of word lists by myself.



The languages of northern Luzon belong to two groups. The first probably comprises Ibanag (Cagayan); Apayao, Kalinga, Gaddang, and Ilongot — which are what have here been called “Igorot”; and the adjacent Negrito dialects. The second group includes Ilokano; Pangasinan; the remainder of the Igorot languages; and probably some Negrito idioms.

To the south of these divisions begins the great central group. This includes Tagalog; Bikol; Bisaya; and at least some — possibly all — of the languages of the Negrito and brown-skinned hill tribes in the region of these three great tongues. The majority of inhabitants of the Philippines speak languages belonging to this group.

Mindanao seems to show no great internal diversification. It is as yet uncertain whether it forms a natural linguistic unit as it does a geographical one or is to be regarded as but a southerly subdivision of the “central” group.<sup>1</sup>

At the northern limit of the central group, between it and the Ilokano group, is Pampanga. This is said to affiliate with Tagalog and the central group, but presents certain obvious specializations that may necessitate its placing in a separate class.<sup>2</sup>

The principal languages that remain in doubt are Sambal, adjacent to Pampanga and Ilokano-Pangasinan, and the native idioms of Mindoro and Palawan.

Now if this hesitating classification be used for what it may be worth, it is clear that it does not reflect any line of division between Indonesian and Malayan types or Igorot and non-Igorot groups. The boundary between the Ilokano and the Cagayan language groups runs through the middle of the Igorot territory; and Mindanao appears to be a substantial unit; as in its pre-Mohammedan culture, but in conflict with its two racial types.

The one outstanding character of the classification is that one or possibly two types of languages prevail over the great bulk of the archipelago and among the vast majority of its inhabitants; and that in the north of

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<sup>1</sup> Finley and Churchill, in “The Subanu” (*Carnegie Institution*, Publication no. 184, Washington, 1913) call the Subanun a “sub-Visayan” people, and devote a chapter to “Subanu-Visayan Filiation.” But their comparisons are not really comparative in method. The emphasized relation between Bisaya and this one Mindanao dialect is not matched against any systematically determined greater or less affiliation of the other languages of Mindanao with Bisaya. The implied classification is therefore dogmatic. Subanun may stand much nearer certain other tongues of Mindanao than to Bisaya; and such a Mindanaoan group may be either “sub-Visayan” or coördinate with Bisaya, for all that any one has yet demonstrated.

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of the forms taken by the R-G-H consonant rather supports this classification. Cagayan, G; Ilokano group (Pangasinan, Nabaloi, Kankanaï, Ifugao, Bontok, Tinggian), L (except Ilokano proper, R); Pampanga, Y; Central group (Tagalog, Bikol, Bisaya) and Mindanao (Sulu, Magindanao, Bagobo), G (except Tirurai, R). Conant, *op. cit.*, 920, and *Journ. Am. Oriental Soc.*, XXXI, 70-85.

Luzon alone there are two, three, or perhaps four types sufficiently distinctive to be coördinated with the one or two that extend over the remainder of the islands. Something making for unusual diversification of speech has been at work in northern Luzon; everywhere else, something tending to comparative uniformity with only minor local variability.

Topography may be this something, or at least partly so. The Cagayan group covers nearly all the Cagayan drainage; the Ilokano group the remainder of extreme northern Luzon; Pampanga the heart of the Pampanga river system; and Sambal a sort of peninsula, west of the mass of Luzon, and barred from it by a range of mountains. Yet Mindanao contains two or three quite distinct topographical areas, and the central islands offer opportunities for isolation, which have not led to an equal degree of speech diversification.

While, then, Igorot and non-Igorot speech cannot be properly contrasted, the separateness and internal variety of northern Luzon in the matter of language do somewhat parallel its separateness and internal variety in religious nomenclature. The few data that there are on Ilokano religion leave it doubtful but entirely possible that it is to be grouped with Igorot religion; and as to the Cagayan nation proper, there is no information. It is therefore not unlikely that the combined area of the Ilokano and Cagayan speech groups will prove to be almost the same as the area of religious specialization characterized as "Igorot" in the foregoing pages.

In short, then, the evidence of language does not correlate well with that of racial type, but does partly correlate with the findings made in the field of religion in the present paper.

#### CULTURE.

The culture of the East Indies, and with them of the Philippines, is obviously an extremely complicated composite. Attempts to unravel or reconstruct it have so far been generally unsatisfactory because they assumed that specific culture traits could be connected positively and definitely with particular races, chronological strata, or migrations. The consequence has been a simplification of interpretations far beyond what the intricacy of the actual situation warrants. The bow is described as the typical Negrito weapon, the blowgun as distinctively Malayan; yet there are Negritos that use the blowgun, and brown peoples that shoot arrows, within the Philippines. Evidently the hypothesis rests on a subjective basis, and if it happens ultimately to prove true, it will be so as a happy guess. Before any scientifically justified opinion as to the history of the bow and blowgun in the East Indies is arrived at, the whole of the available evidence will have to be assembled and critically analyzed and judged.



Iron culture in the Philippines also furnishes an illustration of a situation that does not lend itself to off-hand interpretation. With the exception of the Negritos, or some of them, practically every people in the Philippine works and uses iron. At the same time, there is no people that mines or smelts iron.<sup>1</sup> The raw material has always been imported. Obviously therefore the art is also an imported one. But having now spread over the whole of the islands, it cannot be readily connected with either the Indonesian or post-Indonesian race, with either an early or late stratum of Indian influence. Before any real knowledge can be attained, the distribution of significant details of the process of iron working must be ascertained; their association with other features of culture; and the distribution of the art and its varieties through the East Indies generally.

Moreover, since there is no iron in the Philippines, or none that is mined, the entire art of working it is in a sense parasitic. The pagan mountaineer evidently depended for his scanty supply of raw material on the Ilokano or Tagalog, and learned his technique from him, just as the Ilokano and Tagalog depended on Borneo or Malacca or perhaps China. The dependence may be very ancient or rather recent. As the situation stands, it is as hopeless to infer its history directly from its immediate aspects as it would be to work out the history of coffee merely from the fact that both North Americans and Europeans today drink coffee grown in Brazil.

So with brass working. The finest brass is manufactured by the Mohammedans of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. The next best is produced by certain pagan tribes of Mindanao, such as the Bagobo, who live not far from the coast and maintain contact with Mohammedans. In the remainder of the Philippines brass work is much poorer or wanting. The plausible conclusion is that this art is a Mohammedan one and has been introduced in the last five centuries. But the Bontok and other "Igorot" tribes in the far north also cast brass. Minute pipes, finger rings, and other crude trinkets replace the inlaid betel boxes, anklets, bells, and bowls of Mindanao, but the process is the same — that of the *cire perdue*. Mohammedan influence can hardly have permeated such large groups as the intervening Bisaya and Tagalog, especially during the Spanish period, without leaving a record or traces among these peoples. But we hear nothing of such traces, nor do we know definitely of any causes that would have obliterated them. But if then the remote and uncultivated Igorot have had the art from a non-Mohammedan and pre-Spanish source, it would almost necessarily have existed elsewhere in the archipelago; and in that

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<sup>1</sup> This is true at least for the period of European discovery. It is at least substantially true today, any deviations being due to Spanish influence.



case its present development in Mindanao may be a local accident unconnected or only indirectly connected with the existence of Mohammedanism there.

So with rice culture. The district in which terrace irrigation is chiefly carried on, the only one certainly in which it attains impressive proportions, is that of the Igorot Nabaloi, Kankanai, Bontok, Tinggian, with a culmination among the Ifugao. Shall we therefore attribute terrace irrigation to the Proto-Malayan race, and derive this race from Japan or China because there also terraces are constructed? But however we may try to trace this race, there remains the fact that Java, which is certainly in the main populated by later Malaysians, is everywhere terraced.

Again, which is the distinctive trait — the terracing or the irrigating? If the latter, then Tagalog and Pampanga and other civilized, that is Christian, Filipino nationalities must be included that have so far been excluded from consideration. In that case, terracing is a mere incident, with which the lowlander in his swamps and flood plains could dispense, whereas the Bontok and Ifugao in the mountains must convert simple dikes into elaborate terraces so soon as his adoption of rice farming had led to an increase of population over the number that could be nourished from his narrow valleys.

Farther, we do not positively know whether the growing of swamp or irrigated rice and of upland rice that flourishes on hillsides represent fundamentally different forms of agriculture, which were invented separately and came to the Philippines by distinct importations or migrations; or whether they are only sub-varieties of a single art, which frequently co-exist and only tend to supplant each other according to dictates of climate or the requirements of population. Some divisions of the Kalinga irrigate in terraces, others confine themselves to growing upland rice. Does this mean that two waves of culture influence have penetrated to them, or that they choose according to circumstance and local habit between two phases of an industry that came to them as a unit?

It may be added that in less than four centuries maize has become as established an agricultural staple as rice, and only slightly less important, for many of the peoples of the Philippines.

Obviously, direct interpretation in the face of such situations is pure speculation. There is no Philippine rice culture problem. There is only the problem of the history of rice in the East Indies and Asia.

The same sort of intricate and centrifugally perspective conditions meet us when we consider house types, hats, clothing, shields, fire-making apparatus. In short, the elements of Filipino civilization mean almost nothing when their distribution is observed for the Philippines alone. The culture

*per se* cannot be resolved into two or three or four distinct layers. Elements of remote and very ancient origin are associated among the same people, whether these be advanced or lowly, with elements that are rather newly invented or introduced.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURE ELEMENTS.

What is feasible, however, is a review of internal local relations which may correlate with our findings as to religion and language, even if they do not explain the cultural significance of race movements or relate very closely to the main waves of culture influences.

Now, while the ethnology of the Philippines has never been systematized, its outstanding phases are undoubtedly the fundamental unity of culture of all the peoples of the islands — Negrito, Proto-Malayan, and Malayan — coupled with an endless variety of irregularly localized detail. The one fact of organization on a geographical basis that seems in any way to emerge conspicuously is the comparative separateness of northern Luzon. Secondary as this is to both the unity and the superficial diversity, it does seem to be the internal distributional datum of first moment. It can be substantiated by the following considerations.

1. Tooth filing and blackening are or were practised in all parts of the Philippines except the Igorot area.

2. Tattooing was most developed in northern Luzon and among the Bisaya. The Tagalog and tribes of Mindanao were comparatively exempt from the practice.

3. The kerchief or head scarf indicative of rank or bravery was Tagalog, Bisaya, and southern. It has not been reported from Igorot, Cagayan, Ilokano, or Sambal.

4. The history of hats in the Philippines is obscure and promises to be complicated. The peaked Moro hat has close analogues in Celebes. Otherwise two principal types can be distinguished: a minute hat — receptacle or ornament rather than head covering — worn only by some of the Igorot; and hats larger than the head, which are distributed over the remainder of the islands.

5. Jacket and trousers had apparently begun to be introduced on the coasts of northern Luzon at the time of discovery, and since then have spread some distance inland, as to the Kalinga and Tinggian and Ilongot; but the core of the Igorot tribes, as represented by the Bontok and Ifugao, still use only the breech-clout for men and the simple sarong skirt for women, in spite of residence in a comparatively chilly climate.

6. The blow pipe seems not to have been reported from northern Luzon. It occurred in Palawan, Mindanao, and the central regions, although perhaps with an irregular distribution.

7. The head ax replaces the sword or bolo among the northern Igorot — Tinggian, Kalinga, Bontok. It is not found elsewhere in the islands. The Ifugao and Nabaloi in this case go with the remainder of the archipelago.

8. Armor of metal, horn, wood, rattan, or textiles is at present distinctively



southern, but seems to have been known to the Bisaya and Tagalog. It appears never to have been reported from any Igorot or adjacent tribe.

9. A ridged or transversely convex shield, with or without prongs or indentations at the top or bottom, but never along the sides, is typical of the Igorot area. In Mindanao the convexity is longitudinal, the indentations or scallops are along the sides, and the central boss is a round knob. The Ilongot and the Zambales Negritos at the southern edge of the Igorot area use shields which have the Igorot prong or prongs but the longitudinal convexity and sometimes the circular boss of the south. The shields formerly used by the nations now Christian have not been preserved nor accurately described, but the occurrence of southern traits in the shields of the two rude tribes north of the Tagalog indicates that this people (and therefore presumably the Bisaya also) used shields of southern form. This would mean that the two types had approximately an Igorot and non-Igorot distribution.

10. Head hunting as a systematized practice and human sacrifice are evidently functionally connected and almost mutually exclusive in the Philippines. Head hunting, other than as a sporadic or rudimentary thing, has not been clearly reported south of the Ilongot, the most southerly pagan tribe of the Igorot region in the east; or beyond the Sambal and Pangasinan in the west. The Cagayan kept human bones as trophies, which is certainly close to head hunting, and sacrificed slaves as well. The Sambal, Tagalog, Bisaya, and pagans of Mindanao sacrificed slaves.

11. True irrigation terraces seem to be confined to the Igorot area.

12. The pile raised house and the tree house are or were found in all parts of the islands, broadly speaking, but a house set on or in the ground is found only among three Igorot tribes, the Nabaloi, Kankanai, and Bontok. The shack or lean-to of the Negrito is too rude to enter into the comparison.

13. The *barangay* system which prevailed from the Tagalog to Mindanao represents a plan of society that has partly passed from organization on a kin basis to one on a local basis, and in which the leader is still head of a family but also a chieftain. Among the Tinggian, Bontok, Ifugao, and probably other Igorot, there are no true *barangay*. The social group remains a true kin group. Matters affecting the local community are in the hands of a council of family heads, or wise or rich men, not of a recognized chief.

14. Slavery obtains among the Igorot, but in theory rather than fact. Very few slaves are held, and the institution has no economic importance. Everywhere else it enters very definitely into the constitution of native society; even among the pagans of Mindanao.

15. Native systems of writing prevailed from the Bisaya, perhaps from Mindanao, to the Tagalog, Pampanga, and Ilokano. None of the Igorot had anything of the kind. This is a highly significant fact because the Mangyan of Mindoro and the Tagbanua of Palawan have preserved syllabaries akin to the Tagalog ones. These tribes are much less numerous and settled than most of the Igorot, and obviously possess a culture that on the whole is much less elaborate. The inference is that but for the Negrito and a few scattered bush tribes, every people in the Philippines except those of the Igorot group once knew how to write.

It appears then that a line of some cultural significance can be drawn between northern Luzon and the remainder of the Philippines, or at least between the Igorot and non-Igorot nations, on the basis of general civilization much as in religious nomenclature and in speech. The northern moun-



taineers have to a certain extent gone their own way, and have remained exempt from numerous influences which have pervaded all the remainder of the archipelago. The striking differences which the last few centuries have established between the Christian and Mohammedan and pagan peoples of the Philippines have rather obscured this old cleavage. Superficially, as the voyager or administrator sees them, the pagan Igorot affiliate with the pagans of southern Luzon, Mindoro, Palawan, and Mindanao, and contrast with the Christian and Mohammedan populations. Below these modern resemblances, however, analysis of culture reveals that the pagan Bagobo and Subanun and Tagbanua, however backward, belong rather with the Mohammedan Sulu and the Christian Bisaya and Tagalog and Pampanga; and that the one marked off group consists of the Igorot and probably the Cagayan, with the near-by Ilokano, Pangasinan, and Sambal participating more doubtfully or incompletely.

The depth of this cleavage must not be exaggerated. The most fundamental things in native civilization extend undisturbed below it. Such are: metal working, pottery, the loom, rice culture, house structure, outrigger boats; the constitution of society on a non-political basis of blood kinship with non-differentiation of the sexes except as physiology enforces; the acute development of economic institutions; sacrifice, formula, augury, non-localization of cults, priest-mediums, absence of symbolism, and many other phases of religion.

Many of these common culture elements seem to be primitive East Indian property, even Polynesian in large part. Some at least, such as metals and rice, sacrifice and augury, appear to have been derived from Asia. Igorot culture is therefore not a clear representative of pure Proto-Malayan culture.

But Igorot civilization does, on the whole, unquestionably come nearer to Proto-Malayan culture than does the civilization of any other people in the Philippines; even nearer than that of the isolated remnants of central and southern hill tribes, who are only part primitive, and part decadent, part parasitically advanced. And above all, the specific Hindu element that is so marked in Philippine civilization generally, is very weakly represented in northern Luzon.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

This would make it look as if Indian influences had entered the Philippines from the south, by way of Mindanao, and had then worked northward by way of the Bisayan islands and southern Luzon, but had been prevented by its remoteness from penetrating more than fractionally into northern

Luzon. Yet opposed to this inference is the general advancement of the Tagalog of central Luzon, which in the sixteenth century was certainly not less than that of the Bisaya and evidently greater than that of any of the peoples of Mindanao except so far as the latter had drawn cultural benefits from Mohammedanism in the century or two immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards. Specific evidence of the same moment is the size of the determined Sanskrit element in the Tagalog language, as already discussed. It seems therefore that Indian influences may have entered the Philippines much as Mohammedanism subsequently entered them. As the Spaniards found Islam in the Sulu archipelago, on the coasts of southern and western Mindanao, on Palawan, on Mindoro, and about Manila Bay in Luzon — in other words at a series of isolated points,— so the Hinduized Malaysians who carried portions of the earlier civilization to the Philippines may have established themselves independently in separate parts of the archipelago, and probably did so at different times. Whether the Indian <sup>1</sup> contacts of Luzon or of the Bisayas or of Mindanao were the earlier, present understanding of the available knowledge does not enable us to say. It is quite likely that the relations of each of these districts with the more Hinduized nations to the south and west were in part concurrent or overlapping. It is still more likely that some of them were maintained for considerable periods, or resumed at intervals. And it is certain that at least much of what entered the archipelago by these channels was internally diffused from one region of the Philippines to another.

The conclusion to which we are forced is that the history of civilization in the Philippines is a complex one, not capable of solution by any simple guess-like explanation. Any theory of outright race immigration as the chief factor is demonstrably insufficient because of the imperfect correlation between racial and linguistic-cultural phenomena in the islands. The hope that a resolution of this civilization into several obviously separable and still distinct culture strata may be feasible, promises to be equally illusory. Deeper understanding will be attained only through the historical method of painstaking and penetrating analysis, with reintegration deferred until the segregation of cultures and cultural influences into their elements shall have progressed much farther. For this indispensable analysis the ethnological method of intensive consideration of the minimum factors of culture and their geographical distribution is obviously much more promising than the narrowly historical plan of dealing primarily with specific events in their putative time sequence and the attempt to connect large masses of culture with such events.

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<sup>1</sup> "Indian" or "Hindu" refers to civilizational influences emanating from India, without implication that any native of India ever set foot on Philippine soil.





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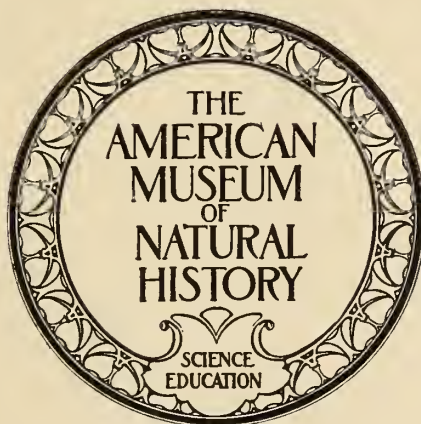
# ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XIX, PART III

KINSHIP IN THE PHILIPPINES

BY

A. L. KROEBER



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### INTRODUCTION.

This essay attempts a review of the more readily available data on the terminologies in use, among the natives of the Philippine Islands, for relatives by blood and marriage; an analysis of these data with a view to the determination of the Filipino system of kinship designation at a former period; the lines of growth of this system and their affecting causes; the relation of the system to contemporary institutions and cultural phases; and methodological inferences.

March, 1919.



## THE DATA.

The materials used are the following:—

Nabaloi of Kabayan, Benguet. From manuscript available through the courtesy of the author, Mr. C. R. Moss.

Kankanai of Bauco, Lepanto. From M. Vanoverbergh. A Grammar of Lepanto Igorot as it is spoken at Bauco. Philippine Islands, Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology. Publications, volume 5, part 6, 1917. These people are Kankanai according to the classification of H. O. Beyer, Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916, Manila, 1917. They seem nearly as close to the Bontok in speech and culture as to the most southerly Kankanai of northern Benguet. American students are inclined to simplify ethnic relations of the pagans in the Philippines by making tribal or national groups coincide with subprovincial limits.

Bontok, of the town and subprovince of the same name. From C. W. Seide, nadel, The First Grammar of the Igorot Language as spoken by the Bontoc Igorot-Chicago, 1909; A. E. Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot, Philippine Islands Ethnological Survey, Publications, volume 1, 1905; W. C. Clapp, A Vocabulary of the Igorot Language as spoken by the Bontok Igorot, Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, Publications, volume 5, part 3, 1908; collated and revised with the assistance of Mrs. Margaret P. Waterman, for a number of years resident at Bontok.

Ifugao of Kiangnan, Ifugao. R. F. Barton, Ifugao Law, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, volume 15, page 110, 1919.

Tagalog. Julius Miles, Metodo para aprender al lenguaje Tagalog. Barcelona, 1887.

Subanun of northwestern Mindanao. J. P. Finley and W. Churchill, The Subanu, Carnegie Institution of Washington, publication no. 184, Washington, 1913.

Lanao Moro of northwestern Mindanao. C. W. Winslow, A Vocabulary and Phrase Book of the Lanao Moro Dialect, Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, Publications, volume 5, part 5, 1913.

Magindanao Moro of western Mindanao. R. S. Porter, A Primer and Vocabulary of the Moro Dialect, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington, 1903.

Moro of Sulu Island. T. H. Haynes, English, Sulu, and Malay Vocabulary. Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, volume 16, pages 321 to 384, 1885, volume 18, pages 193-239, 1886.

Malay. F. A. Swettenham, Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages. London, 1901.

The Nabaloi, Kankanai, Bontok, and Ifugao are Igorot, that is, members of the great block of pagan mountaineers in northern Luzon, a people somewhat distinct racially from the lowlanders, and less affected than any other, except perhaps a few small parasitic tribes, by Indian, Arab, or European influences. The Subanun are pagans in Mindanao, dominated by Mohammedan neighbors, but distinctly backward cul-



turally. The three Moro groups are of course Mohammedan. Of them the Sulu have probably been most and the Lanao least intimately in contact with Mohammedan Malaysia in general. The Christian Tagalog of central Luzon are the nationality most advanced in western civilization of any on the islands.

While these groups offer a fair sample—geographically as well as culturally—of the thirty or more nationalities recognized in the Philippine archipelago, there is no doubt that farther inclusions would have been desirable. It is particularly unfortunate that the Bisaya, the largest and most central nationality of the islands, are unrepresented. The Ilokano, Pampanga, and Bikol are other Christian groups on which information would have been worth while. The same holds of the Cagayan and the eastern Igorot divisions that are linguistically affiliated with them. In Mindanao an eastern pagan tribe, such as the Manobo, Bagobo, or Mandaya, would have increased geographical balance. But many works of ethnology do not include kinship systems; the dictionaries that exist of most of the languages referred to seem to be difficult of access in the United States; and the internal unity of the available material does not make it appear that its doubling in bulk would even approximately double the accuracy of the inferences drawn.

The following are the abbreviations used: N, Nabaloi; K, Kankanaï; B, Bontok; I, Ifugao; S, Subanun; L, Lanao Moro; M, Magindanao Moro; Sl, Sulu Moro; T, Tagalog; Mal., Malay.

*Father*: N, K, B, I, L, Sl, T, ama; S, g-ama; M, ama, bapa; Mal., bapa.<sup>a</sup>

*Mother*: N, K, B, I, L, M, Sl, ina; S, g-ina; Mal., ibu, mak.<sup>a</sup>

*Son, Daughter*: N, anaka; K, B, I, T, Mal., anak; S, bata; L, M, wata; Sl, anak, bata-bata.) In all languages words like lalaki, lee, "male," and babai, fafai, libong, "female," are added, to these and to other indeterminate terms, when sex is to be definitely specified; just as we use cousin, but help out with "male cousin" or "girl cousin" at need. Malay uses lakilaki and prempuan.

*Sibling*, irrespective of age or sex; N, agi; B, ötað, agi; I, tulang; S, g-ilugu; Sl, kaka; T, kapatid; Mal., lusud sa tian.<sup>b</sup>

*Older sibling*: K, agi; B, yuna; L, kaka; T, kaka, panganai.

*Older brother*: M, kakal (*sic*); Sl, makulong, magulang (also given as "sister"); T, kuya; Mal., abang.

*Older sister*: M, kaka (*sic*); T, ati; Mal., kakak (Haynes, "older sibling").

*Younger sibling*: K, yugtan; B, anochi; L, ari; Mal., adik.

*Younger brother*: Sl, taimanghud.

*Younger sister*: M, ali.

Sibling terms are often given incompletely in the sources, and rarely without ambiguity.

*Grandparent*: N, K, I, L, Sl, apo; B, apo, ikit; S, g-apo; M, apu; T, nuno; Mal., nenek, datoh.

*Grandchild*: N, I, T, apo; M, apu; B, apo or *child*; Mal., chuchu.

*Great-grandparent*: B, apo; K, ka-apo-an; Mal., moyang.

*Great-grandchild*: Mal., piot.

*Uncle, paternal or maternal*: N, pang-ama-an; K, alitao; B, alitau or *father*; I, *father*, sometimes ulitao; L, M, bapa; T, ama-in; Mal., bapa sudara, pa'su.<sup>c</sup>

*Uncle, paternal*: S, manak.

*Uncle, maternal*: S, g-aya.

*Aunt, paternal or maternal*: N, pang-ina-an; K, ikit; B, *mother*; I, *mother*, sometimes ulitao; L, M, babu; Sl, babu or ina-han; T, ali; Mal., mak muda, mak su.<sup>d</sup>

*Nephew, Niece*: N, pang-anak-ana; K, kam-onak-en; B, I, *child*; M, pagi-wata-n; Sl, anak-un; T, pam-ank-in; Mal., anak sudara.

*Cousin*: N, kasingsing; K, sin-pi-n-sen; B, kayim; L, M, Sl, tüngud, tüngüd, tungut; T, pinsan; Mal., pupu.

*Parent-in-law*: K, in-apo-'n; K, B, katugangan, katukangan; I, *father, mother*; S, ponongangan; M, bapa ("father-in-law"); T, bi-ana-n; Mal., mertua, mentua.

*Child-in-law*: N, in-apo-'n; I, *child*; M, paki-wata-n (*sic*, for pagi-?); T, manugang; Mal., menantu.

*Sibling-in-law*: N, bayana; B, kassud; I, aidu.

*Brother-in-law*: K, kasud; M, bati; T, bayao.

*Sister-in-law*: K, aido; T, hipag.

"*Brother-in-law by sister, sister-in-law*:" Mal., ipar (*cf.* T, last entry).

"*Brother-in-law by wife*:" Mal., biras (*cf.* T, next entry).

*Spouse's sibling's spouse*: B, ab-filad; T, ang bilas.

*Child-in-law's parent*: T, baisan, balai

*Spouse of kin of preceding generation*: I, ama-on, ina-on, ulitao-n.

*Spouse*: N, K, B, T, asawa.

*Wife*: I, inaya; S, sawa; L, karoma.

*Step-parent*: T, *uncle, aunt*; Mal., *father tiri, mother tiri*.

*Step-child*: Mal., *child tiri*.

<sup>a</sup> O. Scheerer, *The Batán Dialect as a Member of the Philippine Group of Languages*, Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, Publications, volume 5, part 1, 1908, 38-41, gives the terms for father, mother, and child in a number of languages not represented here, as follows. "Father" is always *ama* except for a few phonetic variants: Pampanga *ibpa*, Bisaya of Panay *amai*, Tirurai *abai*. "Mother" always *ina*, except, similarly, Pampanga *indu*, Bisaya of Panay *inang, ilai*, Tirurai *ideng*, Bagobo *ine*. "Child," regularly *anak*, except Kalamian *ana*, Tirurai *onok*, Magindanao *wata*, Bagobo *bata*, Bikol *aki* (*anak* is buffalo foetus.)

Scheerer, *ibid.*, 42 gives the following for brother, sister: Batán *kaktek*, Cagayan *wagi*, Ginaan (Kalinga) *sunut*, Ilokano and (Benguet?) Kankanaí *kabsat*, Lepanto (Kankanaí) *besat*, Bontok *una, ptad* (for *otad*?—but *cf.* Tagalog, Pampanga), Nabaloi and Pangasinan *agi*, Pampanga *kapatad*, Tagalog *kapatid*, Bikol *tugang* (*cf.* Ifugao *tulang*), Bisaya of Panay *utud* (*cf.* Bontok *otad*), Magindanao *lusud sa tian* (Malay, not native) Bagobo *adi* ("younger brother, friend"). Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Ethnological Survey, Publications, volume 2, part 1, 80, 1904, gives, also for brother or sister, Sambal of Iba *talasaka*, of Bolinao *busat* (*cf.* Ilokano, etc.), Negrito *patel* (*cf.* Pampanga, Tagalog). This adds two widely distributed stems (*ka*-)*besat* and (*ka*-)*pated*.

<sup>c</sup> Reed, *ibid.*, Sambal of Iba, *uncle, bapa*.

<sup>d</sup> Reed, *ibid.*, aunt, Sambal of Iba *dara*, of Bolinao *dada*, Negrito *indo* (*cf.* Pampanga *indu*, mother).

## ANALYSIS OF THE DATA.

*Father: ama.* Magindanao uses also *bapa*, which is either a loan from Malay, or a non-differentiation of use of a term for uncle and father.

*Mother: ina.* Malay alone shows *ibu* and *mak*, of which the latter seems to mean both aunt and mother, parallel to *bapa*.

*Son, Daughter:* Luzon and Malay, *anak*; Mindanao, *anak* or *wata*; but either term means child generically.

*Brother, Sister:* The material is incomplete, but indicates greater variability than for any other set of relationships. The outstanding features are (1) normally a generic term for any brother or sister, which is perhaps the most frequently used; (2) normally, but not always, separate terms for older sibling and younger sibling; (3) no distinction for sex except for older brother and sister in the languages of the two most civilized peoples, Tagalog and Malay; and (4) an enormous variability of the terms used. The commonest are *agi*, *ari*, *ali*, *adik*, which denotes variously sibling or older sibling or younger sibling or older sister, and occurs in almost every language; *kaka* for older sibling, of either or both sexes, in Tagalog, Moro, and Malay; and *ka-besat*, *ka-pated*, *ötad*, and *tulang*, all meaning sibling generically, each in two or more separate languages. Other terms have only local usage, and are therefore mostly late coinages. It is noticeable that paucity and generalization of terms, both as regards sex and age, is greatest among the rude pagan peoples, in Mindanao as well as Luzon. Christians and Mohammedans are more given to particularizing. Whether they have elaborated or the pagans have reduced their terminology is not clear. The former process seems the more likely because the culture of the Tagalog and Moro and Malay has visibly formed by accretion of importations, whereas there is no evidence that the culture of the pagans has suffered reduction in respects other than kinship. However, separate terms for older and younger sibling do occur among the pagans also. It seems therefore that two impulses may long have been operative in all the languages; one to distinguish age among siblings, the other to class all siblings together. More widely comparative Malaysian studies will no doubt settle this point. But sex distinctions are clearly an accompaniment of more composite culture, and not original.



*Uncle, Aunt, Nephew, Niece.* One outstanding feature is the absence of distinction of the line of descent. Only Subanun has *manak* for father's brother and *g-aya* for mother's brother, and both these terms stand etymologically isolated in the list. The other notable trait is the poverty of specific terms for this class of relationships. So far as data go, every language lacks a stem meaning nephew-niece, but uses either its word for "child" outright, or a derivative from "child," or "child" plus a descriptive epithet. To a less degree, corresponding usage prevails for uncle and aunt. The Igorot use either "father" and "mother," or a derivative therefrom, or the term *alita*. Kankanaï alone has *ikit* for aunt, which occurs in Bontok for grandparent. Tagalog derives uncle from father, and for aunt uses *ali*, which may be an original sibling term. Moro has special words, *bapa* and *babu*, of which the former occurs in Sambal and in Malay for father and uncle, while *babu* is replaced by Malay *mak*, denoting both the mother and the aunt. It is notable that in Malay these two generic words *bapa* and *mak* are augmented by *sudara* or *su* when they are to specify the collateral relative. The general inference from the data at large is that there are no ancient specific terms for uncle, aunt, nephew, or niece, or if there were, that there has been a general inclination to their disuse.

*Grandparents and Grandchildren.* The prevalent term for this entire group of relations is *apo*. As this is also a term of deference, it appears that it is either a common noun which was applied to elders and grandparents and then by reciprocity to grandchildren; or that it is an originally reciprocal kinship term, whose application to older relatives predominated in native consciousness and thus was extended into an honorific. A second stem is represented by Tagalog *nuno*, Malay *nenek*, grandparent. Tagalog retains *apo* for grandchild, Malay has replaced it by *chuchu*. Nowhere is sex distinguished in this class of relatives.

*Great-grandparents, Great-grandchildren.* Data are scant. The Igorot seem to use *apo* or derivatives from *apo*. Malay has specific terms.

*Cousin.* There is no general word. Mohammedans and Christians use a variety of terms with European significance. The Igorot also have distinct words, which however seem to mean really kinsman, companion, or friend. It is likely that the Tagalog, Moro, and Malay terms originated similarly.

*Parent-in-law, Child-in-law.* Sex is not distinguished except in Magindanao, which appears to use the father-uncle and mother-aunt terms. Ifugao says merely father, mother, or child. Magindanao uses a derivative from child for child-in-law. Nabaloi employs a self-reciprocal derivative from *apo*, grandparent-grandchild. Kankanai and Bontok have a distinct term *katukangan* for parent-in-law, the ending of which may reappear in Subanun *ponongangan*: both words are obviously expanded from simpler stems. The terms for child-in-law in these three languages are not available. Tagalog has a distinct word for child-in-law, *manugang*, and possibly for parent-in-law, *bianan*. Malay follows a different principle from the Philippine languages: *mentua* is parent-in-law, *menantu* child-in-law. If these two terms go back to the same root, they constitute the only case of even approximate verbal reciprocity in Malay.

*Brother-in-law, Sister-in-law.* So far as the data go, each language normally has terms of its own. Kankanai *kasud*, brother-in-law, reappears in Bontok, and *aido*, sister-in-law, in Ifugao, but in each case with the more generic meaning of sibling-in-law. Nabaloi also does not discriminate sex. Tagalog does. It seems therefore that the distinction is characteristic of complex as contrasted with simple civilization. Malay adheres to a different principle: the sex of the person denoted is indeterminate, but there appear to be distinct words according as the connection is through one's spouse or sibling. The two Malay terms however reappear in Tagalog, although with different meaning.

*Other Connections by Marriage.* Bontok and Tagalog possess terms, which seem to be etymologically related, by which the spouses of siblings refer to each other. For Tagalog two terms are given as used by the parents of spouses. These may be formed on the analogy of Spanish *consuegros*. Ifugao sometimes adds *-on* to the words for father, mother, uncle, aunt, to designate the spouses of kin of an older generation. There are likely to be unrecorded terms, corresponding to those here mentioned, in other languages.

*Husband and Wife:* *asawa* is the commonest term. It seems always to have the generic meaning of spouse.

*Step-relatives.* Tagalog calls step-parents uncle or aunt. Magindanao similarly uses its uncle-father term *bapa* for stepfather. In other languages data are lacking. Malay adds *tiri* precisely as we prepose "step-." This does not appear to be a native Filipino practice, and probably represents an adaptation of Malay to Eurasiatic practice.

## RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANCIENT SYSTEM.

Filipino kinship systems appear to reduce to the following scheme:—

1, *ama*, father.

2, *ina*, mother.

3, *anak* or *wata*, child, nephew, niece, child-in-law.

4, probably a term for older sibling: *kaka*.

5, probably a term for younger sibling; possibly *ari*.

6, probably a generic term for sibling, though this, unless it is *ari*, is scarcely recoverable from the Philippine data alone. The concept, like the words, may be secondary; but its wide prevalence indicates antiquity.

7, *apo*, possibly *nono* as alternative, self-reciprocal for grandparents and grandchildren.

8, possibly *bapa* for paternal and maternal uncle, father-in-law, stepfather, that is males of the father's generation generically, not excluding the father himself.

9, possibly a corresponding term for females of the mother's generation.

10, 11, one or two terms for brother-in-law and sister-in-law.

12, perhaps a term for parent-in-law.

13, *asawa*, spouse.

Other relationships have been expressed by non-kinship words secondarily given a kinship reference in local usage; by including the more remote relationships in the significance of the above primary terms; or by affix or composite derivatives from the primary terms.

The simplicity and adaptability of this system are obvious. It operates with its meager resources by merging most collateral with lineal kin; by mostly treating connections by marriage as if they were blood kin, with the logical implication that spouses are one person; by not distinguishing sex, except in parents, perhaps uncles and aunts, and possibly siblings-in-law; and by nowhere bifurcating, that is, discriminating the line of descent, the sex through which relationship exists. The primary consideration is generation; this is slightly elaborated by hesitating and inconsistent introduction of the factors of collaterality, sex, marriage, and absolute age. Reciprocity is of moment. Self-reciprocal terms occur in every language, and in the Philippines as a whole are found in every class of relationships except the parent-child group.



## LINES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANCIENT SYSTEM.

Intertribal divergences, both as regards specific concepts and the words used, are considerable. This fact indicates an active play of etymological and semantic influences. But departures from the general logical scheme are much slighter, so as to suggest that the subconscious method of conceptualization has been rather tenaciously adhered to.

This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian peoples, coast and mountain dwellers, literate and illiterate tribes, are involved; and that the degree of exposure of the several Philippine nationalities to Indian, Arab, and Spanish cultural influences has been extremely diverse. It is true that the social fabric as such has probably altered less in the Philippines in the past thousand years than religions and knowledge, and certainly less than material arts and industries. But there have been fairly profound variations of general civilization; and theoretically these seem as capable of modifying a scheme of kinship reckoning as are social institutions in their narrower sense. That these variations of general civilization have affected the scheme so little, except in superficial details, shows that a method of thought involved in dealing with blood relationship may sometimes possess a surprising historical tenacity. It is tempting in the present case to attribute this tenacity in part to the simplicity of the principles on which the system is based and the comparatively strict consistency with which they can consequently be adhered to.

It is true that there are differences of kinship system corresponding to the differences of level or type of culture: what is interesting is that they are proportionally so small. The pagan Igorot systems are perhaps somewhat nearest to the original scheme, if the attempted reconstruction of this is approximately correct. Among these, however, the extremely simple systems, as represented by Ifugao, may be partly the result of a progressive and extreme process of reduction. The pagans of Mindanao, if the Subanun are typical, perhaps stand nearest to the pagans of Luzon, though the data are too imperfect for any very valid conclusion. The Mohammedans of Mindanao are still rather close to the generic scheme. If the existence of specific terms for uncle, aunt, and older and younger sibling proves to be ancient, the Moro seem not to have departed more than the Igorot from the original system; if otherwise, Malay influence on the Moro is indicated. The Christian

peoples, so far as the Tagalog may adequately stand for them, have diverged principally in developing special terms for connections by marriage. This may well be due to the influence of Christian law and European usage.

The Malay system, although indubitably resting on the same foundation, has plainly come to differ more from all the Philippine systems than these differ from one another, not only in actual terminology, but in the introduction of several new methods or points of view. Such a divergence is expectable from the more thorough Mohammedanization of the Malays and their much freer contacts with foreign civilizations.

#### CORRESPONDENCE OF INSTITUTIONS AND THE KINSHIP SCHEME.

The principles characterizing native society in the Philippines are:—

1. A lack of political structure or sense, except where foreign influence, chiefly Mohammedan, is clear.
2. The place of political organization is taken by an organization on the basis of actual kinship, modified secondarily by community of residence or economic interests.
3. The stratification of society into wealthy, poor, and economically deficient is emphasized by the translation of these classes into nobility, free, and slaves.
4. There is no chieftainship other than as based on the combination of personal qualities with preëminence among the nobility, that is, precedence in wealth. Exceptions are again due to Mohammedan—or Christian—influence.
5. Property being wholly transmitted by inheritance except for some consumption in sacrifice, and rank inclining to follow wealth, there is a strong tendency for social status to be hereditary.
6. The mechanism of law is economic instead of political. Legal claims are enforced only by the threat or exercise of violence, and adjusted by transfers of property.
7. There are no totems, clans, nor any system of exogamy between artificial kin groups.
8. Women are socially the equals of men. This is clear from their position in marriage, descent, and the holding of property. The division of labor between the sexes is on a physiological rather than a social basis.

The distinctive traits thus are the importance of blood kinship and of economic factors, the insignificance of political and exogamous or “arbitrary” aspects of society, and the non-differentiation of the sexes. These features reveal Filipino society as simple and “natural” in character; that is, close to its biological substratum, and comparatively free from the purely social creations or elaborations that tend to flourish in many other parts of the world.



The kinship schemes accord well with these institutions. The equality of the sexes is reflected in the paucity of the sex-limited terms of relationship and in the total absence of any terms implying the sex of the ego or person to whom the relationship exists. The failure to separate kindred in the male and female line may be connectible with the same equalizing of the sexes in actual life; or with the want of clans and other artificial exogamic groups which in order to maintain their identity must reckon descent unilaterally; or with both factors. The organization of society on a basis of blood is likely to have something to do with the disinclination to distinguish lineal and collateral relatives. Even the tendency to treat the spouse's kin as blood kin may have some connection with the social balance or non-differentiation of the sexes. At any rate, where the social status of men and women is markedly and fortifiedly distinct, it seems extremely unlikely that a man could feel his wife's father to be sufficiently identical with his own father for him to call him father: the psychology of the terminology would clash with the psychology of the relation as it does not clash in Filipino life.

#### THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES INVOLVED.

As to the question whether kinship terminologies may be construed rather as reflecting institutional or linguistic or vaguer psychological conditions, the present material points to the following inferences.

Kinship systems are considerably but superficially modified by linguistic and even dialectic factors. The effect of these factors is great enough to make the prediction of any specific institution from any specific term or set of terms extremely venturesome. Institutions and terminologies unquestionably parallel or reflect each other at least to the degree that a marked discrepancy of plan is rare. Institutions probably shape terminologies causally, but in the main by influencing or permitting a logical scheme. In a sense this logical scheme underlies both institution and terminology, so that the correlation between them, although actual, can be conceived as indirect. Development of particular terms or their denotation under the influence of institutions may occur to a greater or less extent, but is constantly liable to distortion by linguistic factors. The influence on kinship terminology of general levels of culture—those other than narrowly social or institutional ones, seems not to have been seriously examined. The present case shows that such influence may be rather less significant than might be expected in a transition from a state of comparative savagery to one of comparative civilization.



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# ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

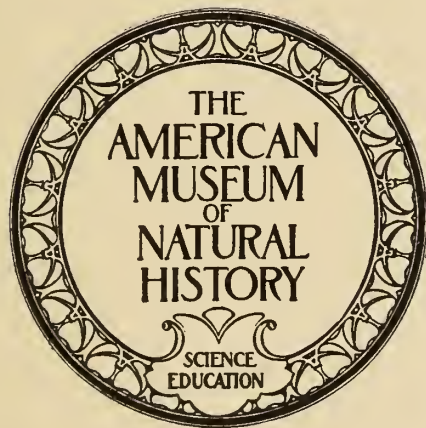
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NOTES ON CEREMONIALISM AT LAGUNA

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS



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1920



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## PREFACE.

The following data were collected during three brief visits to Laguna on my way to or from field-work at Zuñi in the years 1917-1918.<sup>1</sup> I lived not in the pueblo, but about three miles away in the house of Mr. E. F. Eckerman near the railway station. In this detachment there were both disadvantages and advantages. Observation of the general life of the pueblo was necessarily limited and my circle of acquaintances comparatively restricted. On the other hand, interrogation was unhandicapped by embarrassing visitors and the disposition of informants was rendered comparatively frank and responsive. My chief informants were the mother<sup>2</sup> and aunt of Mrs. Eckerman, José, sacristan and *shiwanna cheani*, and Wana, a younger woman to whose house in town I paid daily visits. For the old people Mrs. Eckerman interpreted. Mrs. Marmon was the sister of Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani* and as he had become deaf and feeble she had come to prompt him in his ceremonies. The *shiwanna cheani* had also assisted Uncle Joe, as Giwire was called by the Eckerman family. Between the *shiwanna cheani*, therefore, and my other informants, although there was a measure of reserve, there was much less distrust than one is accustomed to find between Pueblo Indian informants.

Although Laguna was one of the first pueblos to be visited by Americans, of it there is little or no ethnographic account—presumedly because the ethnographers of the Southwest have felt that because of the late origin of Laguna (settled, it is said, in 1699) and its continuous contact with Mexican and American it would present a hybrid and therefore uninteresting culture. Such a preconception overlooks the tenaciousness and ubiquity of Pueblo Indian habits of mind or culture. Moreover, the preconception is unscientific in its indifference to some of the most significant problems of ethnology, the problems of acculturation. It is a preconception explicable only as a variant of the race snobbery which is ever seeking for pure races.

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<sup>1</sup>Since then, June, 1919, was spent in an Indian house in the pueblo. On my return East the following notes were in proof, and the proof has been corrected on the basis of this last field trip. Most of the data secured this time will be published in the *Anthropological Papers* under the title "Laguna Genealogies."

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Marmon, a native-born Laguna woman, was the widow of W. G. Marmon, one of the early white settlers in the westward movement. Mrs. Marmon remained unsophisticated and uncontaminated by American shoddiness. She was a strong, gentle, and very lovable person. She died in 1918.

Wana (Juana), likewise an unsophisticated and sweet personality, died of the influenza in the same year. Giwire died in June, 1919. All his ceremonial paraphernalia, except the two *iyatik*<sup>3</sup> in his care he ordered buried with him. The *iyatik*<sup>4</sup> belonged to the people. Before his burial, as he was being laid out on the ground, there was a severe thunderstorm which was in some way associated with his passing away. The *shiwanna*, rain clouds, were taking him, they said.

Laguna appears to have been settled chiefly by Keresan immigrants—the language is Keresan and, as far as we know, the social or ceremonial organization; but other tribes were probably then, as now, represented—the Hopi, Ashiwi of Zuñi, and the Tewa. There has been considerable intermarriage with Navajo. In one household there lives a Mohave woman about whom, I remember, my Zuñi companion on one occasion displayed a lively curiosity.

A particularly interesting result of immigration is referred to in the following study in connection with the *k'atsina* cult. In its present form of organization the cult is associated with a Zuñi immigrant family. The genealogy of this family will be given in a following paper. Certain features in the cult are Zuñi. I hope to make a more complete analysis of the cult on a future visit since it appears to be the kind of ceremonial importation that has been customary among the Pueblo Indians for a long time and that tends to make of their ceremonial life a homogeneous tissue.

And yet notable variations<sup>1</sup> in the ceremonialism of the different tribes exist. The ceremonialism of Laguna is Keresan, corresponding in general and in striking details with that of Sia as described by Stevenson, with that of Cochiti as described by Dumarest, and with the account at large of Bandelier.

The most outstanding difference is the lack of a hierarchic head, a “cacique,” and here is indeed, I surmise, an instance of disintegration without compensation—as yet; for the decay of the office is comparatively recent. The last cacique or *hocheni*, chief *par excellence*, died less than a half century ago. His daughter, a woman over seventy, gave me his history.

February, 1919.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Hopi ceremonial organization is said to be primarily for rain, and Keresan, for curing, whereas at Zuñi there are differentiated rain-making and curing groups. How intact such distinctions will remain after closer study and after the terminology of observers has been standardized remains to be seen.



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## NOTES ON CEREMONIALISM AT LAGUNA.

The insistent classifier in religion might divide the Laguna pantheon much as the pantheon of the Zuñi has been divided—into nature gods, animals gods, and ancestor gods, with subdivision of the latter into *k'atsina*<sup>1</sup> and *santu*, and, for the war gods a somewhat ambiguous cross classification.

*Osha'ch*, Sun, is sometimes said to head the pantheon. When this earth was still dark, *Osha'ch* came up from the north, then he came up from the west, then from the south. When he came up from the east he went into the sky. That is the reason why all the people and all the *cheani*<sup>2</sup> and all the *kupishtaiya*<sup>3</sup> consider him the head. . . And my informant, the *shiwanna* (rain cloud) *cheani*, added, "Very sacred or precious (*tsityu*) is this acknowledge."

Associated with *osha'ch*, perhaps his son, perhaps *osha'ch* himself, according to one informant, as a youth, is *osha'ch payachamür* (*payetemür*, youth). *Payachamür* is a common Keresan age term corresponding to the Zuñi term *tsauwaki*. Since at Zuñi the word *paiyetemu* appears to be taken as a proper name<sup>4</sup>, we may infer that the personage had been borrowed at Zuñi from the Keresan. At Laguna, as at Zuñi, *paya-chamür* is the great lover, the handsome lover of many maidens. He appears not to be thought of, as at Zuñi, as a musician. *Payachamür* is impersonated among the *k'atsina* (Fig. 1)<sup>5</sup>, coming with the *chakwena* or the *kaiya*.<sup>6</sup>

The moon (*tauwach*) and the stars (*shidyita*) are divinitized. *Wakayanishtshawitse* is the Milky Way. *Gaiukumushr* is the morningstar in summer; *g'aidyuwe*, in winter. *Ma'sewi* (Fig. 2), the twin war god,<sup>7</sup> is

<sup>1</sup>The *katsuna* of the Sia "can not be considered to bear any relation to ancestor worship," according to Stevenson, (a), 68. The *katsuna* are "altogether a separate creation." Now at Laguna the *k'atsina* are referred to as "the lost children," and their origin myth is a variant of that of the Zuñi *koko*. [See Parsons, (a), 190]. Moreover, the Laguna feather-sticks to the *k'atsina* are almost the same as those to the dead. At Laguna, to be sure, Zuñi strands have been woven into the Keresan cult, illustrating with particularly clear cases that inter-pueblo weaving in myth and ritual that has no doubt been going on for ages. However, at Cochiti, likewise, the *shiwanna*, as Father Dumarest calls the *kachina* are associated with the dead. Above we noted the association of the deceased *shikani-kurena cheani* with the *shiwanna*. Nevertheless at Laguna the identification of *shiwanna* with the dead or of either with the *k'atsina* is not as clear, at least in general conversation, as at Zuñi. In Laguna texts recently collected by Dr. Boas the *k'atsina* even appear, as at Sia, as "a separate creation."

<sup>2</sup>See p. 108 ff.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 95.

<sup>4</sup>See Stevenson, (b), 48, 430.

The name was thus used by my guide on a visit to the *tomapa* shrine on *towa yallane*, a shrine where the Little Fire society and the Bedbug society plant feather-sticks to *paiyetemu*. *Bitsitsi*, a *ne'wekwe* personage, is also referred to as *paiyetemu*, indicating Keresan association. At Cochiti the term appears to be applied to any male supernatural. (Dumarest, 209).

<sup>5</sup>Figs. 1-6, 10-15 are reproduced with the kind permission of the author from *Schat-Chen* by John M. Gunn. The pictures were drawn by Indians.

<sup>6</sup>See pp. 97-99.

<sup>7</sup>*Oyoyewi* (*uyuyu*, Fig. 3) the elder twin may be mentioned, but the talk is always of *ma'sewi* just as at Zuñi there is one term, *aiyahut*, for both brothers. At Sia and Cochiti *maasewe* is the elder brother, *uyuyewe*, the younger. Stevenson, (a) 43; Dumarest, 218. *Matsailema* (the younger) and *uyuyewi* (the elder) are the terms recorded by Cushing and Stevenson at Zuñi; but I have got *masewa* (the elder) and *uyuyewe* (the younger), and in songs and usage I am told *masewa* is the usual term.

There are nowadays no images of the war gods at Laguna, it is said, as elsewhere.



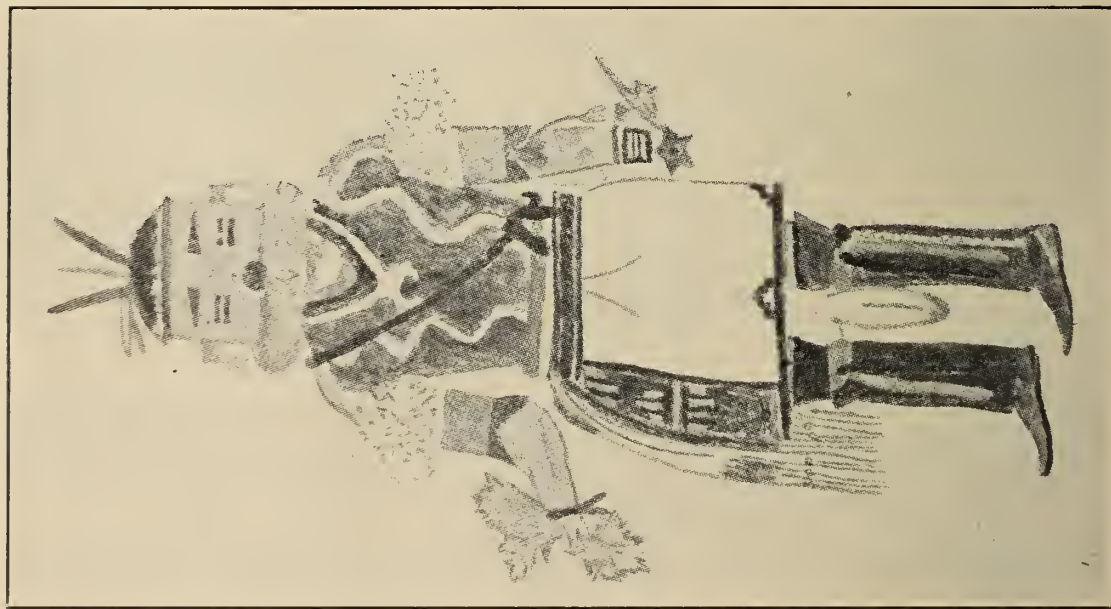


Fig. 1. Osha'ch payachamŭr.

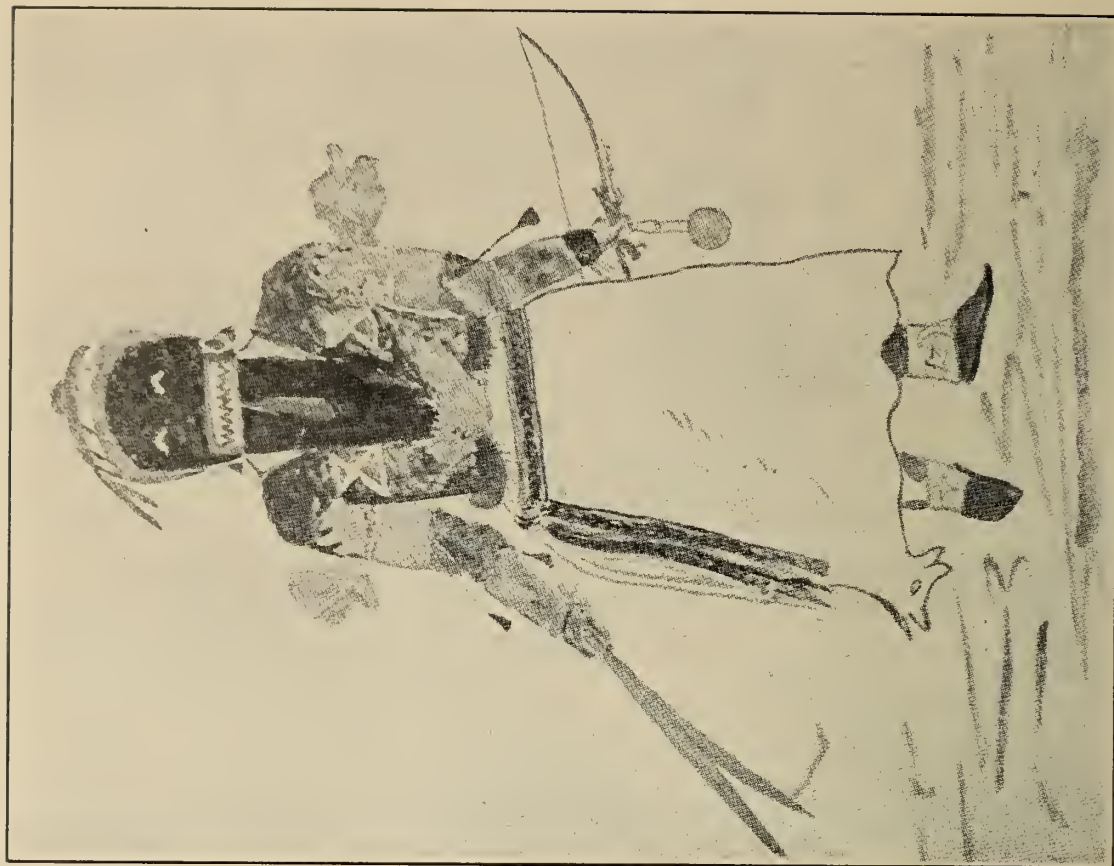


Fig. 2. Ma'sewi, likewise Chakwena.

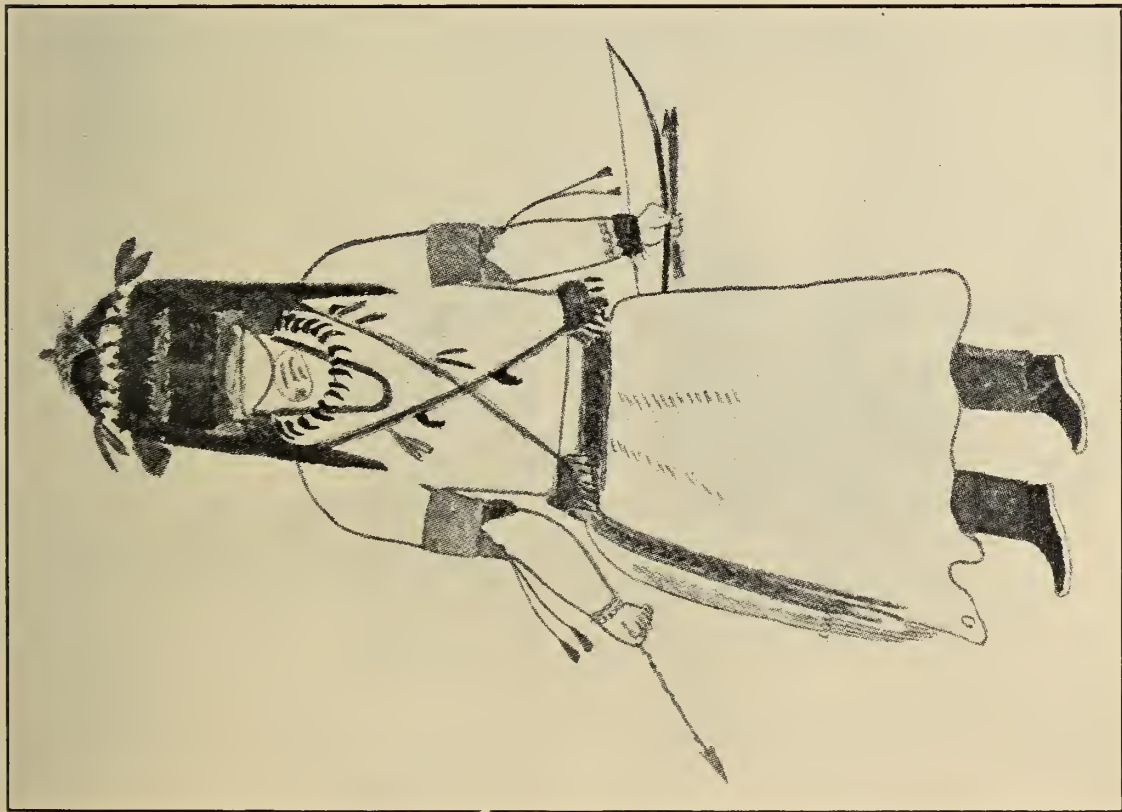


Fig. 3. Oyoyewi.

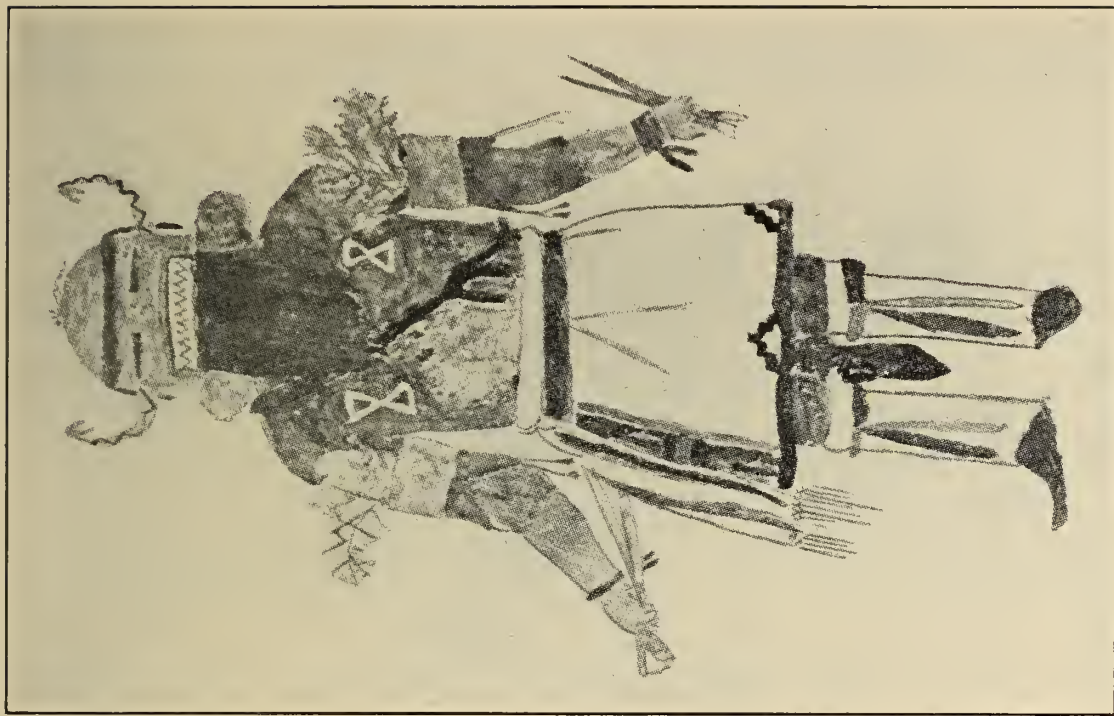


Fig. 4 Kaya'petsit'.



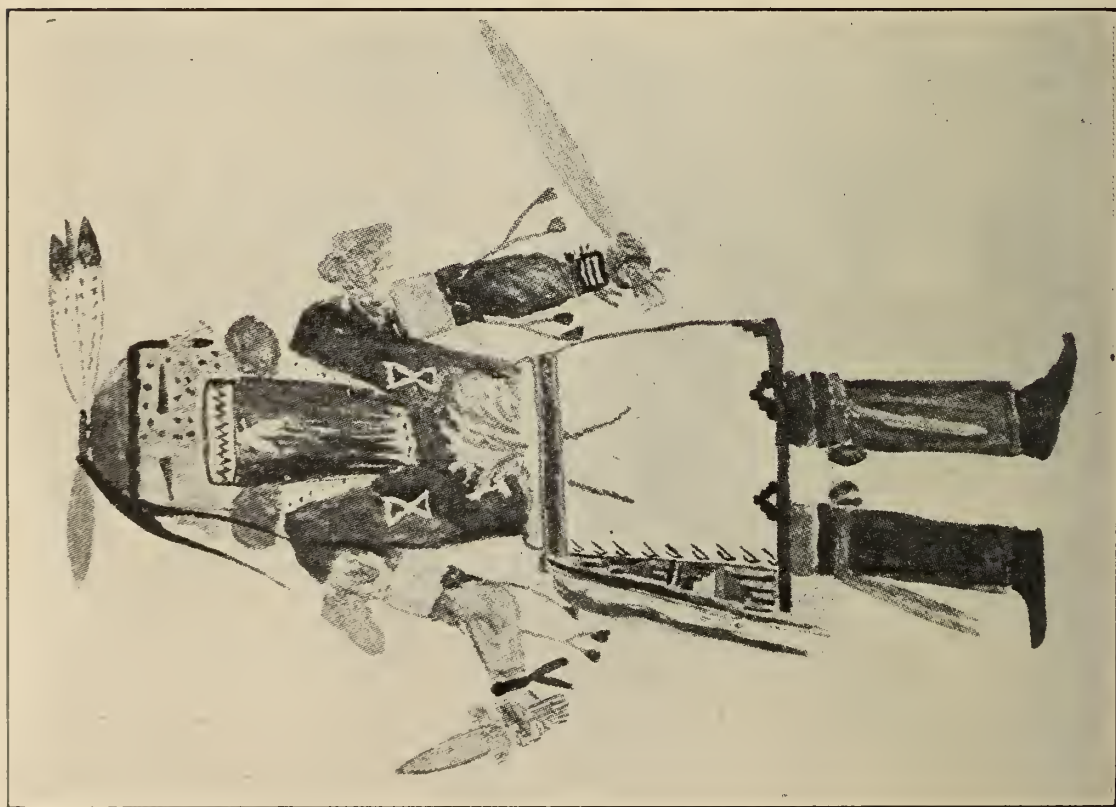


Fig. 5. Kauk'a'kaya. To be equated with the *hilili* of Zuñi. The mask of the "brother" of kauk'a'kaya is parti-colored like *hilili*. On the kilts of the two kauk'a'kaya is a tin cone trimming (*upy' hats'ini*). The *upi* or warriors wore this trimming.

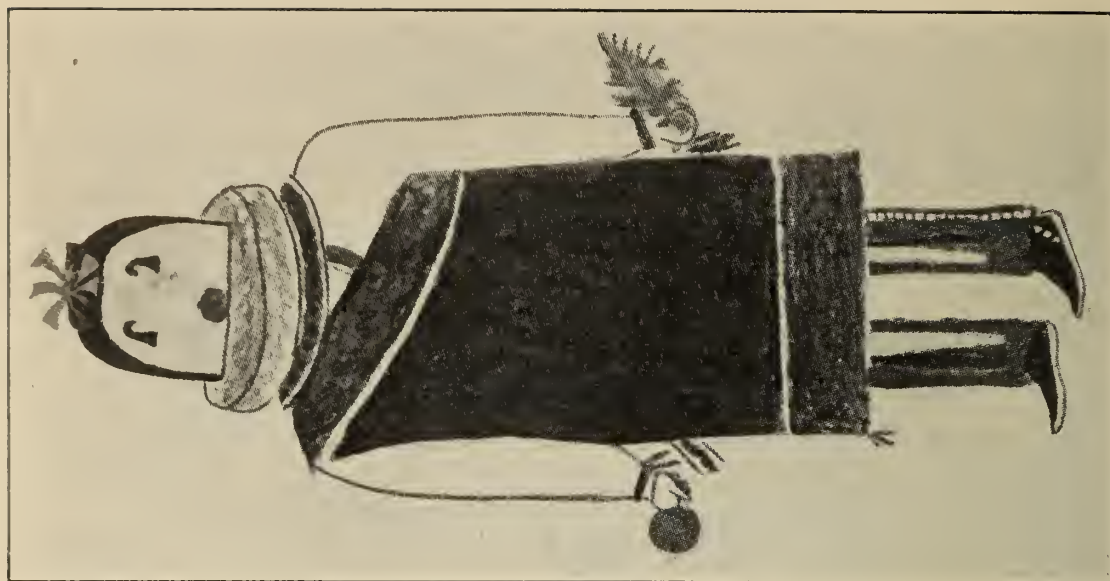


Fig. 6. Shotorok'a.



associated with a star—*shutsma'sewi* (*shuts*, unripe)<sup>1</sup>. *Kopot'ē* (*kaya'-petsit'a*) (Fig. 4) and *kauk'a'kaya* (Fig. 5) were two brothers who became two stars close together and of which one is very red. *Kopot'ē*, the red star, had a fight with the antelope *k'atsina* to determine their respective authority and *kopot'ē* was worsted. *Kauk'a'kaya*, in grief for his brother, tore out his hair, leaving but a strand or two. Thus is he represented as a *k'atsina*. Both brothers are very wicked. With the arrow points they carried they would strike the ground, cutting great fissures into which the people fell.<sup>2</sup> . . . From the fact that during the all night prayer of the *shikani cheani* at the winter solstice ceremonial the *cheani* call on the stars by name, we may infer that other stars are distinguished. . . . *Shiwanna* is Storm cloud (his home in the north), and *putruaishtji* is Lightning.<sup>3</sup> To these gods, to *tauwach*, to *shidyita*, to *shiwanna*, and perhaps to other nature powers is applied the generic term *kupishtaiya*.<sup>4</sup> *Naiya* (mother) *iyatik'ū* appears not to be included in this very much used term.<sup>5</sup> *Osha'ch* is not necessarily included, for the expression "*osha'ch* and *kupishtaiya*" is common.

Although *osha'ch* is admittedly the supreme supernatural, I get the impression at Laguna that *iyatik'ū* is the central or most authentic of all the Laguna deities.<sup>6</sup> She is deepest in the heart and, through her, religious feeling is most fully expressed. When a baby smiles, the old women say that *naiya iyatik'ū* is talking to it, when it cries, *naiya iyatik'ū* is scolding. *Iyatik'ū* is mentioned first in prayer, ritualistic origins are dictated by her, and *iyatik'ū* or, to use our own term, her symbol,<sup>7</sup> is too sacred (*tsityu*) to be exposed commonly to view. What or who is *iyatik'ū*? In the ritual, *iyatik'ū* is the cotton-wrapped ear of corn which is possessed by the *cheani* and set out on altars. It is the Zuñi *m'li*, although, unlike the *m'li* the *iyatik'ū* would not be carried in the *k'atsina* dances because, I have heard it said, of its sanctity.<sup>8</sup> The *m'li* at Zuñi is taken apart at the death of its proprietary *tikyllona*

<sup>1</sup>For identification of the war god with stars, see Fewkes, (a), 7 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>For a somewhat different account, given, I may say, the preceding year by the same informant. see Parsons, (a), 192.

<sup>3</sup>Referred to as *hocheni*, chief, head. Represented as a *k'atsina* at Cochiti (Dumarest, Fig. 25).

<sup>4</sup>It corresponds somewhat to the similarly generic Zuñi term *awonawilona* (all roads having), the supernaturals "who take care of us, keep track of us."

<sup>5</sup>Stevenson refers to *kupishtaiya* at Zuñi. My Zuñi informants have always insisted that the term, one evidently not unfamiliar to them, is Keresan and not in use at Zuñi.

For "*kopishtaiya*" at Sia as well as for *paiätämo*, see Stevenson, (a), 32, 33. When the *nemosi* of Zuñi called *kupishtaiya* of Acoma an unamiable organization of witches [Parsons, (e), 173, n. 3] he was referring, I guess, to the Catholic church (see pp. 97-8). *Kupishtaiya* at Laguna is generally translated "angels."

<sup>6</sup>"The Iärriko [*iyatik'ū*] is the Sia's supreme idol." (Stevenson, (a), 40, footnote). The same distinction is attributed to the *iareko* of Cochiti (Dumarest, 155).

<sup>7</sup>For the way the corn may represent the supernatural in Zuñi tradition see Parsons, (b), 393-394.

<sup>8</sup>I heard of one *iyatik'ū* loaned to the *shiwanna cheani* on the occasion of a *chakwena* ceremonial and of another loaned to him, i.e., set on his altar for the summer solstice ceremonial.

(society member), the corn planted, and the feathers mounted as feather-sticks to be put in the ground for the deceased proprietor. At Laguna the *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> is kept in the family and loaned to surviving *cheani*. The *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> which I had the good fortune to see and which had belonged to a *shikani cheani* was still in the keeping of his daughter, now an old woman. It was kept together with two stone knives<sup>1</sup> wrapped in buckskin<sup>2</sup> in a niche in the wall in a back storeroom—the third room back on the ground floor. Other objects belonging to the altar of the deceased *cheani* had been put away in this place, and these objects were sold to me, sold *because I was a friend*, but, even so, the *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> could not be sold. The ear of corn was wrapped thickly with unspun cotton, the butt set in a buckskin cap, the top uncovered. Here in the somewhat hollowed out cob there were seeds, they would be grains of corn, wheat, melon and pumpkin seeds, I have been told. About one inch from the bottom a string of white shell beads, an abalone shell and two olivella shells (*yasi*) encircled the cotton. In use, feathers would have been tied on in a bunch near the top, I was told, not, Zuñi fashion, to envelop the whole cob, nor, Sia fashion, surrounded by what appear to be feather-sticks.<sup>3</sup>

In myth, *naiya iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> lived within the earth at *shipap*. From there she sent out *ma'sewi* to find the sun,<sup>4</sup> but she herself together with her sisters<sup>5</sup> remained within. "*Naiya iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> said that she would never come out of the earth. 'If I go out into the world and people see me they will not prosper. If they do not see me, they can pray to me and I can help them.'"<sup>6</sup> And my old woman informant added, "For this reason there is no face on the *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> (the corn ear fetish), so they will not see her. And the altar is on the ground so under it *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> will be to hear."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>According to one informant, to the four sides of the *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> four arrow points should be attached so that no evil (*tsaheyasuts* or *naitshgunisha*) may reach it.

<sup>2</sup>The *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> when it has to be transported is put in its wrapping in a *katani*, i.e., put between two thin boards, tied with a thong of buckskin. [Cf. Stevenson, (a), 76].

<sup>3</sup>Stevenson, (a), 40, footnote, and Pl. IX.

The Zuñi *mi'li* has a wrapping of wool, I have been told. Shells may be attached to it, and arrow points "to keep off witch sickness." The butt of the *mi'li* is set in a hollowed-out piece of century plant (?) stock covered with buckskin. With the *mi'li* now in the Museum was collected a small corn-husk package of seeds,—corn, beans, and squash. The corn ear of both *mi'li* and *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> must be or have been a completelykerneled ear (Zuñi, *yapota*; Keresan, *kotona*).

Very desirable is a comparative study of the "sacred bundles" of the Pueblo Indians, of the *ettowe*, *ponepoyanne*, *mi'we*, *lashowananne* of the Zuñi; *tipon*, *hurunkwa*, etc., of the Hopi; *iyatik'*<sup>ũ</sup> of the Keresan, etc.

<sup>4</sup>See below, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup>See p. 114, also Stevenson, (a), 29 ff.; Dumarest, 212.

<sup>6</sup>It is important to learn whether this explanation of the altar position is more than an individual interpretation. Cf. Fewkes, (b), 55.



In myth, *ma'sewi* is the son of *iyatik'ä*.<sup>1</sup> He is also referred to as a *chakwena*, i.e., as a *k'atsina*. In every *k'atsina* dance a war captain leads, representing *ma'sewi*<sup>2</sup> and referred to as *shutsma'sewi*.<sup>3</sup> Although in the ritual the character of *ma'sewi* as a war god is plain enough, curiously enough I was once told that *ma'sewi* had nothing to do with war. That he should be associated with the *chakwena*<sup>4</sup> I take as perhaps a very significant fact, but a fact to be understood only when the origin of the *k'atsina* or *koko* cult is fully traced.

There is a tradition at Laguna that the *chakwena k'atsina* were introduced from Zuñi. In fact the *shiwanna cheani* told me the story circumstantially. "When I was a little boy, an old man, Choatyeto,<sup>5</sup> called a conference to bring in the *chakwena*. There were no *chakwena* here then. Choatyeto and two others, Hawirana and Yokai, went to Zuñi to fetch the *guati* (i.e., masks). The Zuñi did not want to give them up, so they stole them." But many at Laguna did not want the *chakwena*, connecting them with witchcraft.<sup>6</sup> They ridiculed the *chakwena* as ugly, and they would say bitter things against them as they appeared in *kakati* (the middle, i.e., the dance plaza), calling them *kanadyeya* (witch, evil spirit) and spitting at them.<sup>7</sup> At one time the Zuñi were coming to take the *chakwena* away, but Kwime, the father of Giwire, *shikani-kurena cheani*, and of my old informant, Kwime, himself a *chakwena*, succeeded in retaining the *chakwena*. In a book brought by Kwime from Durango, Mexico, where for seven years he had been educated by the priests, there was information about the

<sup>1</sup>As are *nayñēzganī* and *badzistsini*, the Navajo war gods, the sons of *estsánatlehi* (*iyatik'ä*). The myth of *iyatik'ä* as creator is Keresan and Navajo (see Franciscan Fathers, 356). It is not a common Zuñi myth, although I have no doubt it may be found in the esoteric lore of some Zuñi society.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the facts that at Zuñi every society (*tikyanne*) must have in its membership a bow priest (*pitashiwanni*) and that the *awilona* (them having, i.e., leader) in the *koko* dances has to be taken from a society. Most likely before the diminution at Zuñi of the bow priesthood the *awilona* had to be the bow priest member of the fraternity to represent *aiyahut*. In the first of the summer *kokokshi*, Dr. Kroeber tells me, the *apitashiwanni mosi* is actually the *awilona*. In the final dance of the series in the summer of 1918 Hompiké, a *pitashiwanni*, was the *awilona*. (Cf. Cushing, 433.) The war gods lead the *oinahe* dance. Of significance in this connection is the fact that in the Zuñi origin myth *aiyahut* is said to have been initiated into the *kotikyanne*. (Cf. too Dumarest, 227). Even among the Mexicanized Tewa of Texas the "captains" are "to direct the dances in the plaza and to preserve order during the dance." [Fewkes, (e), 64.]

In the snake dance of Walpi a *kalektaka*, or warrior, with a bow and arrow and a whizzer appears in the rear of the line of Antelopes. [Fewkes, (d), 284, 298].

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Dumarest, 199.

<sup>4</sup>At Zuñi the *chakwena okya* (woman) is a prominent figure in the ceremonial hunt, and hunting, we know, is associated in myth and ritual with the war gods—the bow priests have charge of the hunt. It is an interesting fact that a member of the *cakwaina* clan of Hopi used a rabbit-stick as his "totemic signature." [Fewkes, (e), 7.]

The Zuñi *chakwena* have the same body mark  $\Delta$  bow it is called in Zuñi, as the Navajo war god *to-badzistsini*, (Matthews, 23), and as *ma'sewi* at Laguna and at Cochiti (Dumarest). At Zuñi *chakwena* songs are expected to refer in archaic words "to what happened in the war".

<sup>5</sup>He was not a *cheani*. His clan was not remembered. K'aushiro, the Zuñi father of Wedyume (see below) was the *chakwena hocheni* (chief).

<sup>6</sup>According to Fewkes, the Hopi accounted Christian innovation *powako*, witchcraft (f, 145).

<sup>7</sup>Cf. p. 124.



*chakwena*. My informant opined that the *chakwena* was not a *k'atsina*.<sup>1</sup> A *chakwena* man called Santiago Pacheko once told Mr. John M. Gunn, a New Mexican rancher interested in prehistoric origins, that the *chakwena* as introduced from Zuñi had been taught the Zuñi originally by the *tutache*, the Catholic priest—acculturation legends or historic glimmers, as yet who knows?<sup>2</sup>

To the Zuñi *kyanakwe*<sup>3</sup>, the hostile people on whose side the *chakwen okya* (woman)<sup>4</sup> fought, correspond at Laguna the *shtorok'a* (*shturuk'a*).<sup>5</sup> Their dance had lapsed, I was told, because the men to whom the masks belonged had died and the masks had as usual been buried<sup>6</sup>—a Zuñi practice likewise. But while I was at Laguna plans for

<sup>1</sup>There appears to be a special initiation by whipping into the *chakwena*. Initiation as a *k'atsina* does not of itself suffice. A Laguna woman in Zuñi had told a Zuñi informant that her Laguna husband had been taken into the *chakwena* because he was sick. The *chakwena* was danced for two days, October 3 and 4, once while I was in Laguna. As a white I was not allowed to see the dance, but I got somewhat detailed accounts of it from others. In connection with it occurred a curing episode. The first day, before the *k'atsina* went into *kakati* they visited the house of the sick woman, each taking her a present,—melons, corn, chili, etc. She breathed out (*guputstani*) on the presents. There was no dancing or singing; but later, in the plaza dancing, the *k'atsina* would sing of the sick one. The *k'atsina* received *hachamuni* from the relatives of the patient, together with four beads (*tsa'tini*) to represent the patient. The second day in the afternoon dancing in the plaza the sick woman was led out by her relatives to spit on the yucca switch (*gayaishupsdia*) of one of the *k'atsina* and to sprinkle him with meal. I heard of a *chakwena* at Insinal danced because a woman was sick. It was danced at the bidding of the "war captains." According to one informant the *chakwena* would visit the patient at night, dancing four successive nights in her house. Her household feed the dancers. The Navajo conduct war dances as curing ceremonials.

At Laguna onlookers may help themselves to bits of the spruce above the armbands not only of the *chakwena* but of other dancers. [Cf. Fewkes, (a), 97]. The dancers do not throw away this spruce trim with indifference, but bury it near the river where it will be washed away. The *shiwanna cheani* once gave me some spruce twigs, telling me they would bring me good fortune and bidding me keep them until the needles began to fall when I was to burn the twigs. Spruce from dancers may be steeped and drunk to clean out the stomach.

<sup>2</sup>Fewkes states that the Tanoan *tcakwaina* clan or *asa* (Tansy-mustard) formerly lived near Abiquiu at a place called by the Hopi, Kaekibi. With the ancestors of the Hano people they went to Laguna where they separated, the *asa* going on to Zuñi about 1700–1710. Some of the *asa* stayed at Zuñi, becoming the *aiyahokwe*, the others moved on to the East mesa. [Fewkes, (e), 7]. For the *tcakwaina* mask fetish of the *asa*, see Fewkes, (g), 71–72. Of interest in this connection are the facts that at Acoma, on the way to Zuñi from Laguna, there is an *ise* (*Sophia halictorum* Cockerell, Mustard family) clan (Zuñi, *aiyahokwe*) and that seed corn is washed with *ise* to make the corn mature quickly.

We may note that the *k'atsina* (or *koko*) are the grain and fruit bringing supernaturals, and that in the Zuñi *molawia*, a fruition ceremonial of the *koko*, an *aiyahokwe* man functions.

<sup>3</sup>Stevenson, (b), 217 ff.; Fewkes, (b), Pl. LXI. The *kyanakwe* ceremonial was given last at Zuñi late in the autumn of 1918.

<sup>4</sup>At Laguna the *chakwena* have a "mother"—*chakwena kanaiyeshe*, *chakwena* their mother. *Kisiets'a* is her personal name. "She has all the foodstuffs, same as *nautsiti*."

<sup>5</sup>*Tuluka*, a Zuñi informant named them to Dr. Kroeber, 145. Cf. the folk tale in which figure at Zuñi the *kyanakwe*, at Laguna, the *shturuka*, [Parsons, (c), 231–3]. The tale or myth proper about the *shturuka* is as follows:—

*Hamaha* (*hame*, long ago, *ha*, so far) in a place far away was the home of the *shtorok'a*. It was near *wenimatse*, the home of the *k'atsina*, somewhere west of Zuñi. The *k'atsina* said, "Look over there in the western part of the country where the *shtorok'a* live. They dress like women, they do not wear men's dress." (The *k'atsina* did not mean that the *shtorok'a* were men-women, although in a variant of the tale given by Mr. Gunn this meaning was conveyed. Hermaphroditism figures in the Zuñi *kyanakwe* myth and ritual). That started mean feeling. The *shtorok'a* said, "We shall see who are cowards. If you think we are cowards, let us have a fight. In four days we will determine who are cowardly." They prepared for the fight. The *shtorok'a* made their bows, painting them red, as *shtorok'a* impersonators paint their bows today. They made their bowstrings of yucca [*mush hatini* (blade)]. The *k'atsina* made their bowstrings of sinew. On the fourth day there fell a heavy rain. The dampness improved the bows of the *shtorok'a*. The sinew-made bows of the *k'atsina* were of no use to them. The *shtorok'a* won the fight because their bows lasted. They relinquished two *k'atsina* to the *shtorok'a*. They called them the *na'wish*. In the *shtorok'a* dance there are two *na'wish* (*na'wish* may figure also in the *yakohanna* or corn dance). There were ten *na'wish* in the *yakohanna* danced in November, 1917, *Heme tsich* (thus long).

It was known in Laguna that the *shtorok'a* should be impersonated, as the *kyanakwe* at Zuñi, by Corn clansmen, but whether or not the Masseta revivalists were of the Corn clan I do not know. The theoretical association between the Corn clan and the *shtorok'a* was denied by some informants.

<sup>6</sup>Yet I have been told that only *chakwena* masks are buried—buried in the river.

giving the *shtorok'a* were underway on the part of the people of Messita, an outlying settlement about three miles to the east of Laguna. In September the dance had been revived, a Messita man having made new masks copied from a picture of the old *shtorok'a* in Mr. John M. Gunn's collection of pictures of Laguna masks. (Fig. 6). The day of the dance there was a terrific sandstorm and the two old people with whom I was spending the afternoon joked maliciously at the expense of the people of Messita who had, they thought, no right to the masks.<sup>1</sup> "That is the reason the wind is whipping them." And at each fresh onslaught of the winds the *shiwanna cheani* would sarcastically repeat, "The *shtorok'a* are having a rainstorm." The day they had begun the ceremonial, *four days back*, there had also been a windstorm instead of the desired rainstorm.<sup>2</sup> The picture of the repeated discomfiture at Masseta gave much enjoyment to my two friends, cherishers, as we shall see, of a sacerdotal feud against Messita.

Besides the *shtorok'a* and the *chakwena*, the only other group *k'atsina* appear to be the *kaiya* (*gaiya*), "mixed," a heterogeneous group corresponding to the *wotemta* of Zuñi, and the *hemish* (Zuñi *hemushikwe*) a group "always at Laguna." I had an opportunity to examine part of the headpiece of the *hemish*. From the cornhusk circlet project in front and on either side red and yellow zigzag slats (Fig. 7a), three lightning symbols<sup>3</sup> which must be made by the *shiwanna cheani*, a proprietary medicine, so to speak.<sup>4</sup> To the back of the headpiece is fastened a red and yellow slat which when not in use is kept detached from the circlet, the end wrapped in cornhusk<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 7b). Unspun cotton fills in the top of the circlet and around it downy eagle feathers are tied. According to a Zuñi informant, there is no mask proper,<sup>6</sup> but circumstances made his statement dubious,<sup>7</sup> and my notes fail.

<sup>1</sup>The people of Messita (Matsita) *kaapets* people, stubborn, "driving away from good," had also revived the impersonations of those two bad brothers, *kopot'z* and *kauk'a' kaya*.

<sup>2</sup>In another connection, at this time, someone had said, "It looks like snow," and the rejoinder was, "To be sure, they are dancing at Matsita." From such references it seems fairly plain that at Laguna, as at Zuñi, dancing is a form of weather control.

<sup>3</sup>Referred to as *hoheni*, one with authority, the same term that is used for Mt. Taylor's place among mountains or as was once used by a Zuñi informant for the "cacique" of Acoma. We recall that at Zuñi the *apitashiwanni*, those truly possessed of authority, become at death lightning makers.

<sup>4</sup>Formerly when there were *kapina cheani* (stick-swallowers) before coloring moccasins or feathers or wool you would go to the *cheani* and he would put on your article a little of the desired pigment. Pigments belonged to these *cheani*—except pigments for pottery or for the *k'atsina*.

<sup>5</sup>A similar circlet with lightning symbols is to be seen in the Hopi collection in the American Museum of Natural History. Projecting in front of the circlet is a piece of painted basketry. Cf. Fewkes, (b), Pls. XXII, XXXVI, LXIII.

<sup>6</sup>See Parsons, (d), 260, footnote 5.

<sup>7</sup>He had said that there were only two *k'atsina* dances at Laguna—the *chakwena* and the *kaiya*. I mentioned the *hemish*. "Yes, but they don't wear a mask." It was the quick-witted *nemosi* talking, and I suspect he made the distinction because it supported him as an authority on Laguna practice. However, he may have taken the *talawaiye* dance, a tablet dance without a mask (Figs. 8, 9) see Parsons, (d), 260, footnote 5, as corresponding to the *hemushikwe* in which a tablet is characteristic. Since then I have been informed at Laguna that there is indeed a mask.



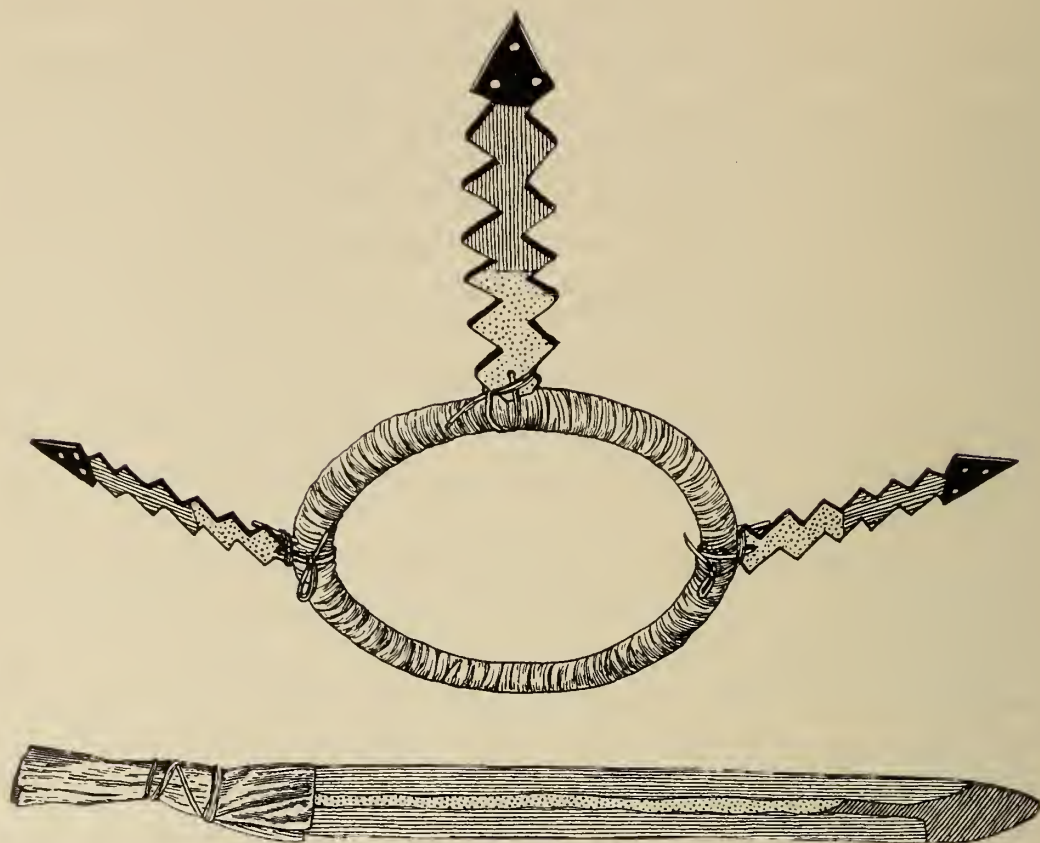


Fig. 7 a (50.2-1033a), b (50.2-1033b,c). Pieces of *hemish* Headdress. In the drawing, solid black denotes black: perpendicular lines, red; stippling, yellow. Width of a, 51cm., b, length, 31cm.

I heard of *waiyush* (duck)<sup>1</sup> *k'atsina* and of *gowapiots* (*gwapeuts'*)<sup>2</sup> *k'atsina*, of which *k'atsina* there were formerly many in distinct dances, but now only single representatives in the *kaiya*,<sup>3</sup> of *kohashtoch'*<sup>4</sup> (so named from some arrangement of feathers in headdress); of *ts'i ts'urnürts'*, the whipper *k'atsina* who whipped at initiations and who still whips children coming too close to dancers (Fig. 10); of *tsanowani* (*tsawana*) (angry person)<sup>5</sup> on the back of whose mask is a bear claw, who cries "hu! hu!" shaking his head, and who stands in the middle of the line of *kaiya* as their song leader or *hocheni* (chief); of *salolopia* (*saloshpiyo*)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>To be equated with the *muluktakya* of Zuñi. Its esoteric name, in fact, is *chupakwe*, the name of the Zuñi kiva group associated with the dance.

<sup>2</sup>To be equated with the *kok'okshi* of Zuñi. Its esoteric name is *haimatatsime*.

<sup>3</sup>According to others there are still group dances of *waiyush* and *gwapeuts'*. Each set has its own organization and head (*hocheni*). It is the *gwapeuts'* group that dances *hemish* and *kaiya* so that including the *chakwena* there are three *k'atsina* organizations—*chakwena*, *gwapeuts'*, and *waiyush*.

<sup>4</sup>Their dance opens the hunting season. It is the *ololowishkya ia* ceremonial of Zuñi. See Parsons, (i).

<sup>5</sup>Equated with *natacka* or *soyok wüqti* of Hopi [Fewkes, (b), Pl. X] and *aweshi* of the *wotemla* at Zuñi. At Cochiti, *tsayanawa* (bad men) are masks who keep women and children from approaching the masked dancers, and who whip dancers for violation of taboos. (Dumarest, 182-183).

<sup>6</sup>He wears a raven feather collar, has a long snout and his mask is blue, always blue. He uses his yucca switches when people come too near the dancers. Obviously he is to be identified with the *salymobia* of Zuñi although he does not carry the characteristic deer scapulæ rattle from which he is named, nor is he represented with this rattle by the Hopi artist, [Fewkes, (b), Pl. II (*cipikne*)] nor, as at Zuñi, represented by masks of different colors the six directions.



who in the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3-4, 1918, beat the bundle; of *chapio* who came out with the Christmas Eve dancers, a bugaboo from El Paso, the children are told, and equated by a Zuñi informant with the Zuñi *atoshle*; of *na'wish*<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 11), a figure familiar at Zuñi; and one day I was given a stone that looked like petrified wood (*ma'shch'chuwai*), and I learned that *ma'shch'chuwai* is a *k'atsina* who appears with the *chakwena*. He carries a pine branch with eagle feathers. (Fig. 12). It seems that before the world was ripe (*ganachě*), when it was still soft, *ma'shch'chuwai* was turned into stone, and any piece of petrified wood is today called *ma'shch'chuwai*.<sup>2</sup> Fig. 13, Mr. Gunn calls a gamester (also Fig. 17a). *Kuchinninaku* (Yellow Woman) appear in the dances to play on notched sticks, grinding as it is called. Their faces are painted yellow.<sup>3</sup> The parts were formerly taken by men-women, but nowadays they are taken by men. There are said to be eleven<sup>4</sup> *gumeyoish* (Zuñi, *koyemshi*) masks<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 15). There is also the mask of *kuyocha k'atsina*, the incestuous sister of the first *gumeyoish*, the Zuñi *komoketsi*. The mask is white, and there is a small braid. The figure is represented as very old, walking with a cane. In the knobs of the *gumeyoish* mask are grains of corn (*yachini*), watermelon seeds (*chiritani chitani*), cantaloupe seeds (*omeloni chitani*), pumpkin seeds (*tani chitani*), piñon nuts (*dyaiyani*), yucca fruit (*hushkani*), coral (*yashdjamatse*), turquoise (*shuimi*), abalone shell (*waponyi*), a certain long pointed, pinkish shell (*yashtsha*). The *gumeyoish* make the road (*hiani*) for the people (*hano*). Such were their orders from *naiya iyatik'ă*. From this point of view they were once described to me as "the original *ma'sewi*."<sup>6</sup> According to the *shiwanna cheani*, the *gumeyoish* came from Zuñi, but they came long ago.<sup>7</sup> There were *gumeyoish* in Laguna when he was a little boy.

The *gumeyoish* masks are kept in the house of Wedyumě (*we>weni matse* where the *k'atsina* live, *dyume*, brother), or, as he is often called,

<sup>1</sup>Four *nawish* will come out in the autumn *yakohanna* or corn dance together with three *hemish*, two *he'a* (Zuñi, *hehea*), two *kohashtoch'ě*, two *payachamūr*, and, as leaders, one *shonata* and one *shoradja*. The last two are spotted, white spots on black, *shonata* spotted closer than *shoradja*. From this and from the bonfire rite they formerly performed in time of drought they may be equated with *shulawitsi* of Zuñi. They belong to the Corn clan, "the fathers of the Corn people." *Shonata* carries an ear of corn in each hand.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Franciscan Fathers, 28-29.

<sup>3</sup>There are two masked *kuchinninaku* (Fig. 13). They were equated with the female figure in Fewkes, (b), Pl. VIII, and they may be equated with the *kokw'e'le*, god girl, of Zuñi.

<sup>4</sup>During the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3, 1918, two *gumeyoish* came out. On the second day of the dance none appeared. The reddish clay used to stain the bodies of the *gumeyoish* is collected at Servietta.

<sup>5</sup>The usual word for mask is *nashkainia*, head, or, according to one informant, *ě'petso*.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Parsons, (j); Dumarest, 191.

Two variants of the emergence myth are told at Laguna—the *Sun-apilashiwanni-koyemshi* myth of Zuñi (for its Laguna variant see Parsons, (a), and the *iyatik'ă-ma'sewi* myth on pp. 114 ff.

<sup>7</sup>On the other hand it is said that these *nana* (grandfathers) used to live under the old lake of Laguna. As at Cochiti, the *kashare* are also said to live under a lake, and like the *gumeyoish* to be the leaders of the *k'atsina*.

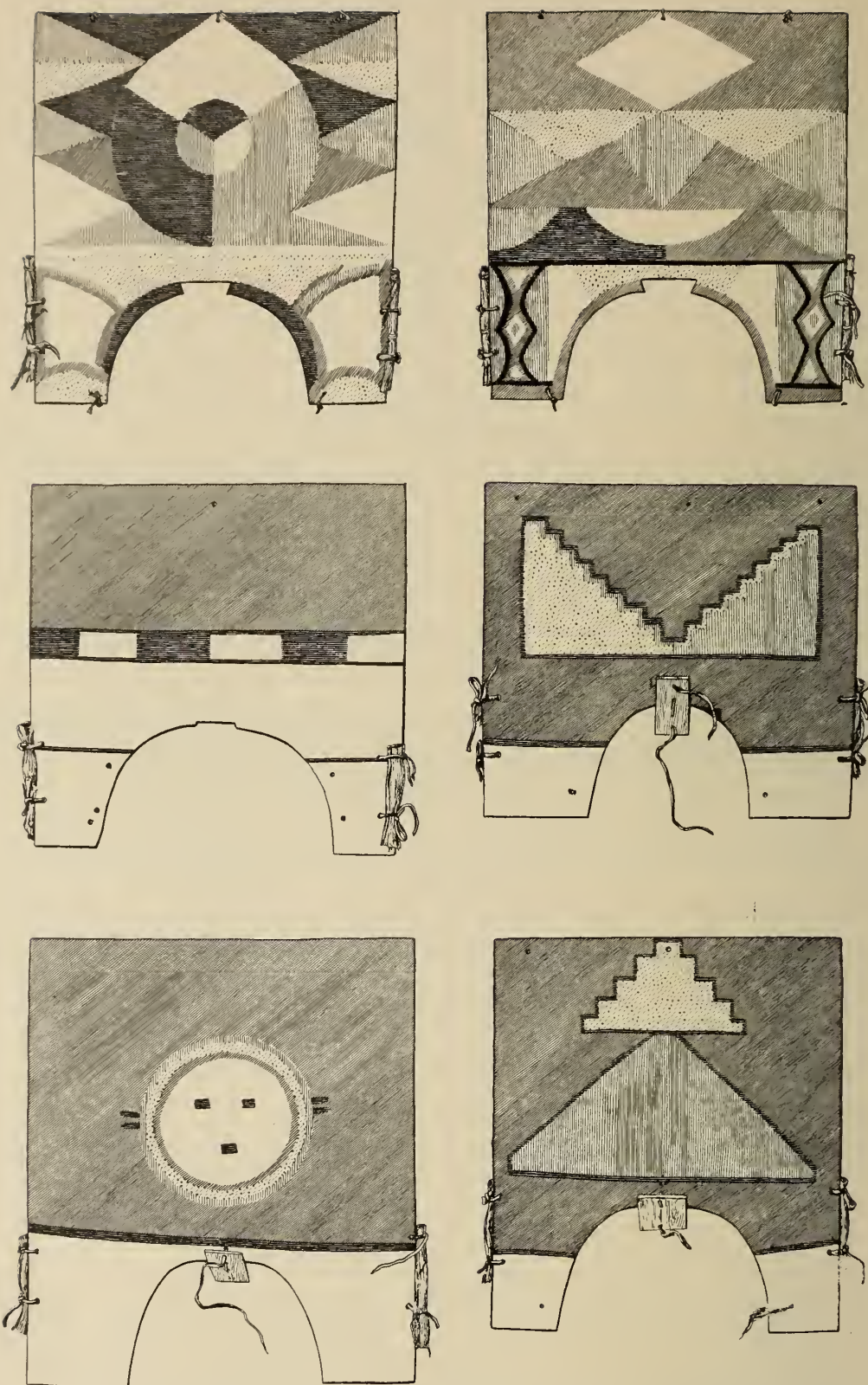


Fig. 8 (50.2-1032b, f, e, d, c). *Talawaiye* Head Pieces. *Talawaiye* is danced for four days at Christmas. The first dance in the morning is executed inside the church. The rest of the day the dancing is outside in *kakati*. The "war captains" go from house to house summoning the men to dance, and the "ditch officers" summon the women. A new set of dancers each day. During this period none may leave town without permission subject to work fine, to cleaning up *kakati* or to bringing in wood or fetching water. The tablet head pieces are no longer worn; but men may dress up as Comanche. The coloring of the head pieces is represented as follows: perpendicular lines, red; horizontal, blue black; diagonal, green; stippling, yellow; solid black, black.



*hash*<sup>1</sup> *surni*, old man Zuñi. Wedyumě came as a little boy from Zuñi with his mother Chuetse, a Badger clanswoman and his father a Corn clansman. "The *gumeyoish* are *ka iachi* (his children)"<sup>2</sup> as well, I infer, as are all the *k'atsina*. He has charge of them and is to them *ityetsa* (one with authority)<sup>3</sup>. He is *ityetsa* because he belongs to the Badger clan. It was the *chakwena* who gave the Badger the right to lead the *k'atsina*. Previously the Antelope clan led.<sup>4</sup> Theoretically,<sup>5</sup> the Antelope clan still has a right superior to that of the Badger clan, and recently the *kashare* (*cheani*) wanted to make an Antelope clan man (Rairu) leader of the *k'atsina* in place of Wedyumě because Wedyumě was so old and blind. It was argued, however, that no *cheani* had authority in the matter, the Antelope clan alone had authority, and so the suggestion was dropped. Until her death, about twelve years ago, Tsatsi, the daughter of Wedyumě's sister, worked for the *k'atsina* dancers, i.e., she brought water for them, swept the floor, etc. Her place has been taken by *Dziwid'yăi*, the daughter of another sister of Wedyumě. As Wedyumě does not live in the house of *Dziwid'yăi*, her participation is by virtue not of household membership, but of kinship. *Dziwid'yăi* is referred to as *dyiup naiecha* (Badger matron). Before her marriage she was referred to as *dyiup magürste* (Badger maiden).<sup>6</sup> This association of the Badger clan with the *k'atsina* has a comparative interest. It is similarly associated among the Zuñi<sup>7</sup> and the Hopi.<sup>8</sup>

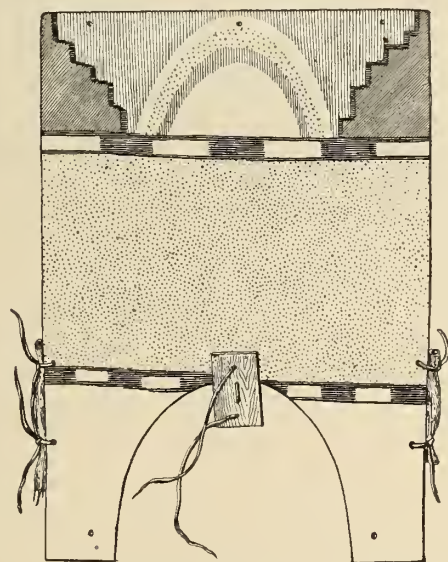


Fig. 9 (50.2-1032a). *Talawaiye* Head Piece. See Fig. 8.

<sup>1</sup>*Hash* is an age-term of respect. Cf. *hast*, worthy age or dignity, *hastin*, respected old man, chief, of the Navajo. (Matthews, 8).

<sup>2</sup>He is said to designate the impersonators; but certain persons appear to impersonate habitually—mentioned were one Sun clansman, two Parrot clansmen, and one Antelope clansman.

<sup>3</sup>The *shtorok'a* impersonators at Messita had not asked Wedyumě's consent to give the dance. That omission was advanced as another reason for the wind whipping them.

According to one informant, either Badger or Antelope may suggest the performance of a *k'atsina* dance. Permission must be got from the "war captains."

<sup>4</sup>Guardianship of the *gumeyoish* masks had rested, however, according to one informant, in the Wheat clan, now extinct. I heard from others that the Wheat and Pumpkin (extinct too) clans had been associated with the Antelope and Badger clans in connection with the *k'atsina*.

<sup>5</sup>Actually in the dance line, a Badger clansman, Rairu, is said to precede Wedyumě. Before Rairu, this *k'atsina* leadership was held by Dyaiyu, Antelope clansman and husband of Rairu's father's sister. —In the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3-4, 1918, Rairu did not figure. Wedyumě was led by a stick (the common way of leading the blind) by one of the "war captains," not the head war captain, and behind these two leading figures came the *shiwanna cheani*.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Kroeber, 133-134.

<sup>7</sup>The *kopekwini* and his *kopitashiwanni*, two of the four officials of the *koko* organizations are *tonashikwe*, Badger clansmen. Before a member of a *kiwitsine* becomes the proprietor of a mask he has to be whipped by all the Badger clan members of the *kiwitsine*, whipped "because the *koko* belong to the *tonashikwe* (Badger people)." Formerly at Laguna new masks were made by the *shahaiye cheani*, the group that seems to correspond to the *onakwe ashiwanni* of Zuñi, a Badger clan group. Nowadays at Laguna masks would be made only by the Badger and Antelope clans.

Let us note, in connection with the aforementioned association at Laguna between the *chakwena* and the war gods, the fact that at Zuñi the *chakwena okya* has to be impersonated by a Badger clansman.

<sup>8</sup>The chief of the *k'atsina* priesthood was a Badger clansman [Fewkes, (e), 8]. It was Badger clansmen who introduced the Zuñi *shalako* to the Hopi [Fewkes, (h), 669].



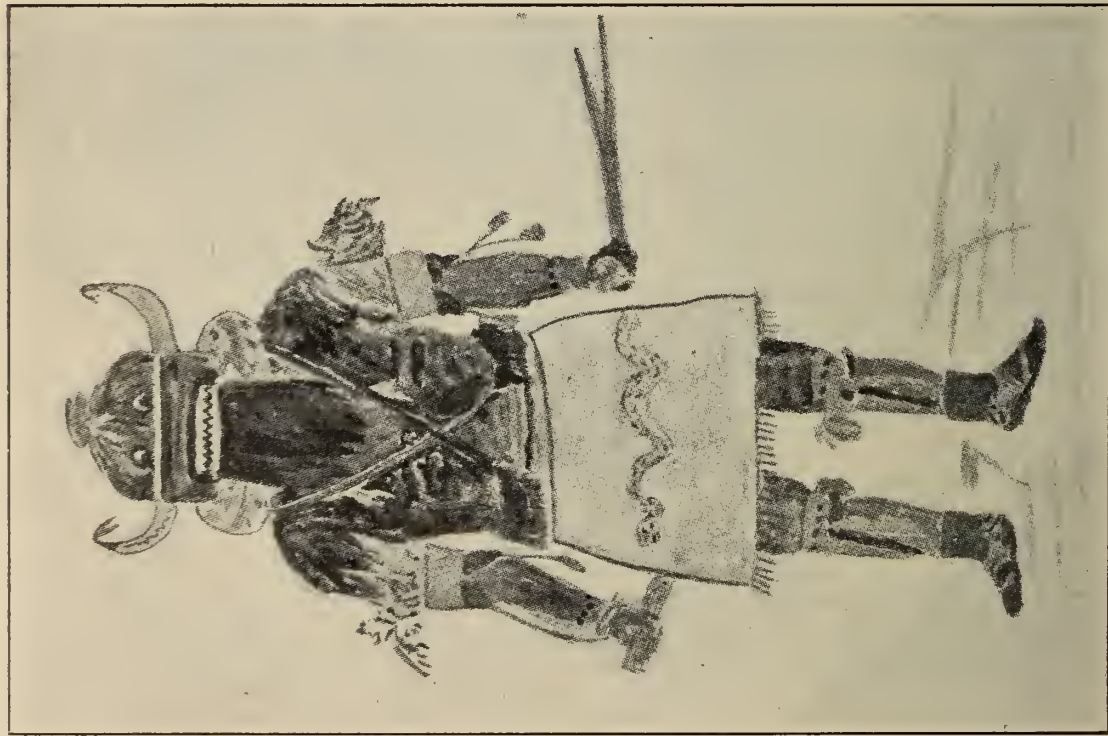


Fig. 10. Ts'i'ts'ŭrnŭts'v.

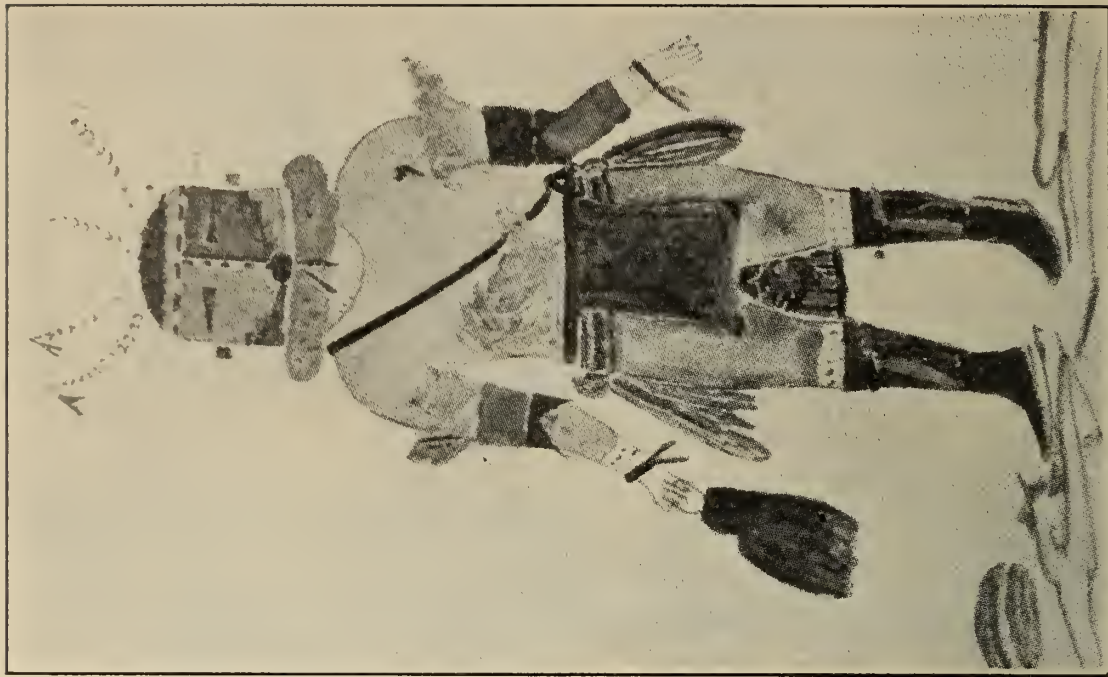


Fig. 11. Ts'a'p'ŭi (Fly) Na'wish.

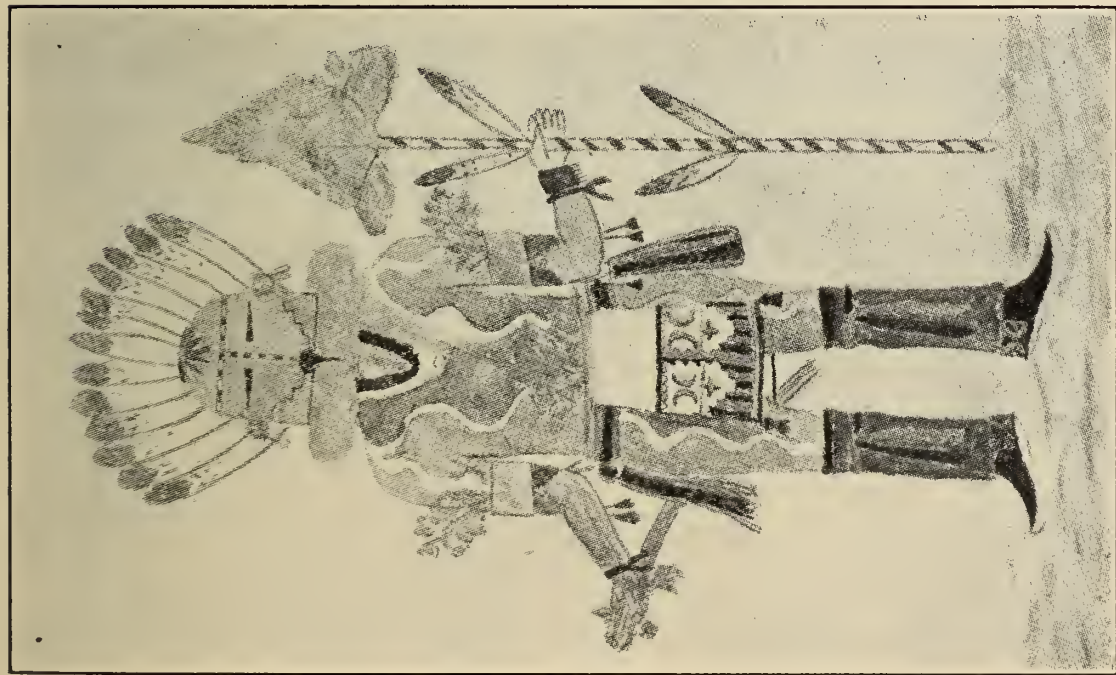


Fig. 12. Ma'sheh'chuwai.

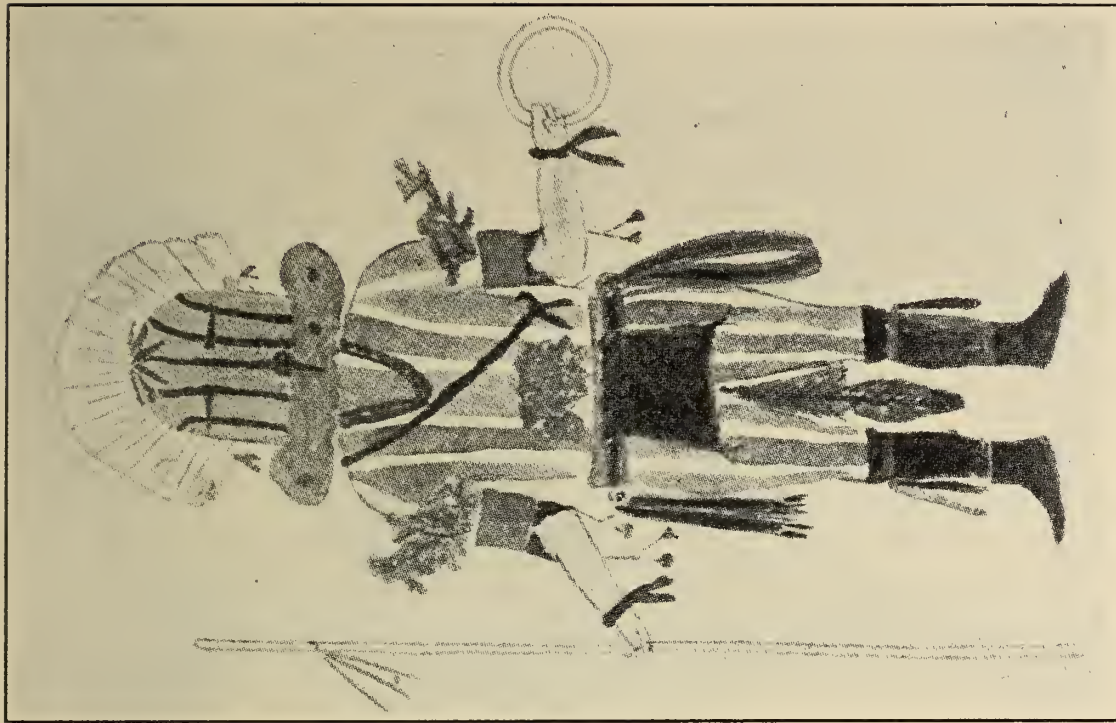


Fig. 13. Kaina'nyi. The stripes are black and white. This personage appears with the Chakwena.



Fig. 14. Kuchinninaku.



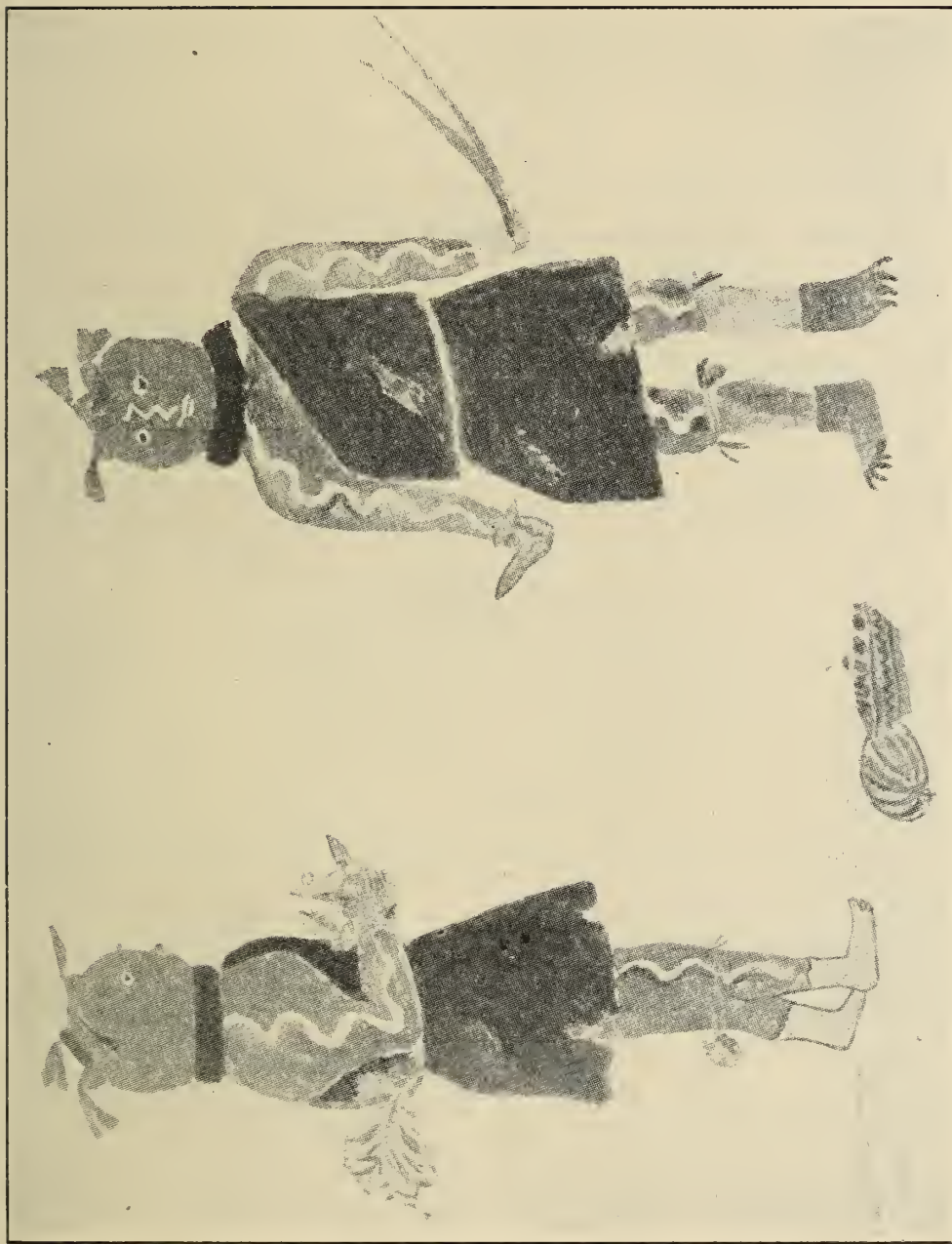


Fig. 15. Gumeyoish.

This was not the first time I had heard the *kashare* charged with meddling in affairs none of their own i.e., with the *k'atsina*. Between the *k'atsina* and the *cheanitsa* (order of *cheani*) there is today a definite line,<sup>1</sup> just as at Zuñi there is a line between the *koko* and the societies. The *shiwanna cheani* is the only *cheani* left at Laguna<sup>2</sup>—the two *kashare*<sup>3</sup> *cheani* live at Messita. In that memorable split to Isleta of almost a half century ago, the Laguna *cheanitsa* were disrupted. The *shiwanna cheani* gave me the following account of “*s'atiume temishe* (my brothers, a group, several) who left.” The *cheani* here quarreled,<sup>4</sup> we fought like this (moving his index fingers criss-cross). The *kurena* (*shikani cheani*) were in control; they remained, the others left. When they left,<sup>5</sup> they carried away all the altars (*yapaiishin*) and put them in a hole in the top of the mountain (pointing to the north). I don't remember how many days they were there. Then they went to the hole and took out the altars and carried them down to *hatsa* (Messita).<sup>6</sup> They knew they had done a great wrong, so they kept moving further away. That was the reason they went on to *hanichina* (Isleta). First they went to

<sup>1</sup>But whether or not this differentiation is original is an open question. It may have been introduced or intensified through the Zuñi Badger clan influence on the *k'atsina* cult. It is said at Laguna that formerly the *shikani kurena cheani* was an authority in the *k'atsina* cult. Cf. too, Stevenson, (a), 116, 117.

In the *chakwena* dance of Oct. 3-4, 1918,<sup>1</sup> the *shikani cheani* had been overlooked. The dance was at Laguna and the *cheani* was living at Insinal, nevertheless his sister grumbled about the slight. Obviously she associated the *chakwena* with the *shikani cheani*. For example, the *shikani cheani* shared with the *chakwena* the right to use the feathers of the sparrow-hawk, *chutika*, (used by the *cheani* in his feather-stick) and the right to have painted on moccasins pictures of sun, moon, and stars. Nowadays, other *k'atsina* would encroach on these proprietary rights, wearing *chutika* feathers, like the *chakwena*, on top of their mask, and moccasins ornate with sun, moon, and stars. Even in non-*k'atsina* dances such moccasins are worn.

Of considerable significance may be the fact that formerly at the *cheani* solstice ceremonials the *k'atsina* appeared, coming into the ceremonial room two at a time.

Formerly the *shikani cheani* themselves danced. With face painted in three stripes, red, yellow and green, and hair put up in cornhusks, they came out at sunrise and danced at the four corners. Then they danced indoors until sunset, when again they danced at the four corners, this time the people dancing with them.

<sup>2</sup>Formerly, i.e., in the memory of my informant, the sister of *shikani cheani*, there were about twelve *shikani cheani*. There are two alive today at Siama, but they do not practise. When their ceremonial father died they gave his things, his mask and his turquoise, to northern Indians. I heard of a woman named Shena who had been cured by the *shikani cheani*, but not initiated. Joining the *cheanitsa* after a cure is, nowadays at least, not compulsory. Although not initiated, Shena helped the *cheani*, sweeping the floor, carrying water, etc. I heard also of a woman who had been struck by lightning and had therefore become a *shiwanna cheani*. A *saiyap cheani* (see p. 118) survives at Pohuati and still practises *shkatue wawa*, stocking medicine, for persons when “the cold had got into them.” The patient is steamed and, while sweating, massaged.

Laguna people are prone to call in medicinemen from outside, Zuñi or Navajo medicinemen. There is in particular a *muti* (*muki*, i.e., Hopi) *cheani* married at Acoma, who, in serious cases, is summoned. He is *shui* (snake) and *si* (ant) *cheani*. My Laguna informant has heard this man talk against molesting ants. To get rid of ants one should not throw ashes on the ant-hill, he would urge, but sprinkle a line of meal out from the hill for them to follow.

<sup>3</sup>They are Bear clansmen and blood cousins, but anyone may become a *kashare*. In Laguna itself, married to a Laguna woman, lives a *kashare* from a northern pueblo. He is also referred to as a *shui cheani*.

<sup>4</sup>According to another informant, the quarrel was over the *chakwena*. Ordinarily, dancers make a round of the outlying villages, repeating their dance; but the *chakwena* in Laguna will not go to Messita to dance.

<sup>5</sup>According to another informant, the split was due to the Protestants (*shpürshtanitiyi*) who objected to the *cheani* and it was the orthodox *cheani* party that went to Isleta.

<sup>6</sup>In 1896 Hodge (133) describes Hatsáyi (Sp. Mesita) as a summer village.



*hatsa*. Half the people moved on from there to *hanichina*.<sup>1</sup> Most of the *cheani* at *hanichina* were from *hatsa*. They reached *hanichina*. What they did there with the *yapaiishin* I do not know. There was one woman *kurena* at *hanichina*, but she has died recently. So the *kurena cheanitsa* at *hanichina* is extinct. Of all the Laguna people (*gawekame*) who went to *hanichina* there is but one man left. His name is Lei.<sup>2</sup> The *cheani* who went to *hanichina* were the *hakani* (Fire), the *hish* (Flint) and the *shahiaye*.<sup>3</sup> The *gawekame* went after the altars at *hatsa* and brought some back. I was a young man and a *cheani* (*shahaiye* as well as *shiwanna cheani*). Robert Marmon<sup>4</sup> was *topopo* (governor), and he gave them authority to go after what had been stolen. They had taken the *santu* also. They had a big meeting. All the people from all the villages were there. They all said it was good that they had gone after the altars."

Before this troublous affair the *cheani* were considered to be in a "round group" with *shikani cheani* in charge of them all. Evidently the *shikani-kurena cheani* was accounted the *hanigyē* (topmost) *cheani* because of the supremacy attributed to *osha'ch*. I heard too that "*osha'ch cheani* was the first one because he came to the light first," a reference presumably to the emergence myth.<sup>5</sup> These statements were made, it must be noted, by the assistants of the *shikani cheani*. Curiously enough they admitted to no knowledge of the last "cacique" or *tiamoni hochen*, *hochen par excellence*. His personal names were Taiowityuē and Meyu (lizard), and he was a Lizard clansman. He had been a Flint *cheani* and then an *opi* or war priest and then, after he married, he be-

<sup>1</sup>To my question about the clan composition of the immigration, Lizard, Sun, Eagle, and Road-runner clans-people were mentioned.

Writing in 1891 Lummis (206) states that a generation before, owing to a great drought, about 150 Keres from Acoma and Laguna settled in Isleta.

<sup>2</sup>And yet I was subsequently cautioned not to let this story reach the people of Isleta, for they would trace it to the narrator. Only one other in Laguna knew the history, the *shikani cheani*, and he was too old and deaf to be suspected. The facts are better known in Laguna than the *shiwanna cheani* represented.

<sup>3</sup>Subdivided into *shkuyu* (giant), and *sii*, ant. By one informant, *shahaiye* was equated with *kauwatschia* who swallowed sticks a foot long and red at the tip. The stick doubled up by some device. There were stick-swallowers also among the *kapina cheani*.

For subdivision of societies, cf. Stevenson, (a), 74.

<sup>4</sup>It was his brother, a government school teacher, who married one of my informants, the sister of the *shikani cheani*. Mr. Robert G. Marmon settled in Laguna in 1862. Like his brother he married a Laguna woman. To native ceremonial he is indifferent, not having attended a mask dance for twenty years and never having attended solstice ceremonials. He told me that at the time the altars were recovered they were set out in the council room, and they seemed to be in the charge of old women. On this occasion people "promised not to use the things any more." Mr. Marmon thinks that in the last ten or fifteen years there has been a revival of the ceremonial life at Laguna.

<sup>5</sup>The *osha'ch* (*shikani-kurena*) *cheani* is associated, as we have seen, with *ma'sewi* who found the Sun (See p. 114). Now it is of interest that at Sia the Knife (or Flint) society was the first organized by the war gods and it is associated with the war society, and at Cochiti the head of the flint society becomes the *tiamoni* or cacique. According to one Laguna informant the Flint society at Laguna was also the leader (*tsiadauia*), but only in case of disagreement among the *cheani* in choosing the *tiamoni* did the selection fall to the Flint society. The Flint head and his assistant, the *shikani* head, installed the *tiamoni*, giving him the cane (*yapi*) and *chasumi* (feathered cane) from which he got his authority.



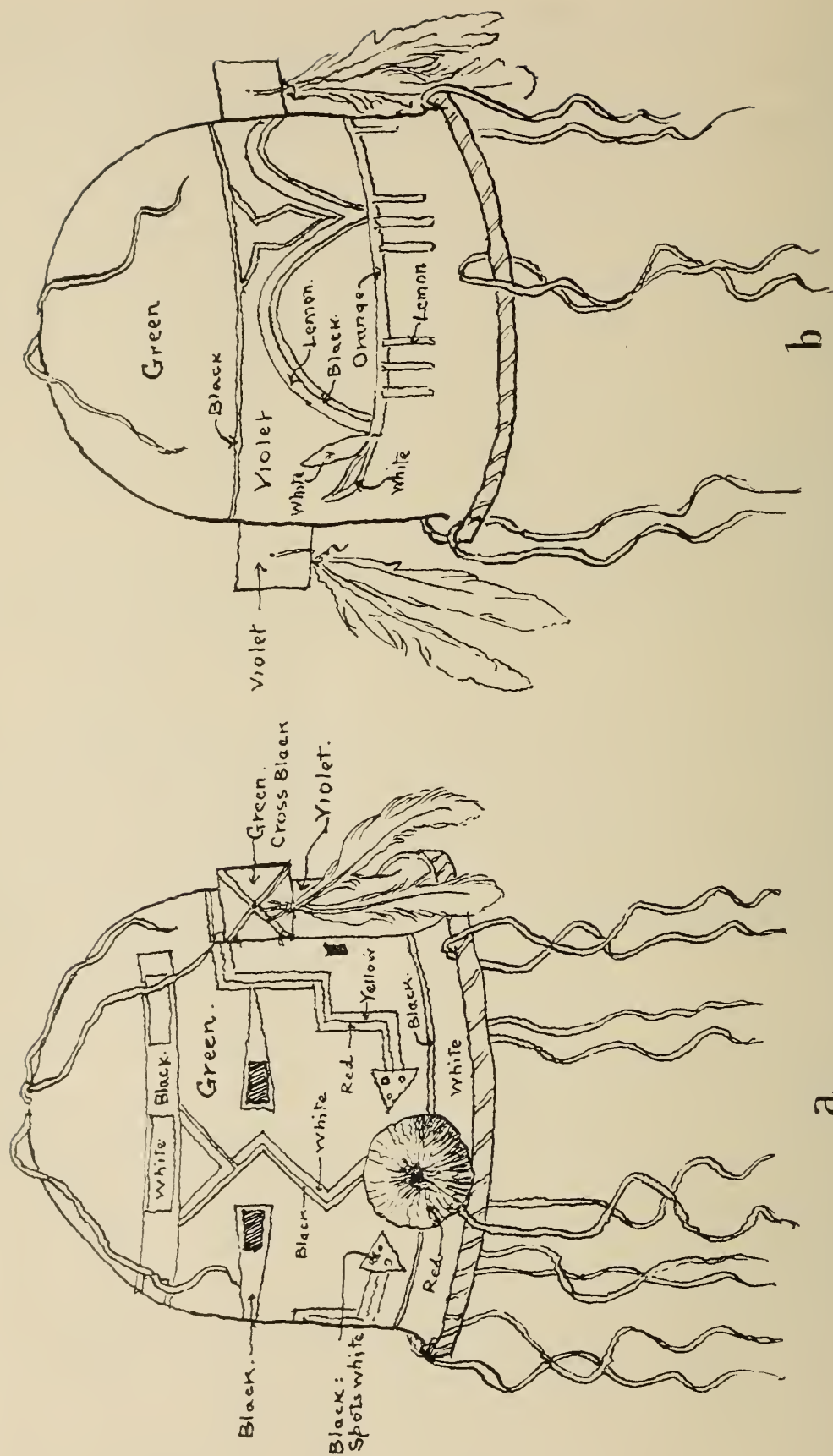


Fig. 16. Unidentified Mask. *a*, front. The base as in Figs. 17 *a*, *b* is a wooden frame, the thongs, buckskin The feathers as in Fig. 17*a* are duck. The mouthpiece is of yarn; *b*, back.  
The three masks in Figs. 16-17 are from the collection in the Brooklyn Institute Museum. For the drawings I am indebted to C. Grant La Farge.

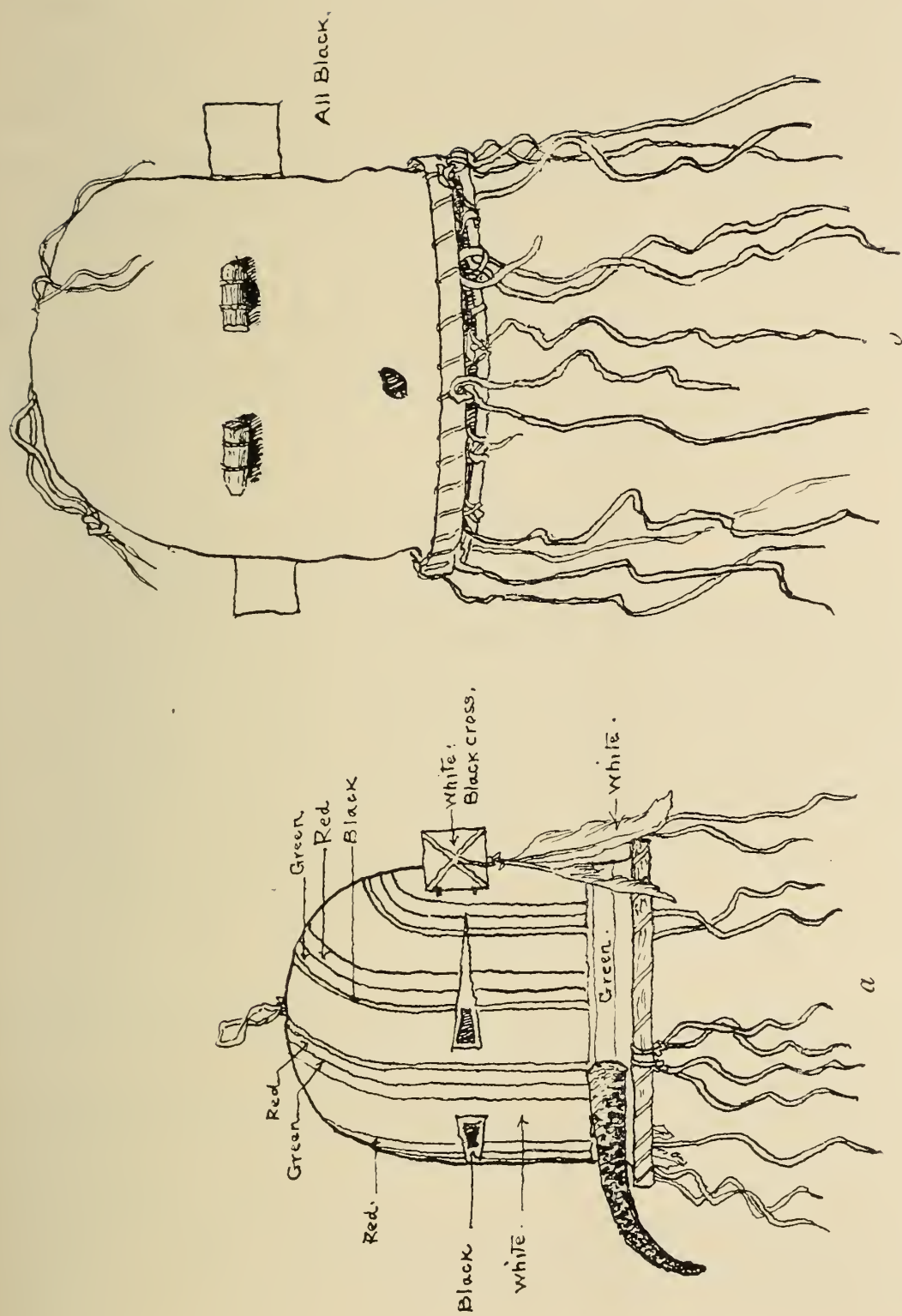


Fig. 17, *a*. Mask of Kaina'nyi. The beak is a cornucob colored carmine for about an inch from the mask and to the tip black; *b*, Unidentified Mask. See Fig. 16.

came *tiamoni*. He had twelve children. About the time of the Great Split he went to live with a married daughter at Messita. Then or at his death the office lapsed, and headship or quasi headship devolved, I surmise, upon the *shikani-kurena cheani*.

Formerly, everybody, said the *shiwanna cheani*, every boy and every girl, was initiated into a *cheanitsa*.<sup>1</sup> *Ts'i'ts'urnurts'*, the *k'atsina*, was in all cases the initiating whipper, "so all the *cheani* were in this sense *k'atsina cheani*."<sup>2</sup> Whether or not these statements point to a former organization like the present *kotikyane* of Zuñi into which all the boys are initiated or indicate a state from which such an organization as the *kotikyane* itself might develop, it is of course impossible without further data to determine. It is an important fact in this connection that every *cheani* group was supposed to be possessed of two masks which were worn at initiation.

The times for solstice ceremonials, winter and summer (*kuamishukurtsa*, northeast corner, *dyamishukurtsa*, southeast corner), are decided upon, in theory, by the head (*yani*) *cheani*, called together by the *tsatio hocheni* (land, outside chief) i.e., the so-called "war captains." Practically the *shiwanna cheani* who knows the summer solstice is in the month of St. John [San Juan *tauwach* (moon)]<sup>3</sup> fixes upon a date with the "war captains." From this time the *shiwanna cheani* counts six moons to the winter solstice—plainly, from the names for the solstices, implying as they do solar observation,<sup>4</sup> a demoralized calendar.<sup>5</sup> Every morning for four days the *cheani* take a purge of warm cedar brew, then before eating, they retire to a secluded spot, turn to the east and vomit.<sup>6</sup> During this period they were supposed to abstain from salt and to

<sup>1</sup>Another informant controverted this statement. According to Dorsey and Voth (9), every Hopi man or boy is at one time or another initiated into one of the four fraternities, becoming thereby a member of the Soyal fraternity.

<sup>2</sup>*K'atsina* initiates are called *shuts k'atsina cheani*.

<sup>3</sup>The moons he gave me were: *natsi* (new) *shaiti* (year), (2) *loko* (crazy) *tauwach*, (3) *chauma yamoni* (plant), (4) *bachasti* (corn planting soil broken, *patshasta*, cf. below), (5) *shauwitsi* (soil soft, sow, cf. *shau oitshe* below), (6) *sauwa* (San Juan), (7) *santiago*, (8) *kenach tauwach*, (9) *kityush tauwach*, (10) *haiatse*, (11) *shuma* (dead, skeleton, referring to All Souls' Day), (12) *nachu wena* (*Sp. noche buena*, i.e., Christmas).

From another informant I got: (1) *lei* (king) *tauwach*, (2) *loko* (crazy) *tauwach*, also *yamoni* (plant), (3) *patshasha* (soil broken) *oitshe* (sow), (wheat is sown), also *meyutsich* (lizard tail cracking, referring to ice), (4) *shau* (soil, soft) *oitshe* (sow) (corn is planted), *yachiti* (grains of corn, May?), (6) *sauwa*, (7), (?), (8) *santiago*, translated "August," also *gawitit* (cutting i.e. wheat), (9) *kuwawatit'* or *tsiwatiti'* (gathering in), (10) *haiatse* (?), (11) *shuma tauwach*, (12) *chiwena* (*noche buena*) *tauwach*.

Spring is *gich*; summer *g'shrait*; fall, *haiatsi*; winter, *kuk*; from solstice to solstice, *ishgekuku*. Cf. Harrington, 62-66.

Giwire is said to have kept track of days by marking on his house wall or by making knots in a string.

<sup>4</sup>Observation of when "the sun turned back" is said explicitly to have been taken at *okatsani* or *kuateshshkurtisho*, a conspicuous rock at the east side of town.

<sup>5</sup>This was the account given by the *shiwanni cheani* himself. December fifth and June fifth are said by others to be the solstice ceremonial dates. In 1919 the summer solstice ceremonial was held on June fourteenth, the postponement being desired by the war captains. Up to a day or two before, the *shiwanni cheani* was away, visiting his daughter in Isleta.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 75.



"stay away from home" i.e., to abstain from sexual intercourse.<sup>1</sup> Their water and bread were kept separate. This state of taboo, *kauch*<sup>2</sup>, or, as a Zuñi would say, of being *teshkwi*, formerly preceded every *cheani* ceremony, but nowadays the restrictions are observed only<sup>2</sup> by the *shikani cheani*.<sup>3</sup> On the third day of the solstice ceremonial the "war captains" call upon all the men to go hunting,<sup>4</sup> the spoils destined for the *cheani*. On the fourth day all the men cut feather-sticks<sup>5</sup> and that night the ceremony takes place. Today it is the *shikani cheani* and the *shiwanna cheani*<sup>6</sup> who conduct it, making a single altar in the room loaned to them for the occasion.<sup>7</sup> Bidden by the "war captains,"<sup>8</sup> the *cheani* carry ashes and embers around the openings of the room "because there might be somebody around not thinking good thoughts and spoiling the ceremony." After the night-long singing or chanting terminates—the "war captains" tell the *cheani* when they have sung enough—the *cheani* take their feather-sticks "off somewhere" and pray

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 75.

<sup>2</sup>Probably observed by all taking part in the ceremonial. See below. By one man who lived near the house I was in at the time, the morning purge, I know, was taken, and the war captain about 7 a.m. the mornings of June tenth to thirteenth called out to the men "to clean their stomach."

<sup>3</sup>Habitual restrictions upon the *osha' ch-kurena-shikani cheani* are abstention from the meat of jack-rabbit and abstention from the *waku* plant, Rocky Mt. bee plant (*Peritoma serrulatum* or *eleonac serrulata*), which is eaten by others as a vegetable. Jack-rabbit is not eaten because its blood is dark like human blood; *waku* is not eaten because the plant grew up from the blood of *ma'sewi* as with bleeding feet he traveled to the four corners of the universe (Cf. Cushing, 183-184), and the Zuñi believe that *waku*, in Zuñi *apitatu*, is a "cacique." Some people will not weed it out from their corn. In the ceremonial of dedicating the mask the Navajo drink a ceremonial tea of *wa'*, bee weed (Franciscan Fathers, 389). *Waku* is peculiarly fatal to the *cheani*. Were he to eat anything even from a pan from which the *waku* had not been thoroughly cleansed, his stomach would swell up and he would die. Taboos upon jack-rabbit and upon *waku* (*wako*) apply to the *shikarne cheani* of Cochiti (Dumarest, 189) and to the society of the *shi'wannakwe* at Zuñi.

The *shi'wannakwe* of Zuñi were equated by a Zuñi informant who had visited Laguna with the *kwilaina*, as Zuñi people pronounce *kurena*, of Laguna.

<sup>4</sup>The Hopi go rabbit hunting for three days after the winter solstice ceremonial. (Dorsey and Voth, 15).

<sup>5</sup>According to a Zuñi informant, *ukyahaia* or downy feathers are tied to the rungs of the ladder of the ceremonial room to be carried away by a masked impersonation he identified with the Zuñi *shitsukia*, only the mask was featherless.

<sup>6</sup>Formerly the *shiwanna cheani* performed only curing ceremonies, particularly in connection with broken bones. There has never been any society of *shiwanna cheani*. As at Zuñi, persons shocked by lightning are qualified to cure; but neither at Zuñi nor Laguna is there any evidence today that such medicinemen were ever organized into a group.

<sup>7</sup>In June, 1919, the ceremonial was held in two houses. In one house the *shiwanna cheani* presided, assisted by one *shuts kurena cheani* from Parahi, one *shuts shaiyaik* (hunting) *cheani* from Parahi, one *shuts k'apina* from Pohnuati, one *shuts k'atsina cheani* from Tsiama and one *shuts k'atsina cheani* of Laguna. In the other house, a house where the *kashare* masks are kept, the two *kashare* of Messita presided assisted by one *shuts Flint cheani* from Pohnuati, one *shuts shiwanna cheani* from Messita, one *shuts k'atsina cheani* from Laguna, one from Pohnuati, and two from Messita. All the *cheani* were supposed to take part in solstice ceremonials.

<sup>8</sup>In contemporaneous public opinion the war captains are present both at *cheani* ceremonials and at *k'atsina* dances primarily to guard against witchcraft. The war captains are under a great strain, and so they are chosen from the stronger middle-aged men. Formerly, older men were chosen for the office. One gets the impression at Laguna that sacerdotal initiative is to a large degree in the hands of the "war captains." For example, the *shiwanna cheani* would grumble that the war captains were not seeing to it that some of the younger men were initiated into the *cheanitsa* so when he and the *shikani cheani* died the *cheanitsa* could go on.

According to a Zuñi informant the dances at Acoma are determined by the "*katsena huchani*" and the *wishtaka* (Keresan for bow i.e., in Zuñi the *pilashiwanni*) *huchani*, i.e., war captain. At Laguna here are a *k'atsina hochen* and his assistant-successor chosen by the group.

for the health and good of the people, for rain and good crops.<sup>1</sup> The night chant is in large part, I understand, a recital of the wanderings from *shipap* to *osha'ch gama* (home), the hill about four miles to the east of Laguna, and the song is thus analogous to the migration chants of the *Zuñi shalako*, *sayatasha* or *kyaklo*. The following fragments of the myth were told by the sister of the *shikani cheani*. Upon her in recent years Giwire had relied as a prompter. I got the impression that in the solstice night chant the incidents are merely referred to, the chant without knowledge of the myth being more or less unintelligible.<sup>2</sup>

## I

*Emi hama* (very long ago) when it was still dark, before there was any light, the *chakwena ma'sewi* lived at *shipap*. His mother *iyetiku* had three sisters, *tsichinnaku*,<sup>3</sup> *naustiti*, *ushstiti*. They were working to bring light. The *chakwena ma'sewi* would go back and forth searching for the sun. *Iyetik* and her three sisters were working daily to find light. The only light they had was a little light from embers. They were in the darkness all the time. *Ma'sewi* was very obedient, he would do whatever his mothers told him. He would not look to see what was the food they had prepared for him until he arrived at the end of his journey. They sent him north, east, south, west. He could not find the sun. He thought his last chance was to go down into the earth.

His mother *iyetik* said to her sisters, "I wish we had something to make us laugh. We sit around here so quiet without anything to make us laugh." *Iyetik* rubbed her skin. Rubbing both hands she got a ball like dough. She put it aside and covered it with cloth. Out of the rubbings came the *kashare*. He was to make fun for people, to make them forget their troubles. *Iyetik* made a rainbow (*kashchasti*), an arch for him with pictures of the sun, moon and stars for him to climb on, up and down. He kept them laughing.<sup>4</sup> *Ma'sewi* was gone and did not come back. The *kashare* got restless, he said, "Mothers, where did my brother *ma'sewi* go? I had better go and search for him." "No, you would only die of hunger. *Ma'sewi* will come back. You could not stand the journey." *Kashare* said, "I will take food and water with me." They had hardly finished speaking of him (*ma'sewi*), when in he came. He brought in the sun. He had found it in white earth way down in one of the four corners.<sup>5</sup> His mothers said, "Have you come, my son?" "Yes, mother." "*Kashare* was going after you." "There was no need of going after me, he would have died of hunger and thirst." When they went to take out the sun it was so bright it dazzled

<sup>1</sup>Formerly at the solstice ceremonials the *cheani* visited *hochanitsa spinna* (Mt. Taylor) and the pit shrine about sixteen miles east of Laguna (*shtuitawa*) "to find out good." See Parsons, (g). At both places the *cheani* got omens for the year. If there was to be rain, they saw growing in the pits green wheat and corn. These shrines are still visited, presumably by the war captains. The day before the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 a sometime Fire *cheani* visited Mt. Taylor—on a school picnic, he said.

<sup>2</sup>A character, I have little doubt, of all Pueblo Indian songs. (Cf. Voth, 311).

<sup>3</sup>The etymology given is *tsichu*, think, *chinnaku*, femaleness.

<sup>4</sup>*Bitsitsi*, the first *ne'wekwe* of the *Zuñi*, was similarly created from epidermis. Stevenson gives a myth about him which describes him as jester and musician to the Sun, calling him *paiyetemu* (distinguishing him from the *paiyetemu* of the Little Firebrand society). The first *koshairi* of the *Sia* was jester and musician to the Sun. [Stevenson, (a), 33].

<sup>5</sup>According to another informant *iyetiku* gave the sun in wrappings to *ma'sewi*, bidding him not to open until he had visited the four corners.



their eyes. On the second day they were going to take it out in the world and put it up in the sky.<sup>1</sup> They were going to see which side would be the best for the sun to come up. They first tried the north. The light did not seem strong. Next they tried from the west. That did not suit them. Next they tried from the south. The fourth time they tried it from the east. It was just as they wanted it to be. That was the first light in the world.<sup>2</sup> They wanted to bring the people up in the light, the *cheani* and the people, to see the light. He (*ma'sewi*) went back and said, "My children, I have made a great light for you. You can all come out. You can go the length of my arm. I want to try you out. If you are wicked, you may have to go back into the darkness." He let them go as far as *kashoti*, white village. The houses were made of white shell. That was as far as he could let them go. For a while they all seemed to be good. It rained, the land was fine, the crops grew well. On the housetops they shook their rattles (*uyasihina*) and danced on the wall divisions (*kuyapa'uwitsa*). Their mother *iyetik* told them if they were all good they would be happy. If they were wicked they would have trouble. After all her talk they disobeyed her. They were deceived by *bacheani*. He came from the northwest. He made himself out of an arrow point. When he came, he told them he could do almost anything like *naishdia hus* (father *dios*). "I will show you that I can do things as well as *naishdia hus*. He sent me to do these things. Look now." From his toe he brought up two burros all bridled. The *cheani* said, "That is true. He did send you." Thus he deceived them. He was going to hold a ceremony like the *cheani*. They were all watching him. He had a bowl near him. He kept taking pebbles out of his mouth and he threw them into the bowl. He took out of his mouth bits of cloth. That pleased them. They believed in him. To this day the *kashare* do this, they take things out of their mouth.<sup>3</sup> (The people do not think so much of the *shikani* because he does not deceive them.) As soon as he had deceived them, he ran away. He went first northeast, then east, then southeast, to Mexico (*g'churatsi*). That's the reason there are so many Mexicans (*g'chura*) to the south. From then on the *cheani* had no good fortune. When they had rain dances, the rain did not come. The wind blew. The sun parched their crops. They were struck by famine. They would take their own children and jerk off their shoulders and eat the meat. The officers (*uwachen*) took the *cheani* and the war captains (*tsatio uwachen*) and imprisoned them. They were in prison for many years. They were punished by not having anything to eat or drink. The *kashare* got so thirsty, they drank their urine, and so hungry, they ate their faeces. That is the reason when the *kashare* initiate they make the initiates drink urine and eat faeces. Mother *iyetik* took pity on them and told *ma'sewi* to open for them and then to go after *bacheani* and find him and kill him. They followed his tracks northeast, east, and southeast. They found him near the big water. When they found him, they killed him. They drowned him. They started back. Then they had better fortune. To this day the *kashare* believe in none as they believe in the *bacheani*.

## II

When *ma'sewi* went round the four corners of the earth, he wore out the soles of his moccasins, his feet were bleeding. (That is the reason the *ma'sewi* never stand still. When the *shikani cheani* comes to that part of his song he stands up and does

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Matthews, 30.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Russell, 254.

<sup>3</sup>*Kokimuni* is a term for jugglery. All the supernaturals have *kokimuni* i.e., supernatural power.



not stand still). With bleeding feet he went on his way to find the sun. *Wikoli*<sup>1</sup> came from the north, *shumaekoli*<sup>2</sup> from the east, they met.<sup>3</sup> *Shumaekoli* sang, "*Ai, wikoli.*" *Wikoli* said, "*Ai dui, shumaekoli.*" *Shumaekoli* said, "Where are you going? What are you doing here?" He said, "I have just come from the north. I am hunting for our mother. I have not done the right thing by the people. I have killed so many by cramps. Maybe you are our mother." *Wikoli* said, "No, I don't know, maybe I am. Now let us sit down and talk together, talk about the way we should respect the people and care for them." While they were sitting there talking, *ma'sewi* came from the east. He heard the talking. He started to sing—

aa to ee aa tiee hati (where) wikoli shumaekoli iani (road, life) ekatsa  
(are talking) a hati (where) wikoli shumaekoli iani (road) ekoyota  
(are singing)

*Wikoli* said, "Listen, *ma'sewi* has come back." "Where?" *Wikoli* said, "Here." When he met them, he scolded *shumaekoli* because he had not acted right. *Wikoli* said, "Have you come, *ma'sewi*?" "Yes, I have come." Here is *shumaekoli*, the wicked one, be careful and do not let him deceive you. I am going now." "Let us go," said *wikoli*. So they stood up together ready to go. *Shumaekoli* said, "My friend (*saukin*), *wikoli*, what is this hanging there?" He had a sparrow-hawk feather<sup>4</sup> hanging in his hair. "What do you do with this feather?" "I have it there for a purpose." "Will you give me two of those feathers to put in my armband?" He gave him a feather for each arm. Still he kept asking for all the feathers. He said he could not give them, for if he did, he would lose the people, it was a sign he was carrying the people on top. "Go, I think you are bad." *Shumaekoli* went on, but only a little way when he stepped on a cactus. It lamed him in the heel. He went on leaning on his bow. "Lean," said *wikoli*,<sup>5</sup> "that is the way you must go. You are not good."<sup>6</sup>

*Ma'sewi* was on his way back to *shipap*. His mother *iyetik* was cruel to him, but he was always obedient. When he found the great light, he was going to come out with the people. Mother *iyetik* said, "*Amuu seyach*, my dear child, *amuu*, the people in the great light (*gaishpieshe*) will make fun of you. They will say all kinds of things about you because you have crook eyes and your tongue hangs down<sup>7</sup> and you have a black face." He said, "Mother, I must go with them into the great light. I care for the people and I want to go with them." She said, "You will have to go out once more, up to the north top corner." She wanted him to announce that the people were coming to the north top corner, the west top corner, the south top corner, and the east top corner, to announce that the people were coming from the darkness into the light.

<sup>1</sup>The second in office among the *kurena* is called *wikoli*; the first, *shika*. The one to initiate is called *hotokoli*. According to Father Dumarest at Cochiti *wikore* is an officer of the *quirana*.

<sup>2</sup>*Shumaekoli* used to belong to a *cheanitsa*. In the dances they would start south of *osha'ch gama*. They were called *saiyap*. They would bring two small piñon trees pulled up from the roots to *kakati*. The masks of the *shumaekoli* were passed on to Zuñi. [Stevenson, (b), 547]. The name of the present director of the Zuñi *shuma'kwe* is *Ma'asewwi* (Kroeber, 171); but the name is said to be a personal, not a society name.

<sup>3</sup>The *kurena* masked impersonations always came in from the northeast.

<sup>4</sup>Property of the *kurena*, See p. 108, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup>*Wikoli* is given also as a term for one of the four officials of the *kashare*. The head was *honawaitē* (a *Sia* term), the others, *tsaiyatsidjaku*, *wikoli*, *hotokoli*. One of the heads of the *chakwena* is referred to as *wikoli*, and the two masks of the Flint society used in initiating are also referred to as *hotokoli* and *wikoli*. Initiations were made, as at Zuñi, in late winter or early spring. The mask-wearing initiators of this society and of the *k'apina* society were *heleleka* and *s'amahiya*.

<sup>6</sup>*Shuma* in Keresan means skeleton, corpse. Probably the name is seen again in the *shuma'kwe* of Zuñi. There is a fraternity among the Hopi having *sumaikoli* and *kawikoli* masks. It makes offering to *masauú*, god of death. Fewkes, (i), 356-357.

<sup>7</sup>Here the *chakwena* mask is being described. My informant explained that in his journeys *ma'sewi* got so thirsty and parched that his tongue hung out. The *ma'sewi* (*chakwena*) impersonators are painted white to the breast because *ma'sewi* felt parched down to his breast.

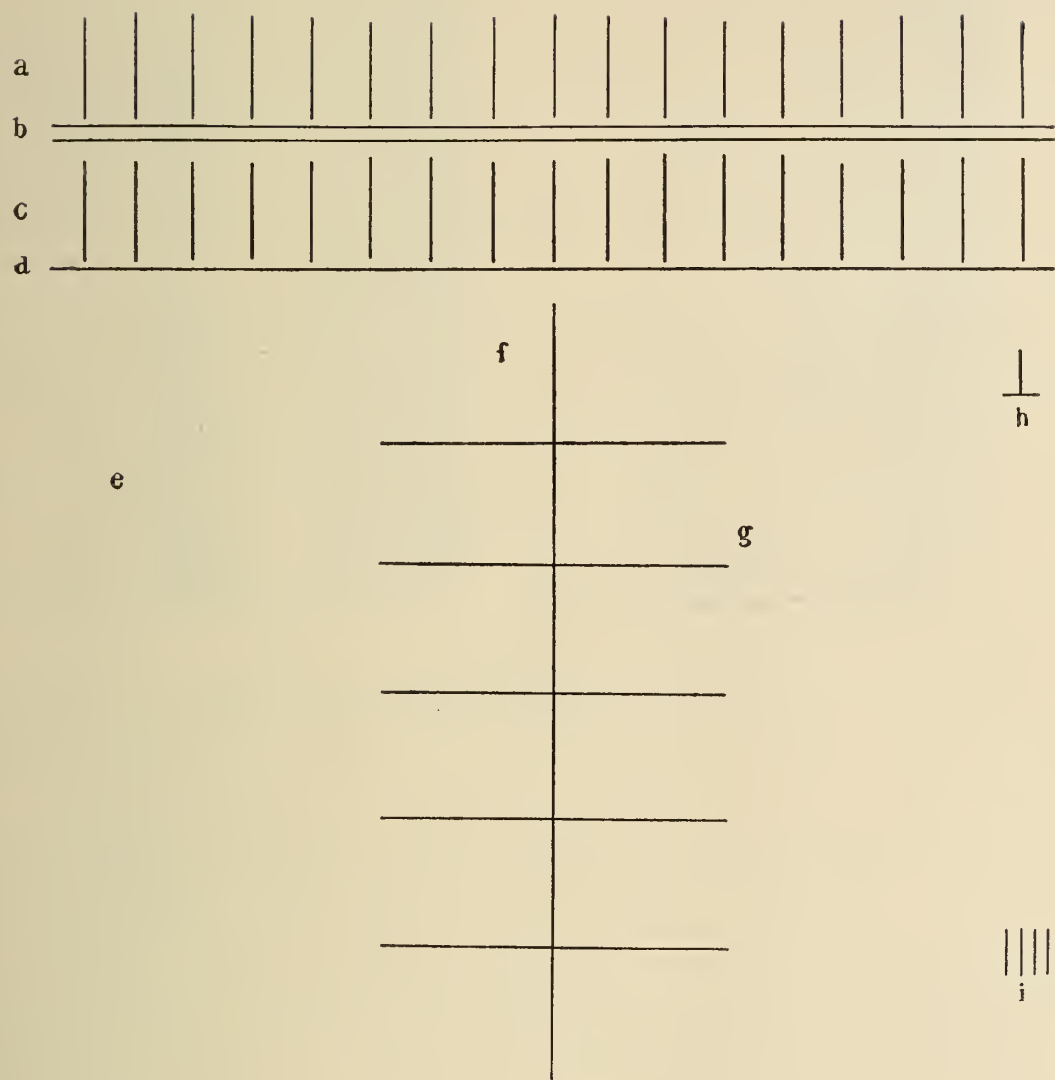


Fig. 18. Altar of *shikani cheani* in Curing Ceremonial. *a*, *hadjamuni* planted in *b*; *b*, *yashpatawe* (mud) i. e. mud wall about two inches high; *c*, *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup> standing on *d*; *d*, a line of meal; *e*, *tsiwasu* (sick one), i. e. the patient; *f*, *hiani* (road) a line of meal with cross lines of meal; *g*, *uctishumi* (*uwai' chumi*) (medicine bowl); *h*, *mapany'i* (paw) i. e. bear's claw, belonging to assistant *cheani*; *i*, *hishumi* or *tsishamishtochu*, four eagle wing feathers lying on a piece of buckskin.

In times of drought the *cheani* also conducted a ceremonial called *kuashiwannatia*, "They act like *shiwanna*."<sup>1</sup> They were *kaushish* for four days, eating freely on the fifth day. They visited a spring, finding the grass around the spring green if it was to be a good year, dried up, for a bad year. Their retreats were in sequence, but informants are more or less uncertain about the order. According to the sister of the *shikani cheani* the order was first the *shikani* and Fire, then the *shahaiye* and *saiyap*, then the *kashare*. According to other informants the order was Flint, the *tsiaduia* or leader *cheani*, *shahaiye*, Fire, *kurena*, *shiwanni*, *kashare*. The *k'apina cheani*, *cheani* who put down feather-sticks, stained red, to allay high winds, were in retreat only two days and then danced.

From the sister of the *shikani cheani* I learned about his curing ceremony—all the *cheani* worked cures, being invited with a package of meal. The *cheani* gives the meal to his *iyatik'ũ*, asking her help. He visits the patient for four days before the ceremony. *Kuati*, "going after" i.e., of the heart of the patient, the ceremony is called. The heart is believed to have been carried off by *kanadyeya* (witch, evil spirit), the witch taking animal form. In the house of the patient the altar is set up facing, preferably, towards *osha'ch gama*.

In another connection, in connection with the solstice ceremonials, I think, the same informant stated that on the altar of the *shikani cheani* lay propped against the *iyatik'ũ* two of the three canes (*yapi*) of the "war captains." She also drew the picture of a wooden cross lying on the left of the altar,<sup>2</sup> facing out, and near *samahiye* ("idol" translated my informant's daughter), a stone which was dressed with feathers on the back and a circlet of beads,<sup>3</sup> dressed apparently like the *iyetik'ũ*, except that on the stone a face would be painted in colors of turquoise and yellow. The appearance (shape?) of the *samahiye* reminded my informant of that of *kaina'nyi k'atsina*. (Fig. 13). The *samahiye* was never carved, it was a natural formation, preferably rounded at one end, found in the mountains.<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 19.) The *samahiye* of the *shikani cheani* was over a foot high. With animal figures on the altar my informant appeared unfamiliar.<sup>5</sup> On the right of the altar was a basket (*utani*).

<sup>1</sup>The term was freely translated as calling rain, just as the corresponding term for the ceremonials of the rain priests of Zuñi is rendered.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 77.

<sup>3</sup>When not on the altar the feathers and necklace are removed from the *samahiye* and, like *hachamuni*, it is wrapped with meal in cornhusk.

<sup>4</sup>Similar stones and somewhat similarly decorated, called likewise *tcamahia* are found on Hopi altars. [Fewkes, (j) 489]. They figure also on Zuñi altars. According to another informant *samahiye* are found in ruins. *Yat'aisht'ẽ* are ceremonial stones like them, but with less polish.

<sup>5</sup>Images of mountain lion and bear do figure on the altar, according to another informant.



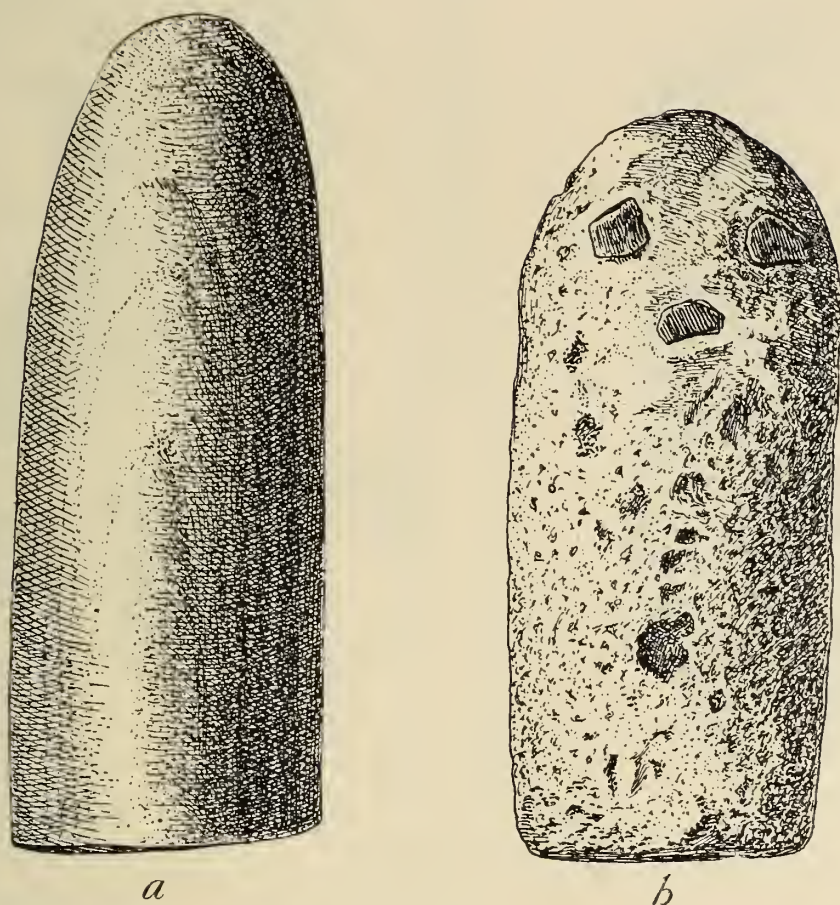


Fig. 19 *a* (50. 1-1040a), *b* (50-2996). Fetish Stones. *a*, Laguna *sam'hiye*; *b*, Tewa. Height of *a*, 13 cm., *b*, 12 cm.

On one side of the altar there was also a crook (*shoitsshia*) stick<sup>1</sup> to the point of which hung an eagle and a turkey feather.<sup>2</sup>

*Shikani cheani* is nude but for a breechcloth. He has across his nose two lines of red paint (*hakacha*)<sup>3</sup> and two lines across his lips. There are four lines on each side of his face. He is painted, like *ma'sewi*, or like the representations of *ma'sewi*, the "war captains," "because it is through *ma'sewi* he hopes for success." His hair is tied in a top knot and over "the soft place in the head" is painted in red a small cross "to keep away the evil spirits." An assistant *cheani* (today it is the *shiwanna cheani*) holds a crystal (*mashanyu*, great light) to the light, and *shikani cheani* goes about the room as in a daze searching as it were for the stolen heart. The assistant sings.

<sup>1</sup>The head *shikani* is referred to as *hachamuni kaiuk* (broken).

<sup>2</sup>For other particulars see Fig. 18.

<sup>3</sup>The pigment (a red ocher) is collected from rocks nearby and ground fine by men appointed by the *cheani*.

*Hakacha* is also daubed on the face by hunters.



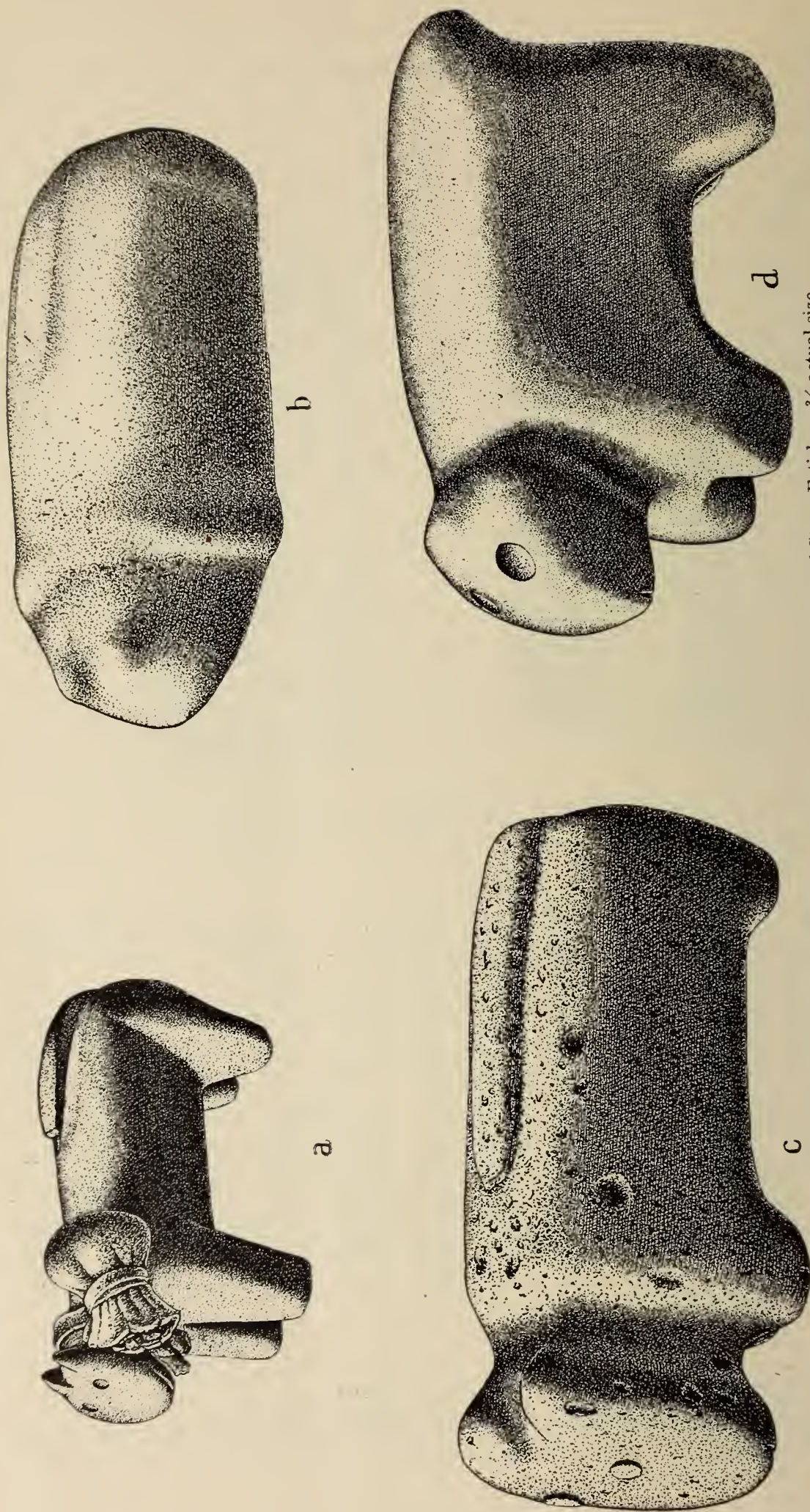


Fig. 20 *a* (50.2-1041a), *b* (50.2-1041b), *c* (50.2-1041c), *d* (50.2-1041d). Animal Stone Fetishes.  $\frac{3}{4}$  actual size.



*Shikani cheani* proceeds to suck<sup>1</sup> places on the body of the patient. Then having rubbed ashes on his body as a prophylactic against witches and on the calves of his legs so as not to get tired, with his bear paw in his left hand, a flint knife in his right, he rushes outdoors, slashing the air with the flint.<sup>2</sup> Two "war captains"<sup>3</sup> with bow and arrows and a blood relative of the *cheani* with a gun follow the *cheani* as he goes forth, running so fast that it is with difficulty his companions keep up with him. He may go to the river for the heart (it is usually found in the river bank) or he may dig somewhere with his bear claw. In a notable case, he dug up the girl patient's heart under a cedar.<sup>4</sup> While he is out and, before that, while he is sucking, his assistant sings:—

aha ihi tsiano	toa uhe aha ihi aha ihi	tsiano	tuwa mati waishgunai
come back to life		come back to life	this man weed
kauwets' we'iyē <sup>5</sup>	gano	ma aha ihi aha ihi	tsiano
vomits	he did it now		come back to life

Returning to the house of the patient, *shikani cheani* creeps in on hands and knees, clasping in the bear's paw the "heart." The "war captains" take the "heart,"<sup>6</sup> from him, and so violent is his behavior, that the "war captains" have to hold him down. He stiffens into a kind of spasm, and his female relatives<sup>7</sup> have to massage him back to consciousness. They rub him with ashes. Restored, he is given warm water to drink, and he goes out and vomits.<sup>8</sup> Returning, he takes from the altar

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 75; Dumarest, 158. According to another informant the *kashare* are the only *cheani* who suck. They suck out hair, pebbles, bits of cloth, etc.

The Zuñi doctor sucks as well as rubs to draw out what the witch has sent into the body—flesh from a corpse, bone, insects, etc.

<sup>2</sup>To cut through the machinations of witches. For the same reason the war captains carry an arrow point in a buckskin bag under their shirt. An arrow point may be hung around a child's neck or tied to a woman's belt. Going out at night both men and women may carry a small arrow point under their tongue. Among the Sia and the Zuñi a scalp taker carried an arrow point in his mouth. [Stevenson, (a), 122; (b), 600].

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 73. Stevenson states that the presence of "warriors" to guard society ceremonials is a Zuñi, but not a Sia, practice. Note contradiction, however, on p. 105. At Laguna it is stated explicitly that the war captains have "to look after" the *cheani*. At the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 it was the war captains who decided that we were not to be admitted to the ceremonial, the head captain coming to our house to notify us. Subsequently he sent a messenger to the house asking to have us locked in in case we were left alone in the house. As we had made a respectful application for admission to the Governor and council the precaution seemed extreme. The usual sanction attaches to the non-admission of Whites to ceremonials—were they admitted there would be no rain.

<sup>4</sup>The girl after a near drowning accident had been crying out in her sleep. Her father, a blood relative of the *cheani*, had accompanied him in the search for her heart. The *cheani* had looked first in the river. At Cochiti witches are supposed to hide in the river (Dumarest, 157). At Zuñi there are a few doctors who go out to look for what the witch has hidden—hidden perhaps several feet under ground or in a tree.

<sup>5</sup>Onomatopoeic for vomit.

<sup>6</sup>As for the bear's paw, whenever it was not in use by the *cheani*, the patient clasped it to his breast. It is clearly among the Keresans (See Dumarest, 158), as among the Zuñi, a weapon against witches. The Zuñi describe it as *sawanike*, possessed of destructive skill.

<sup>7</sup>The blood relatives of both the *cheani* and the patient attend the ceremony. The relatives of the patient, maternal and paternal, had come to his house before the ceremony to prepare gifts of food for the *cheani*. No matter how distressing the condition of the *cheani*, his relatives must not cry. A case is remembered where such an expression of compassion resulted in the death of the *cheani*.

<sup>8</sup>At Cochiti the vomiting is in connection with sucking out the pernicious objects in the body of the patient. (Dumarest, 158).



the *hishami*<sup>1</sup> of four eagle feathers and with them rolls up to the patient the "heart," three or four grains of corn<sup>2</sup> wrapped one by one in red cloth, bound with cotton. He undoes the tangle, searching out the thickly wrapped grains. If there are three grains only, the patient will die, if four, the patient will recover. In the latter case the *cheani* says, *wachutsa*, "there are enough." He places the four grains on the palm of his right hand and blows as if blowing them back into the body of the patient. He blows towards the left arm of the patient, then towards the right arm, then towards the left knee and the right knee. After this, in a shell, he gives the patient the four grains of corn to swallow together with medicine (*wawa*) from the medicine bowl from the altar. In conclusion, the relatives of the *cheani* wash the heads<sup>3</sup> of the relatives of the patient.

After an account of a fight with Navajo raiders<sup>4</sup> in which a Navajo scalp had been taken, the *shiwanna cheani* stated that four days after the fight they had the scalp dance. It lasted a day and a night. The scalp was brought out hanging from the end of a stick which the women held, passing it from one to another. Before the dance the scalp was taken around to the houses of the *opi*,<sup>5</sup> as the killers were called, and food and other things were requisitioned for the scalp.<sup>6</sup> The *opi* (*u'pi*) had to keep a piece of the victim,<sup>7</sup> a piece of skin or something else (*koimata*) wrapped around their feet until the end of the dance. For twelve days after the kill the *opi* might not have sexual intercourse. Scalps were kept in jars in a cave to the north. The *opi* took care of this cave and from this function were called *dyinidit'kaime* (north cave). As at Cochiti a *cheani* would not become an *opi* (but see p. 109), nor would an *opi* become *cheani*.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 79.

<sup>2</sup>In a Zuñi folktale heard, but not recorded, witches had stolen a man's heart, substituting for it black corn. As the corn grew "rusty," the man pined away. "Sick in my heart" is a Zuñi phrase.

<sup>3</sup>As among other Pueblo Indians the hair is washed before a dance. It is also washed on Saturday—rather an interesting instance of acculturation.

<sup>4</sup>When I was a growing boy (*situynimi*) the country was full of enemies, *tyěnyě* (Navajo) and *apachi*. They were always stealing cattle, sheep and horses, and that was what caused them to fight. This fight was in the *d'vėd'vı aiti shuku* (north, there, corner). The Navajo took sheep from the corral of Tsitosh (nicknamed from his small round mouth). The *g'awegame* heard about it and all the men went out to fight. They tied bread around their waist and took their bows and arrows. The Navajo went to *shoakoishapa* [stepping-over i.e., Pohuatil]. There was a fight there. Kuowaituya was shot through the big toe. Samahiye was shot in the left hand. Legario came rushing into the fight. From the rocks above, they shot him through the chest. By this time all the men had gathered here and the Navajo fled. The Navajo who were fighting had lagged behind. They were driving the sheep ahead. One Navajo wore a cap (*shtukutsh*, of cat fur with ears, cf. *Franciscan Fathers*, 461). They shot him through the forehead. Another shot him through the back. Then he died. He was the bravest of the Navajo, so the others fled. The *g'awegame* overtook the Navajo with the flock of sheep. They took the sheep and brought them back.

<sup>5</sup>The same term is used for scalp takers at Jemez, Sia, Santa Ana, Acoma, and Isleta.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 123.

<sup>7</sup>But a man had only to touch a Navajo before a witness, the coup of the Plains Indians, to be entitled to become an *opi*.

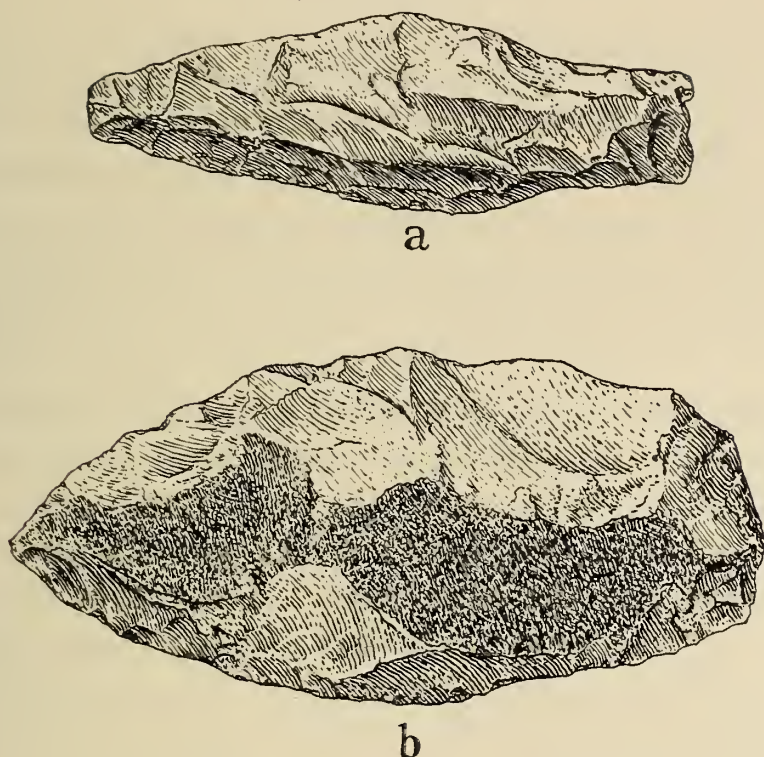


Fig. 21. (50.2-1042ab). Arrow Points kept with Anima Fetishes.  $\frac{3}{4}$  actual size.

Nowadays, to have the war rain dance, *ahina*, from a word in the song, permission has to be got from the surviving *kurena cheani*. Two groups dance, one from the east, one from the west. One dancer represents *ma'sewi*.<sup>1</sup> He is nude and his face is blackened, around his wrist he wears a bracelet of olivella shells.<sup>2</sup> He is called *kakashte* from a word meaning to make black.<sup>3</sup> He carries a bow and arrows, and he dances by himself. Presumably he also represents the *opi*. A woman dances in and out through the choir. She represents a "sister" of *ma'sewi*, an *uchinnaku* (virgin). The kinswomen, paternal kinswomen (*s'akuyate-mishe*), of the "war captains" throw presents to the dancers. A "war captain" blows a flute, the flute of *ma'sewi* (*koiashpiluts ma'sewi*). The dance lasts two days.<sup>4</sup> At the close, the two groups come together. Then the *kashare*, who have the *opi* in charge, raise up the cactus, which they hold in both hands, four times in order to take away any harm coming from the scalp, sickness or ill feeling or other evil. Then as the *kashare* stand aiming their arrows in the direction the scalp has come

<sup>1</sup>According to Sia myth it was *maasewe* who organized the *ope* into a society. [Stevenson, (a), 72].

<sup>2</sup>*Osha'ch cheani* wears a like bracelet during the solstice ceremonials.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. the blackening in the Navajo war dance (Franciscan Fathers, 371-372, 374-375).

<sup>4</sup>Obviously it was this dance which I saw in 1917 at Acoma. See Parsons, (e), 162-171.

This *kurena* dance was formerly held at Laguna in April and November. Now, as at Acoma, it is danced about the New Year or on September nineteenth, the Saint's Day.



from, the people (*hano*) spit into the quivers (*istoa pani*) of the *kashare*. The spitting accomplished, the *kashare* let fly their arrows, shooting away what fear or scare may have been caused by the scalp. The *kashare* are qualified to banish evil. They helped prepare the scalp.<sup>1</sup>

Spitting in exorcism<sup>2</sup> is a familiar ritualistic pattern at Zuñi<sup>3</sup> and among the Hopi.<sup>4</sup> Other Pueblo patterns I found notable at Laguna. There is the use of meal both as a road opener,<sup>5</sup> so to speak, or place indicator, and as an offering—the cornhusk wrapping of the *hachamuni* or of the *samahiye* for example, contains a plentiful supply of meal, and meal is sprinkled on *samahiye* on the altar. It is also sprinkled by the onlookers on the *k'atsina* dancers. Again at meals the *cheani* and the older people (formerly everybody) would sprinkle meal on the floor, calling in *iyatik'*<sup>6</sup> and the *kupishtaiya*. The prayer as given first in English was: "Here, take and eat, all of you, and make the road for us." Subsequently, the following text was given; it varies considerably from the first English version and, I may add, every time it was recited in Keresan it varied:-

naiya iyetik iani tsaiiao batsashgama s'awitemishe tauwa peshaska  
 mother iyetik road take daily my clan people good condition  
 hemetu hano tokai amuma tsiutseani  
 that is all people thus prayer I said

The corn pollen given to hunting fetishes as well as the cornmeal enclosed with the *hachamuni* is said definitely to be food.—The *iyatik'*<sup>6</sup> on the altar stood, as we have seen, on a line of meal,<sup>6</sup> and the "war captain" sprinkles meal in the *k'atsina* dances, for the dancers, it was said, to stand on. Leading out from the altar, as we have noted, is a line of meal, the road for the spirits to come in on.<sup>7</sup> In little ceremonial trails in the shrine on Mt. Taylor meal is sprinkled.

The road (*hiani*) as a pattern of speech or thought is established at Laguna as at Zuñi. For example, when something is breathed on (*g'oputs*, another pattern, corresponding to the Zuñi *yechu*), the

<sup>1</sup>According to one informant the Flint and *shikani* societies had coöperated in the scalp dance.

<sup>2</sup>Three other instances of the rite at Laguna I have noted. As at Zuñi, it is believed that the cord of a new-born infant will run if one who has been snake-bitten comes into the room. The *shikani cheani* had been snake-bitten, so when he visited his newly arrived great-nephew the child's grandmother saw to it that her brother, the *cheani*, spat (*nishatsgu*). For the other instances, see pp. 97, 98 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Parsons, (f), 287. At the close of the lawekwe ceremonial spectators pass both hands down their sides, and then spit "to clear themselves of any trouble," they cleanse themselves (*ishuwanakya*).

<sup>4</sup>Fewkes, (a), 93, 102, 103.

<sup>5</sup>At Zuñi the rite of making a trail by sprinkling is called *altiha*, open.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 102.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 73-4, 105.



breather says, "*Hiani* (road, here, meaning long life) *duwe* (come here).'" It is the road from the east, I infer, that is meant. It is from there too the *kupishtaiya* are supposed to come with rain or snow.

The *kupishtaiya* are called from the east with a ritualistic gesture of invitation.<sup>1</sup> Four times the arms are outstretched, palms upward, and drawn back with a circular motion. Specifically this rite was mentioned in connection with the prayer of the *cheani* at the infant presentation ceremonial.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the exorcising or discharming rites with spittle or ashes, there is a cutting and discarding motion called *kukatsě*, to cut away, the object being, it is said, to get out of the way the machinations of witches. The motion is made in the four directions and appears like a circular motion. A *k'atsina* dancer will exorcise by rubbing eagle feathers athwart each other, doing it over a sick person approaching him in the plaza or over a sick child held towards him.<sup>3</sup> On the road to *Pohuati*<sup>4</sup> there is a rock which is accounted a stone man having the power to turn away sickness. Passers-by will break off green twigs and (with them?) *kukatsě*, throwing a pebble on the heap there of pebbles.<sup>5</sup> Hunters before setting out and after returning perform the rite of *kukatsě*.

I was shown another ritual gesture, partaking perhaps of exorcism, and mentioned as used by *kurena*. Parrot, chaparral cock, and eagle feathers would be held upright in each hand and the *kurena cheani* would move his hands downwards with vehemence as if pressing something down. The *kurena* are going to *kuotriokwiana*, it would be said.

The circuit in ceremonial smoking was given me somewhat doubtfully (given by a woman) as above, east, north, west, south, below.<sup>6</sup> The prayer or formula used is, *dě chachkana kopishtaiya* (here smoke *kopishtaiya*).<sup>7</sup> "The thoughts go up with the smoke."

The rite of *g'oputs* was ordered by *iyatik'ũ*, and in performing it, it is *naiya iyatik'ũ* who is kept in mind. Meal, before it is sprinkled

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 94, 107.

<sup>2</sup>See Parsons, (h), 35.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 100. This motion with eagle feathers is probably the same as that practised by the *akwamosi* (medicine heads) at the *koyupchonawe* of Zuñi and no doubt at other Zuñi ceremonials, [Parsons, (i)].

<sup>4</sup>On or near this road are other places of interest. There is a cliff to the edge of which a jealous person will be taken to make them forget their jealousy. It is called *odyumichuwi* (forget). . . . *Tsipe* (instructor) is a rock which looks like a man's head. Here men pray for new songs, for new learning or experience. . . . Near *Pohuati* there are two rocks, one black, one of sandstone, where *kuchinninaku* and *payachamūr* sat down and turned to stone. For a love charm a man or a woman may scrape these rocks and secretly mix the scrapings in a drink for the beloved person.

<sup>5</sup>The rock is called *putruaishtji* (lightning). It has marks of lightning on it.

<sup>6</sup>Cp. Stevenson, (a), 103, 109, 110.

<sup>7</sup>*Shipolonakya awikena teliyu* (vapor, the heart, more) is the descriptive Zuñi term. "You feed with smoke, you give more flesh to them."

is breathed on,<sup>1</sup> likewise food offered to the dead, likewise *hachamuni* before they are placed, likewise *samahiye*. In greeting the *shiwanna cheani* I raised his hand to my mouth to breathe from it as one would do, if punctilious, to a *shiwanni* at Zuñi. The *cheani* at once completed the act by drawing back my hand to his mouth. My other Laguna informants, however, did not recognize this point of etiquette, and it is possible that the *cheani* may have learned it from his deceased Zuñi wife or others from Zuñi. One informant thought I was referring to the practice of kissing the hand of the *tutache*, the Catholic priest, on taking leave, a practice which may well have been, it seems to me, the origin of the Zuñi practice or, more exactly, of their application of *yechu* to hand-taking.

We noted that a purge, together with continence, are required of the *cheani* before a ceremonial. There are similar exactions of *k'atsina* impersonators. Just as I was leaving Laguna on a recent visit, preparations for the *hemish* dance were begun. On February 14<sup>2</sup> the impersonator started to take a purge for four days. During this time the impersonators would live at home and under no restrictions. On February 17 they were to go out rabbit-hunting to get meat for their coming retreat. On February 18 they were to withdraw to their ceremonial room to live continent and to cut their feather-sticks. If the weather is unpropitious during a dance, violation of restrictions (*cheatse*) on the part of some impersonator is suspected. Recently, during a *yakohanna* dance, there was a violent windstorm, and after the dance *hash* Surni called a meeting to determine who was the offender. During the dance it had been observed that from one headdress in particular the feathers had been blown off and the turquoise paint<sup>3</sup> had run.<sup>4</sup> Besides, the officers had seen the wearer of this headdress go to the house of a woman who was known to have intimate relations with him (both persons were married, the man to a woman much older than himself), in order ostensibly to take a dance doll (*uwak*) to the woman's little girl. After the conviction, they took the offender and dipped him through an ice hole in the river. He has not been allowed since then to take part in any dance.

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<sup>1</sup>Breathed from, among the Sia, [Stevenson, (a), 79, 85, 110, 116, 120]. Breathing from, or ritualistic inspiration, at Laguna is called *kuityia*. The officers on being installed breathe from the canes—to get a new spirit. Breathing on, expiration, *g'oputs*, is “to show what you want.”

<sup>2</sup>The following October *hemish* was danced again at Pohnati.

<sup>3</sup>Both at Zuñi and among the Navajo (Matthews, 91) requirement of continence is connected with the sacred paint. Intercourse is taboo while there is any paint on the person of the impersonator.

<sup>4</sup>In the Zuñi *muwaye* ceremonial unless one man and two girl performers are continent four nights, their head piece will drop off or the paint will come off their face.



There remain of my notes on the ceremonial life of Laguna but brief accounts of certain personal rites, of the characteristic Pueblo rite of closing a woman's confinement and taking out her infant at sunrise,—this rite together with certain pregnancy and infancy practices and beliefs I have described elsewhere,<sup>1</sup>—of funeral rites, and of rites observed by hunters.

A deer hunter will carry in a buckskin bandolier pouch together with turquoise, coral and *hish* (white shell) the stone image of an animal called *shuhuna*<sup>2</sup> or of a mountain lion. An arrow point (Fig. 21) is tied, point forward, to the image and a tiny buckskin bag (*ka'pa*) of corn pollen (*hatawe*) fastened around its neck. (Fig. 20a).<sup>3</sup> This pollen is called food.<sup>4</sup> Somewhere near the hunting ground a shrine (*amuma*, prayer; *ochani*, place) is set up for the image and it is asked to help catch the deer. The deer father and mother are also petitioned for their children, and to them the shell mixture is offered. After this petition the deer are sure to be plentiful and approachable.<sup>5</sup> My informant, a woman, knew of no rite immediately in connection with the kill, but the place roundabouts, said she, was sacred (*tsityu*), none might urinate, for example, anywhere near by.

After a communal deer hunt, the returning hunters go to a place a little way to the south of the town, halt, and set fire to a big cedar. There they sing, and all the people turn out to meet them. Before returning home, the meat has been divided among the hunters, a division probably supervised by the two men to whom the governor and the "war captains" have delegated authority in the hunt. Over his own allotment of meat the hunter performs at home the rite of laying the

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (h).

<sup>2</sup>According to a Zuñi informant, the stone animals on Acoma altars are called *yoní*, stone.

<sup>3</sup>Fig. 20b, c, d were also referred to as *shuhuna* and as hunting fetishes. I surmise that they may once have been placed on altars. [Cf. Stevenson, (a), 77]. During the solstice ceremonial of *shikani cheani*, the animals as well as the stars are called upon. The *shiwanna cheani* said that in working a cure there were four animals to appeal to—the bear (Fig. 20d), mountain lion (Figs. 20a, b, c), badger, and wolf. He would call on the most potent among them for help. In describing his medicine bowl, however, he referred, in addition to cloud and lightning designs, only to bear and mountain lion designs. As at Zuñi, the mountain lion is associated with the north, the bear (*kwaia*) with the west, the badger (*dyupi*) with the south, the wolf (*gakana*) with the east, and the eagle with the zenith. My informants knew of no animal for the nadir.

*Shuhuna* are thought of, today at any rate, as private property to be held in a family as heirlooms. Before selling me the images represented in Fig. 20, the old woman of the house who had inherited them sent word about the proposed sale to her brother-in-law who was out herding. "He might want them sometime hunting." Word came back from him that the *shuhuna* were hers to do with as she wished. According to one informant, the animal is the mountain lioness, according to another, it is the weasel, an animal which cuts the neck of the sleeping deer to suck its blood. In a communal hunt, as men come up to the starting place, they greet the war captain with, "*muk'aich*" (mountain lion), he rejoining, "*shuhuna*."

<sup>4</sup>Compare the feeding of pollen to a fetish stone horse by the Navajo. (Matthews, 43).

<sup>5</sup>A small image of the mountain lion (*hoktitasha*, long tail) is carried likewise by the Zuñi hunter. The Keresan term *shuhuna*, like many other Keresan ceremonial terms, is known at Zuñi, but the Zuñi hunting fetish, like the animal fetish on Zuñi altars, is commonly referred to as *wema*, animal.

The Zuñi hunter sets up a little altar (*teshkwin*) for the *wema* and offers a feather-stick, sprinkling meal. He goes off a little way and sings the hunter song. On his return, if he sees tracks around the altar, his luck next day will be good.—After the kill he rubs a bit of the deer's heart on the *wema*.



"deer" (his portion) on a piece of cotton cloth and covering it with a *manta* (woman's dress) and buckskin and necklaces of value, a rite thought of as letting the deer return to *wenimatse*. Four days after the hunt there is a dance in which two stuffed deer figure.<sup>1</sup> The dance is held indoors and at it each hunter has to throw to the people a part of his venison. Rabbit hunters likewise perform a little rite. The rabbit is put down with his head to the east and sprinkled with corn pollen, the performer saying, *s'awitemishe* (relations) *nuyapeutstashu* (call), and meaning that the rabbit should summon its relatives to be killed on the next hunt.<sup>2</sup>

The success of a hunt may be affected by those at home. When he starts forth, a hunter will caution the women of his household to do what is right, for example, not to quarrel with their neighbors. Recently a man went hunting, and, although the deer were plentiful, he got none. On his return, a *teniente* told him that his wife had been quarreling. Said he to his wife, "It is not surprising I did not kill anything; you have been quarreling all the time."<sup>3</sup> From his relatives a hunter must have "the best thoughts." Through misconduct with another man, a hunter's wife may spoil his hunt.<sup>4</sup> Any envious person, maybe a relative, may also spoil the hunt, if he choose, by following in the shape of some animal and scaring away the deer. Serious sickness at home affects the hunt. Once the brother of my informant went hunting, and, plentiful though the deer were, he brought none down, and he therefore realized that something had happened at home. On his return, he found that his father had been dead a week. "I knew from the way the deer were acting," said he, "that something had happened."

After death, the father's kinswomen (*kuya*, corresponding to *kuku* in Zuñi) come in and wash the corpse. Recently in one instance I heard of a clanswoman of the deceased, not a blood relative, coming in to perform the same function, and, as at Zuñi, this performance by clanswomen is considered customary. A *cheani* paints the face of the deceased yellow—yellow (*uchini*) is thought of as flesh color. The *cheani* uses corn pollen<sup>5</sup> and according to some informants, other pigments.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the myth about the twin gods and the stuffed deer or bear, Dumarest, 219; Stevenson, (a), 47.

<sup>2</sup>For other particulars see Parsons, (e), 186.

<sup>3</sup>Not to quarrel or scold is part of being *kauchu*.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Dumarest, 194; Parsons, (f), 282.

But the omen of infidelity given by the deer to a Zuñi hunter was unfamiliar to my Laguna informant.

<sup>5</sup>See too, Parsons, (e), 180-181. The face of a deceased *shiwanni* at Zuñi is painted with corn pollen and with *tsuhapa*, micaceous hematite. The face of the Laguna *cheani* is said to be painted with two red stripes and two black, the red across lids and lips, the black over nose and chin.

<sup>6</sup>According to one informant every face is painted yellow from the mouth up, and from the mouth down, blue. According to another informant every clan has its own colors and designs for face painting at death.

After the burial, the place where the deceased had lain is watched (*kut-saia*, watching, *shuma*, corpse), watched by relatives (paternal and maternal) against theft by witch animals. On the third day a bowl filled with meal, according to one informant, filled with bits of food and covered with *matsini* (wafer bread) and unspun cotton, according to another informant, is prepared for the dead, "fed" to the dead. Four feather-sticks<sup>1</sup> are stood upright at equal distances in the bowl, and meal is sprinkled. On the fourth day the bowl is taken out by a *cheani* to be deposited somewhere in a rock crevice in a hill a little to the north of the town.<sup>2</sup> For deceased *cheani*, the service is rendered one day later, a kind of time discrimination between ritualist and layman observable likewise, but in other particulars, at Zuñi.<sup>3</sup>

On the fourth day, morsels of food are collected and coffee, milk, and syrup poured over them, and all thrown into the house fire. All spit (*nishatsgu*) on the offering. At this time all the belongings of the deceased are exposed—even trunks and bureau drawers are opened—that the deceased may view it all. Then bits from all the belongings, bits from the clothes and even scrapings from a trunk or from the enamel of a bed, are cast upon the house fire, and the deceased is informed that all his property will follow these bits. He is asked not to return<sup>4</sup> for property or for any member of the household. For further safety all his property is washed and then fumigated with smoke from a cedar wood fire.

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<sup>1</sup>For the deceased *cheani* the kind of feather-stick he himself made is offered.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Stevenson, (a), 67, 145.

<sup>3</sup>For example, at the winter solstice ceremonial, fraternity members cut their feather-sticks one day before the general public.

<sup>4</sup>*Maiyani* is the term for *revenant* or ghost.

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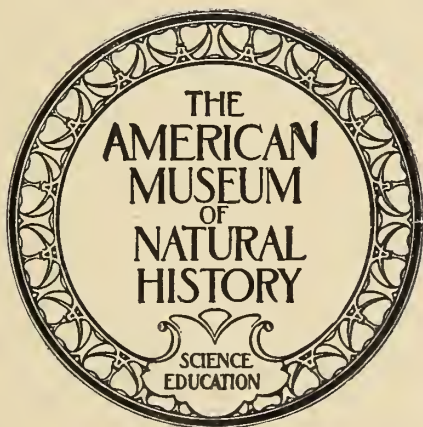
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LAGUNA GENEALOGIES

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS



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## MAPS

- ✓ 1. Laguna Houses, showing Clan Distribution, 1919; Distribution by Sex of Proprietor; and Ceremonial Associations





## INTRODUCTION

The data of Genealogy I were got in February, 1918, from Wana (Spanish, Juana, English, Margaret Marmon), no. 13 in the table; and in June, 1919 were added the data of Genealogies II, III, and IV, details in connection with Genealogy I, more particularly the orthography, being at this time revised. In June, 1920, certain data were again revised, more particularly data given in the List of Houses and Tables 9 and 10, and town gossip for the year was recorded. Of Genealogies II and IV Dzaid'yuwi' (Jennie Johnson), no. 122 in Genealogy II, was the informant. Genealogy IV is that of Dzaid'yuwi's husband, I'g'ugäi (Joe Johnson). Since his maternal grandmother and no. 3, in Genealogy I, were sisters, Genealogy I and Genealogy IV might have been combined. As the data were got from independent sources, however, I have preferred to keep the tables separate. Genealogy III is that of Dzaid'yuwi's stepfather, Go'ty'iaï' (Spanish, Andreas Lansisco; English, Robert Brown) (Genealogy III, 32), and for it, while engaged in linguistic work with Dr. Boas, Go'ty'iaï' himself gave Dr. Boas some of the tabular data.

Juana was a frank and surprisingly communicative young woman; but unfortunately my daily visits to her house were brief and I had little opportunity to observe the application of the kinship terms given me. And in the autumn of 1918 Juana died. Dzaid'yuwi' and Go'ty'iaï' were also communicative; but Dzaid'yuwi' was an extremely restless informant and much preferred housework to systematic presentation and discussion of kinship terms. It is likely, also, that she was "talked to" either by her husband or others about the danger her relatives ran from giving me their names.<sup>1</sup> Dzaid'yuwi' did, in fact, express that point of view, a notion familiar to us at Zuñi; but to what extent she agreed with it or merely used it as an excuse for not settling down to work with me I remain in doubt. I'g'ugäi, Dzaid'yuwi's husband, amiable as he was and ready with a joke,<sup>2</sup> was absolutely incommunicative on family names or any other subject. His brother, Yaai's'dyiwä' (Gen. IV, 15) was the "head war captain" (*tsatio hocheni tsiaduishe*)<sup>3</sup> and in the house (House 66) of their sister Dzamai' (Gen. IV, 13) masks

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<sup>1</sup>Within the year one brother-in-law did meet with an untimely fate, death from lightning (see p. 275), but this peculiarly supernaturalistic accident was never thrown up against me, and I am almost certain that it was not associated with me in any way.

<sup>2</sup>His favorite joke was calling me *g'awegame*, Laguna person.

<sup>3</sup>Outside land, chief, head i. e., executive on foreign affairs. There are at Laguna three "war captains" annually elected with the governor and officers. The "head" is *tsiaduishe*, next to him is the *aiikatyanotseshe*, "behind", and the third is *tsaishe*, "last". These *tsatio koacheni* are custodians of the customs, and they have sacerdotal functions, taken on or added to, presumably, since the disappearance at Laguna of the *u'pi* or warrior group proper. [Parsons, (f), 122-123].

were kept and, in the solstice ceremonial of that summer, prayer-sticks were made. The husband of this woman, K'aityima (Gen. IV, 14), began acquaintance in a spirit of communication which subsequently changed to reticence, induced, I have little doubt, by family warning. The brothers and their sister spoke but little or no English and they represented, I was told, the most conservative<sup>1</sup> element of the people. It was suggested that their conservatism was due to their Navajo blood, they are *tyenyetich*, Navajo people.<sup>2</sup> At Laguna, as elsewhere, culture and "race" are at times confused.

It was due to this element and in particular to Yaai's'dyiwă', the war captain, that, although we had been living in the house of his brother and sister-in-law, I'g'ugăi and Dzaid'yuwi', for two weeks, we were not allowed to attend the solstice ceremonial in the house (House 47) of a kinswoman of Dzaid'yuwi', a house so near that we could watch preparatory details, and, the night of the ceremonial, after our last jar of preserves had gone as supper for some visitors<sup>3</sup> from Powati and our reading-lamp and I'g'ugăi's drum<sup>4</sup> had been borrowed for the ceremonial, hear the songs from within of the officiating shamans (*cheani*).<sup>5</sup>

Except in the case of Dzaid'yuwi', there was no demurring by any of our regular informants or by more casual acquaintances to name-giving, whether the English, Spanish, or Indian name was asked. To one who has had experience of the Zuñi attitude of objecting to give to

<sup>1</sup>But even in this conservative family old ways may break down. Once when I'g'ugăi was starting to plant corn, his sister threw a dipperful of water over him, a mimetic practice for rain that I have heard of likewise at Zuñi and among the Hopi, but instead of taking it in good part, I'g'ugăi, good-natured as he is, got angry, and in that household, at least, the practice lapsed.

<sup>2</sup>However this may be, there was Juana, belonging to the same Navajo Sun clan, and a distant cousin as well, who was extremely frank, franker than any Pueblo Indian I know.

It is not unlikely that Juana's conservative cousins had noted and remarked upon the fact that Juana, as well as her aunt and baby, had died after making my acquaintance and giving me information.

<sup>3</sup>A *teniente* and his family. Six officers or *tenientes* came in from the outlying villages, three to watch outside one of the ceremonial houses, three to watch outside the other. (Cf. Dumarest, 204).

<sup>4</sup>On this drum, for a night or two before the hunt on the day before the summer solstice ceremonial, I'g'ugăi had been practising his hunting songs, songs he had got from Kaadyie of the Bear clan, the *shaiyaik cheani* or hunter shaman or medicineman who lives at Paraje.

<sup>5</sup>The story of our exclusion from the "Sun dance" is of interest as showing not only the difficulties encountered by the investigator into the ceremonial life of Laguna, of Acoma, and of the pueblos to the east, but as showing certain attitudes toward the war captains who are, at Laguna, as are the bow-priests at Zuñi and the *kalehktaka* among the Hopi, the ritualistic police. The afternoon before the ceremonial, June 14, there was a meeting, in the council room, of the governor and officers and others—about thirty men were present. We entered and I made a formal speech to the governor in regard to our work and interests and sympathies, asking for permission to attend the ceremonial. He merely answered that he would refer the matter to "my war captain" in charge. That evening Yaai's'dyiwă', the "head war captain", came to our house; we were called in from the terrace, and, sister-in-law Dzaid'yuwi' interpreting, we were told that permission to attend was refused. The usually free or gay demeanor of Dzaid'yuwi' and of a woman neighbor was constrained and hushed to the point of reverence. And the bearing of the war captain, a handsome man, about forty-three, was impressively stern. In his red *banda*, black blanket and moccasins high above the ankle, a Zuñi costuming I had not seen before among the Americanized men of Laguna, he presented a highly distinguished appearance, and I remarked on it subsequently to the women. "I am glad that she thinks my *papa* is a nice looking man," said the neighbor to Dzaid'yuwi', "but she doesn't know that he has false teeth." And they giggled as flippantly as a Catholic woman might laugh at traits of the priest to whom she goes to confess. Not satisfied with merely refusing us, Yaai's'dyiwă' sent word later that, if we were left alone in the house by the family, the door should be locked on the outside.



comparative strangers the Indian name of relatives<sup>1</sup> the difference is striking. It renders genealogical work at Laguna, needless to say, much more agreeable than at Zuñi.<sup>2</sup>

One can not but infer that the possession of Spanish and English names at Laguna, more common here than at Zuñi, taken with the freedom in using such foreign names, may have affected the attitude about native names. Any such influence, however, has been limited, affecting little, if at all, terms of address. Kinship terms are still preferred to personal names. To what extraordinary extent kinship terms are used as terms of address our study will show.

Nor has Laguna kin and clan nomenclature been affected by White influence.<sup>3</sup> To what extent the kinship system will succeed in holding its own in the teeth of contrary foreign custom should be for future observers an extremely interesting study. When a man has an English name which he passes on to his children<sup>4</sup> and people come to be known more and more by such English patronymics, it would seem as if in course of time the principle of matrilineal descent might be jarred, if not vitally impaired.

But it is not only through the potency of names that questions of descent will arise. In the western pueblos, kinship is closely associated with house-ownership. The house belongs to the women of the family, passing down from generation to generation of women. At Zuñi, blood relatives are thought of as descendants of persons once living together in the same house. Even a remote cousin in the paternal line may be traced back to a forefather who "came out," as Zuñi phrase goes, of a given house. Between blood kinship and clanship it has been difficult for observers at Zuñi to draw a line. The boundary is vague, in many instances, to the people themselves; but it is connected, I have little doubt, with memories of joint house occupancy. Now at Laguna for several generations ownership in houses has been vested in men as well as in women. Sons as well as daughters may inherit title to a house, inheriting from either parent. The details of this system of house inheritance will be described from the data collected in connection with the town map. It will also appear to what a large extent houses are being

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<sup>1</sup>On my first visit to Zuñi a woman informant told me that she did not know the name of her mother, and it was not until my third visit that I learned the name of the father-in-law of another woman, an old man for whom the woman was constantly interpreting. At present among my Zuñi acquaintances there appears to be no reluctance at all about giving me names.

<sup>2</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 51.

<sup>3</sup>Unless the terms *muñi* (*mũrtʰ*) (boy) (See Table 5) and *maa'k* (girl), used as kinship terms, are variants of *motátza* and *makatza* which Bandelier points out as derived from the Spanish words, *muchacho* and *muchacha*. (Bandelier, pt. 1, 262). *Muñi* was given as *mucha* by a Laguna woman in Gallup, and it has seemed to me at Laguna that the word was subject to considerable variation. The term was in use at Acoma in 1853 (see Whipple, 86), *maasittr* or *masitch* is recorded for girl at Acoma, Santo Domingo and Cochiti.

<sup>4</sup>For details of this practice see pp. 174-5.

sold or rented out of the family connection. Meanwhile I would merely suggest that these changes in house-owning are more than likely to affect kinship associations. Dr. Kroeber has gone so far as to say that at Zuñi "take away from the Zuñi woman her possession of the home, and her apparent preëminence in relationship vanishes."<sup>1</sup> Possession of the home is in course of being taken away from the Laguna woman, but her preëminence in relationship has not vanished<sup>2</sup>—as yet.

So much for European factors. What of the presence and influence of other Pueblo peoples in this Keresan town? Its position rendered it a place of passage for its neighbors to the west and to the east, even before the days of the railroad, and in many cases travelers or visitors came to stay. A considerable amount of intermarriage with Navajo and foreign Pueblo appears in the genealogies. There are variations, as we shall note, in naming practices and in funeral practices which appear to be due to a difference in provenience of parts of the population, and in the ceremonial life there is a fairly definite history of Zuñi influence. From Zuñi one kinship term has been borrowed, *nana*, grandfather.

Obviously the clanship system helps to perpetuate traditions of foreigners married into the pueblo; descendants will be classified as of the Hopi Bear clan or the Zuñi Eagle clan or the Navajo Sun clan. The Sun clan in particular is distributed according to ancestral provenience. Besides the Navajo, there are said to be Zuñi, Hopi, and Jemez, Sun people. In the case of the Badger clan all the individuals I have heard of are of Zuñi descent.

A study of the facts and of the traditions of inter-Pueblo migration at Laguna leads to rather definite conclusions about the vexed question of clan migration. There is no record whatsoever of any migration by clan in bulk. Individual clanswomen migrated to Laguna, as in the case of the Zuñi Badger clan mother of Wed'yumă (Gen. I, 56), or the Hopi Bear clan ancestress of Aisiye (House 16), and the descendants of these women are reckoned of foreign descent. In general reference the clan, or part of it, is said to come from, let us say, Zuñi or the Hopi, and in the case of the Badgers, at least, all the clanspeople are called Zuñi. We'd'yumă himself is spoken of collectively as Badger clan, *dyupi hano*. Given such references, it is only too easy for the observer to generalize about migration by clan. But if he study the facts by the

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<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 48.

<sup>2</sup>Nor has it vanished among the eastern Keres where the system of equality in inheritance is still more marked. [Parsons, (m), also for Isleta, Parsons, (l), 168]. Among the northern pueblos descent is said to be patrilineal, but whether or not this difference is aboriginal or due to Spanish influence, and what relations exist in the north between descent and house-owning, unfortunately we do not know, students of the Tewa not having taken the trouble to publish their observations.



genealogical method, I doubt not that in all cases he will find that tradition rests on the migration of individuals, not of a clan group.<sup>1</sup> Of course, migration of a whole town or part of it, as of that of the Tewa to Hano or of the Laguna conservatives a half century ago to Isleta, is not here in question. Such immigrant groups were made up of several clans.

The fact which gives most support to the migration-by-clan theory is the finding of clans which are extinct, let us say, in Laguna, but flourishing in outlying settlements, as the Coyote clan at Paraje, or the Turquoise clan at Mesita. But even here, judging from the evidence of our map, only the migration of a family connection, two or three related families, can be inferred.

That there has been considerable inter-pueblo migration throughout this region during the last century, if not before, is plain enough, both from the genealogical tables and from other observations. Visitors are made welcome as settlers, and land is assigned them. There is the conspicuous case of the large migration to Isleta a half century ago. Decadent towns, I suspect, may be particularly hospitable. In connection with Sant' Ana, for example, where there is plenty of unused land and water, I heard of two instances of foreigners made welcome. The Hunts of Acoma, Mrs. Hunt Senior being of Laguna and Mrs. Hunt Junior of Casa Blanca, were given a farm, and on it the joint family lives. I'g'ugăi of Laguna spent two years at Sant' Ana<sup>2</sup> and was given land on which he still cultivates corn. He is to take his family there to visit, and they have considered settling there. Of this family connection others (Gen. II, 36, 37) have gone to Isleta to live on what was described as "borrowed" land. The native point of view that proprietorship in land is largely a matter of who cultivates the land promotes migration.

But men do not live by land alone, and community feeling, I have little doubt, is a strong factor at Laguna, as elsewhere, in the movement of population.<sup>3</sup> The characteristic view that witchcraft is more dreadful among foreigners than at home is not lacking at Laguna. I recall the instance of our neighbor Wiyăi'd'yuă (Houses 30, 33, 48; Gen. I, 70) who believed, I was told, that his epileptic daughter had been bewitched by a Navajo rendered spiteful by a deal in turquoise to his disadvantage;<sup>4</sup> and I recall, too, the statement of our landlady Dzaid'yuwi' about trad-

<sup>1</sup>All the Hopi facts that I have been able to observe point to the same conclusion. For example, my Hopi host remarking one day that the Badger clan on the First Mesa came from Oraibi, I asked, "How many Badger people are there here on the First Mesa?"—"One family."

<sup>2</sup>See p. 192.

<sup>3</sup>Compare p. 257.

<sup>4</sup>Wiyăi'd'yuă had failed to pay the Navajo the buckskin he expected, so he said that something would happen every year to Wiyăi'd'yuă's daughter. This diagnosis was furnished by a Navajo doctor called in by Wiyăi'd'yuă.



ing in Zuñi dresses. A Laguna woman who had lived in Zuñi had reported that the witches of Zuñi robbed corpses to sell their dresses.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter Laguna women bought their dresses only<sup>2</sup> from Hopi or Sant' Ana traders.<sup>3</sup> And even if people of other groups are not witches, they may be very "mean." For example, at Acomita when they have a surplus of water, they let it flow to waste rather than let the Laguna people of their vicinity enjoy it. Acoma meanness appears, too, at the dances where things are thrown out to the onlookers. "They won't let you take away what the *k'atsina* throw."<sup>4</sup> If you catch a jar, a man will come up and break it." Then, too, heresy and degeneracy are rife among foreigners. At Laguna the *k'atsina* throw out presents of native products only—corn, melons, arrows, dolls, pottery, moccasins; but in Zuñi they throw store-bought things, "a sign that the Zuñi people do not keep to their religion."<sup>5</sup> Another sign is that they let outsiders, Whites, see their ceremonials. If they cared about their religion, they would be exclusive. And yet the fact that Catholicism has lapsed at Zuñi is also held against the place. "We say the Zuñi are no better than the Navajo; they have no church."—The people at Zuñi get it going and coming.—Elsewhere<sup>6</sup> I have related how the brittleness of marriage at Zuñi is also condemned at Laguna—and exaggerated.

Laguna (gawaik') has six sizable colonies and three or more hamlets: Powati (kurshdji, kwishdji)<sup>7</sup>, a town larger than Laguna, about eight miles to the north; Encinal (p'onikaiye)<sup>8</sup>, to the northwest; Casa Blanca (pürtsürtsürdyiau, West Edge), about four miles up the long valley to the west; Paraje (ts'irona, tsi'mëna);<sup>9</sup> to the north of Casa Blanca; Ts'iamá, Gap, a mile or two beyond Paraje on the south side of

<sup>1</sup>The same woman had spread the same report at Albuquerque, as I learned from an Isleta woman.

<sup>2</sup>At Zuñi there would be the same reluctance to wear the clothes of the dead. In a version given Dr. Boas of the rescue of the priest from Towa Yallane after the Great Rebellion, the Spanish commander sends a priest's dress up to the priest on the mesa. "The priest replied that he would not wear the dress of dead people, he wanted to stay with the Zuñi and wear their clothes. . . ."

<sup>3</sup>A piquant illustration of how "good will" may be lost!—This Laguna woman was described as "a woman who moves about". She is a well-known trouble-maker at Zuñi. Married at one time within a sacerdotal household, she induced her husband to go with her to Gallup when religious duties should have kept him at Zuñi [See Parsons, (e), 285] and great was the public scandal. Private scandals, too, gather about the woman. Dr. Kroeber believes she is feeble-minded.

<sup>4</sup>At Laguna the *k'atsina* or masked dancers do not pay domiciliary begging visits, as at Zuñi. The *k'atsina* themselves make presents at their dances because it is the *k'atsina* who bring the crops and the fruits—a form, so to speak, of mimetic magic. All that the *k'atsina* impersonators get in return are cornmeal and corn pollen and prayer-sticks, the proper gifts to supernaturals.

Each *k'atsina* impersonator contributes to the supply of presents. The presents are collected at night by the lay officers and the war captains. Dolls, bows and arrows, and moccasins are made in the meeting-room of the *k'atsina* group.

<sup>5</sup>What utter degeneracy would have been postulated of the Hopi, had the facts been known. On the First Mesa a parent will buy at the stores anything a child wants, and give the thing to the *k'atsina* to give to the child.

<sup>6</sup>Parsons, (b), 181.

<sup>7</sup>"Hand-it-to-me." Here there are terraces, and the people on their journey south from *sh'ipa'p'* (see p. 234) were climbing down, carrying bundles, and one would say to the other, "Hand it to me."

<sup>8</sup>Northwest cave, hollow.

<sup>9</sup>Painted around the mouth. The *kurena cheani* use such a face mark. The settlement is at the mouth of a cañon on which there are *tsi'mëna* marks.

the valley; Pürhaityidyua, West of the Corner, near Ts'ïama; Akürchts<sup>1</sup>-k'otyuë, Flower Mountain<sup>1</sup> (English, New York), a very small hamlet on the north side of the valley; Mesita (ha'tsaty<sup>ë</sup>, East Prairie) about three miles to the east of Laguna; El Rito, a hamlet near Mesita. Traffic between all these places is constant—there are relatives to be visited, *k'atsina* ceremonials to be attended, and church baptisms and weddings and council meetings. Laguna is the center of the ceremonial life, and on occasion the town fills up; but ordinarily Laguna seems deserted, almost half the houses are in fact deserted, in ruins or converted into storehouses or into hostelry for overnight.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Kroeber's "Zuñi Kin and Clan" for suggestions in regard to the classification of data, and I have to thank Dr. R. H. Lowie for reading manuscript and for several helpful suggestions. In the text itself I refer to several instances of invaluable coöperation by Dr. Boas both in linguistic records and in map-making. Without his painstaking and laborious work of survey the map could not have been made. For drafting the map we are indebted to Mr. C. G. LaFarge.

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<sup>1</sup>The mesa side above is marked like the petals of a flower.





# I KINSHIP

## LIST OF TERMS<sup>1</sup>

<i>nai'ya</i>	mother, mother's sister, sister's daughter, m. sp.
<i>naishdyi'ya</i>	father, father's brother, great-grandfather
<i>s'amaa'k'</i> <sup>2</sup>	daughter, sister's daughter, w. sp., brother's daughter, m. sp.
<i>s'amuiti</i>	son, sister's son, w. sp., brother's son, m. sp., mother's brother, w. sp.
<i>gyiau'</i>	grandmother, w. sp., granddaughter, w. sp.
<i>pa'pa(pa'pa<sup>a</sup>)</i>	grandmother, m. sp., grandson, w. sp., grandfather, w. sp., granddaughter, m. sp.
<i>nana</i>	grandfather, m. sp., grandson, m. sp.
<i>au' or gauau'</i> <sup>3</sup>	sister, w. sp.
<i>a'kwi (s'akwich, desc.)</i>	sister, m. sp.
<i>auwa, shg'auwa</i> <sup>4</sup> ( <i>s'a'wach, desc.</i> )	brother, w. sp.
<i>t'u'mě' (umă')</i>	brother, m. sp.
<i>anawe</i>	mother's brother, m. sp., sister's son, m. sp.
<i>k'u'ya</i>	father's sister.
<i>piye</i>	female connection by marriage, kin of husband.
<i>wati</i>	male connection by marriage, kin of wife.

## COUSIN TERMS

Parallel cousins, mother's sister's children, and father's brother's children, are called by the sister-brother terms. The mother's sister's son may be also called "son." Among cross-cousins, between women, the grandparent-grandchild term is used; between men, the parent-child terms are used; between a man and a woman the parent-child and the grandparent-grandchild terms.<sup>5</sup>

W calls mother's brother's daughter, *gyiau'*.

W calls father's sister's daughter, *gyiau'* (or *s'ak'u'ya*, see p. 157).

M calls mother's brother's son, *s'amuiti*.

M calls father's sister's son, *naishdyi'ya*<sup>6</sup>.

W calls mother's brother's son, *pa'pa*.

M calls father's sister's daughter, *pa'pa* (or *s'ak'u'ya*).

W calls father's sister's son, *naishdyi'ya*.

M calls mother's brother's daughter, *s'amaa'k'*.

<sup>1</sup>Except when indicated by w. sp., woman speaking, or by m. sp., man speaking, a term is to be understood as used by both sexes.

<sup>2</sup>Literally, "my daughter" since *s'a* is the possessive pronominal prefix for the first person singular, but in kinship nomenclature the term appears not to be used without this possessive.

<sup>3</sup>Literally, "his" or "her" sister; *g* or *ga* is the possessive pronominal prefix for the third person singular. This use of the possessive third person for that of the first person is analogous to teknonymous usage (see p. 163.) It occurs also at Zuñi.

<sup>4</sup>Literally, "brother to me"; *shg'*, *shgu* is a prefix for the pronominal object, first person singular.

<sup>5</sup>As has been pointed out, at Zuñi, cross-cousin terminology is based on reckoning the children of a brother a generation younger than the children of a sister (Kroeber, 85)—with one exception. Since a woman calls her mother's brother, son, his children she calls grandson and granddaughter, involving identical reciprocals.

<sup>6</sup>According to Morgan's informant, "my father's sister's son is my son, whence by correlation my mother's brother's son is my father." (Morgan, 262).

Cousins beyond the first degree you call by terms which correspond to those used by your parents, or by terms growing out of terms you use for the preceding generation. In other words, the offspring of persons you call *nai'ya* or *naishdyi'ya* you call *s'amaa'k'* or *s'amuiti*, and the offspring of those you call *s'amaa'k'* or *s'amuiti* you call *gyiau'*, *pa'pa*, or *nana*. To think of the terms thus correlated is preferable to thinking of them in English equivalents which are literally correct but in connotation misleading.

### ARCHAIC TERMS

At Zuñi archaic terms of relationship are used in smoking ritual or etiquette. Analogous usage occurs at Laguna. In giving a light to a *cheani* you say, *shanadyiu*, "old language," in the words of my informant, for *naishdyi'ya*, father. The *cheani* responds with *shachi*,<sup>1</sup> "old language" for my son (*s'amuiti*).<sup>2</sup>

### APPLICATION OF TERMS BY PERSONS CITED IN GENEALOGIES

#### *nai'ya*, mother

This term is used for mother, and mother's sister, for great-grandmother, irrespective of line, and by a man for his sister's daughter. In this last instance the application seems less bizarre when it is recalled that the term is the natural reciprocal for son or boy as a woman calls her mother's brother. A man may also call his sister's daughter, *s'anaiyadjanishe* which is likewise a term applicable to a stepmother and, at Acoma, to father's sister. Inferably the term means "in place of mother," or "not a true mother."<sup>3</sup> *Sunayu* is another term given me for stepmother, and Dr. Boas recorded *shgunayu* for step-parent, either stepmother or stepfather, with the reciprocal, *siunayu*.

But a stepmother is generally called mother, as is any woman who has brought you up.<sup>4</sup> The term is frequently applied to the father's sister, and it is applied to the mother's brother's wife and to the father's brother's wife. Cousins your parents call by the grandmother-granddaughter reciprocal, or cousins they call sister, you call mother. As in the case of mother's brother, *nai'ya* is the reciprocal for mother's sister's daughter when she calls you *s'amuiti* (my son, my boy, my kinsman).

<sup>1</sup>Inferably connected with the term for child, *iach*, and meaning "child to me." See p. 160, and compare the Zuñi practice where an archaic reciprocal to father survives also in ceremonial (Kroeber, 65).

<sup>2</sup>To the *shaiyaik* or hunting *cheani* you said *shitadyia*, and he responded, *shautpoe*. The meaning of these terms was unknown. The hunting cult has another peculiar formula. Instead of *gua dzi* and *dawa e'*, the greeting and response on entering a house (see p. 165), *mokcha'* (lion) and *shuhuna* (see p. 177) are exchanged between the hunter and the war captain in charge of the hunt.

<sup>3</sup>From Acoma informants I got the same term (*s'anaiyakanish*) applied to father's sister as well as to sister's daughter and to stepmother.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 272.

Gen. I<sup>1</sup>

- 13 > 7: mother
- 13 > 73: stepmother
- 13 > 9: mother's sister
- 13 > 71: father's sister; likewise *s'ak'u'ya*
- 11 > 13: sister's daughter
- 18 > 13: mother's sister's daughter
- 28 > 27: mother's mother's brother's daughter
- 28 > 42: mother's mother's sister's son's daughter
- 84 > 87: mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter
- 13 > 66: father's father's brother's daughter
- 13 > 12: mother's brother's wife
- 39 > 21: father's brother's wife

## Gen. II

- 122 > 154: mother's father's mother
- 151 > 125: mother's sister
- 122 > 237: father's sister
- 151 > 119: mother's mother's brother's daughter
- 122 > 48: mother's brother's wife
- 22 > 122: mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter
- 122 > 42: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter

## Gen. III

- 32 > 7: mother
- 32 > 1: mother's mother's mother
- 32 > 68: mother's brother's daughter (?)
- 32 > 232, 236: father's sister. 32 grew up in the household of 232, 236
- 32 > 218: { father's sister's son's daughter's daughter  
          \ mother's brother's daughter's son's daughter
- 32 > 10, 13: mother's brother's wife
- 32 > 239: father's brother's wife

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 35: sister's daughter
- 17 > 63: father's sister (in address)

*naishdyi''ya*, father

This term is used for father, father's brother, father's sister's son and for greatgrandfather. It is used also for stepfather, although *shkunaiyu* (*shgunayu*) may be used in reference to a stepfather, or *s'anaishdiakanishi* (Acoma).

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<sup>1</sup>The symbol > stands for "calls." A dash in first position in the genealogical tables means that the name of the person was not given, a dash in second position means that the clan of the person was not known. The italicized figures in Table I give the approximate age of the individual in 1918; in Tables II-IV, in 1919.



## Gen. I

- 13 > 8: father
- 28 > 58: mother's father's father
- 39 > 22: father's brother
- 42 > 11: father's mother's brother
- 24, 27 > 18: father's sister's son
- 28 > 24: mother's mother's brother's son
- 13 > 65: father's father's brother's son
- 13 > 6: mother's sister's husband
- 13 > 72: father's sister's husband

## Gen. II

- 122 > 55: stepfather
- 122 > 155: mother's father's father
- 122 > 235: father's brother
- 53 > 184: father's sister's son
- 148 > 184: mother's mother's father's sister's son (?)
- 122 > Gen. III, 152: stepfather's mother's brother's daughter's son.

## Gen. III

- 32 > 8: father
- 32 > 238: father's brother
- 32 > 243: father's sister's son
- 32 > 233: father's sister's husband.

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 65: father's sister's son
- 17 > 64: father's sister's husband.

*s'amaa'k'*, daughter

As in Hopi, in Tewa, and in Zuñi, there are no terms in Keresan, strictly speaking, for daughter and son. *S'amaa'k'* and *s'amuiti* mean "my girl" and "my boy," corresponding to the Zuñi, *kyatsekyi* and *aktsekyi*. The history of the terms at Laguna has been quite different, however, from that of their Zuñi analogues. At Zuñi *kyatsekyi* and *aktsekyi* have not been incorporated into kinship nomenclature. They remain distinctively age-sex terms. At Laguna on the other hand *s'amaa'k'* and *s'amuiti* are certainly thought of and used as kinship terms. It is their use as such which introduces into the Laguna system part at least of the indifference to generation which we are to notice, and makes the entire system much more complicated, at least in our eyes, than it would be were the two terms frankly mere terms of address.

## Gen. I

- 13 > 28: daughter
- 9 > 13: sister's daughter
- 18 > 27: mother's brother's daughter
- 68 > 13: father's brother's son's daughter
- 12 > 13: husband's sister's daughter
- 6 > 13: wife's sister's daughter
- 72 > 13: wife's brother's daughter

## Gen. II

- 19 > 80: brother's daughter
- 122 > 144: mother's brother's daughter's daughter
- 122 > 273: father's brother's daughter's daughter; 273 is also a junior clanswoman
- 53 > 58: mother's mother's sister's son's daughter
- 122 > 131: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's daughter

## Gen. III

- 32 > 88, 89: brother's daughter
- 32 > 43, 58, 72: mother's brother's daughter
- 32 > 220: mother's brother's daughter's son's daughter
- 32 > 222: mother's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter
- 32 > 249: father's sister's daughter's daughter; 32 > mother of 249, "sister."
- 53 > 186: father's brother's son's daughter

*s'amuiti*, son, mother's brother, w. sp.

The term is applied to son, to sister's and brother's son, and, by a woman, to mother's brother. This application to the maternal uncle introduces considerable heterogeneity into the nomenclature. It probably explains why the grandparent-grandchild terms are applied between certain cross-cousins, a Laguna anomaly; the child of anyone you call son, you naturally call grandson or granddaughter.

Senior clansmen are called *s'amuiti*, and the term was inferably a clan term used by the women of the clan to the men, and then applied as a kin term. This explains in part the indifference to generation connoted in its use. Its use merely as a reciprocal to "father" explains still further this indifference to generation.

According to one informant, *s'amuiti* (my son) is, strictly speaking, said only of an actual son, and *amuiti* (son) is said of an "uncle," etc. Either the woman was trying to read the American point of view into the Laguna terminology, or, more probably, I think, she really felt a distinction between the term as a kin term and as a term of address.

## Gen. I

- 18, 19 > 39: son  
 22 > 39: brother's son  
 13 > 11: mother's brother  
 13 > 18: mother's sister's son<sup>1</sup>  
 18 > 24: mother's brother's son  
 9 > 8: sister's husband. This is probably a teknonymous usage.  
 13 > 69, 70: father's father's brother's daughter's husband (?)

## Gen. II

- 122 > 51: mother's brother  
 122 > 146: mother's brother's daughter's son  
 122 > 166: mother's father's brother's son  
 122 > 227: mother's father's sister's son's son  
 122 > 15, 22: mother's mother's mother's sister's son  
 122 > 130: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's son  
 122 > 137: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's son's son  
 53 > 190: father's brother's son's son

## Gen. III

- 32 > 85: brother's son  
 32 > 34: mother's brother's son  
 32 > 250: father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 21: brother's son  
 17 > 73: father's sister's daughter's son

*gyiau'*, grandmother, w. sp., granddaughter, w. sp.

This term is used between women, and, like the two other terms for grandparent-grandchild, is a reciprocal. It is applied to both maternal and paternal grandmother, to the sisters of grandparents, and the wives of grandfathers and of their brothers. It is applied by a woman to the daughter of any one she calls "son."

## Gen. I

- 28 > 7: mother's mother  
 13 > 59: father's mother  
 28 > 9: mother's mother's sister  
 87 > 13: mother's brother's daughter  
 13 > 87: father's sister's daughter  
 13 > 42: mother's sister's son's daughter  
 28 > 68: mother's father's father's brother's daughter  
 28 > 84: mother's father's father's brother's daughter's daughter (?)  
 13 > 84: father's father's brother's daughter's daughter (?)  
 13 > 57: father's father's brother's wife

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 170.



## Gen. II

- 122 > 13: mother's mother  
 122 > 161: mother's father's brother. He was a man-woman.  
 122 > 157: mother's father's brother's wife  
 122 > 3: mother's mother's mother (?)  
 122 > 7: mother's mother's mother's sister (?)  
 122 > 164: mother's father's sister  
 122 > 119: mother's brother's daughter  
 119 > 122: father's sister's daughter  
 122 > 11: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter  
 122 > 58, 80: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter  
 122 > 189: mother's father's brother's son's daughter. 122 may also call 189, *s'amaa'k'* because 122 calls the mother of 189, *aau'*.  
 122 > Gen. III, 68: stepfather's mother's brother's daughter (?)

*pa'pa*, grandparent, grandchild, cross sex

This reciprocal is applied between persons of the opposite sex in the grandparent-grandchild, or great-aunt or uncle, or great-niece or nephew relationship, excepting where a clan term is preferred, as in the case of father's mother's brother or mother's mother's brother, and in the relationship between you and offspring of one whom you call daughter or son.

## Gen. I

- 28 > 8: mother's father  
 8 > 28: daughter's daughter  
 13 > 58: father's father  
 18 > 1: mother's mother's mother. According to other informants, the great-grandmother is called "mother." I incline to think that some mistake, probably in understanding, has occurred in this instance.  
 88 > 56: mother's father's brother  
 39 > 7: father's mother's sister  
 13 > 56: father's father's brother  
 13 > 24: mother's brother's son  
 8 > 76: father's sister's daughter  
 39 > 13: father's mother's sister's daughter

## Gen. II

- 151 > 53: mother's mother  
 122 > 14: mother's father  
 122 > 233: father's father  
 122 > 156: mother's father's brother  
 122 > 184: mother's father's sister's son. Because mother of 122 calls 184 father  
 122 > 56, 76: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's son  
 42 > 147: mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's son  
 151 > 58: mother's mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter  
 53 > 230: father's brother's son's daughter's son  
 122 > 120: mother's brother's daughter's husband.

Gen. III

- 32 > 3: mother's mother
- 32 > 230: father's mother
- 32 > 199: brother's daughter's daughter
- 32 > 162: mother's brother's daughter's daughter
- 32 > 258: father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter

Gen. IV

- 17 > 67: father's sister's daughter. Because father of 17 calls 67, mother.
- 55 > 65: father's father's sister's son. Because father of 55 calls 65, father.

*nana*, grandfather, m. sp., grandson, m. sp.

This is the reciprocal between men in the grandparent-grandson, etc. relationship, excepting that between sister's daughter's son and mother's mother's brother, and in the relationship of offspring of one whom you call daughter or son.

Gen. I

- 39 > 10: father's father
- 10 > 39: son's son

Gen. II

- 151 > 55: mother's stepfather
- 55 > 151: stepdaughter's son

Gen. III

- 32 > 4: mother's father
- 32 > 231: father's father
- 32 > 198: brother's daughter's son
- 32 > 124, 143, 154: mother's brother's daughter's son
- 32 > 259: father's sister's daughter's daughter's son

Gen. IV

- 54 > 65: father's father's sister's son.

*gauau'* or *au'*, sister, w. sp.

This term is the reciprocal between women for sister and parallel cousin.

Gen. I

- 13 > 14: sister
- 13 > 89: half-sister (same father)
- 42 > 53: father's brother's daughter
- 42 > 27: father's mother's brother's daughter
- 9 > 73: wife of deceased sister's husband

## Gen. II

- 122 > 125: half-sister (same mother)  
 122 > 244: half-sister (same father)  
 122 > 254, 256: father's brother's daughter. They are also clanswomen.  
 122 > 167: stepfather's brother's daughter  
 122 > 69: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter  
 122 > 103: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter  
 122 > 169: mother's father's sister's daughter. She is also mother's father's brother's son's wife.  
 122 > 52: mother's brother's wife  
 122 > 185: mother's father's sister's son's wife  
 122 > Gen. III, 218: stepfather's mother's brother's daughter's son's daughter

*a'kwi*, sister, m. sp.

This term is applied by a man to sister and parallel cousin, and to sister's daughter's daughter. The word is inferably related to *kwits'a*, female (see p. 161). In such case the usage is analogous to that of the term *s'amuiti*. And the use of both terms *s'amuiti* and *a'kwi* (*s'akwich*) is analogous to the Zuñi use of *okya* (female) or *okyanawa*, our female, and *otsi* (male) or *otsinawa*, our male.<sup>1</sup> These terms at Zuñi are sister-brother terms. Since *a'kwi* as a kinship term is not in use among Eastern Keresans, it is not unlikely that the Zuñi habit of using a sex age term for sister was borrowed at Laguna.<sup>2</sup>

## Gen. I

- 39 > 40: sister  
 11 > 28: sister's daughter's daughter  
 39 > 53: father's brother's daughter  
 39 > 27: father's mother's brother's daughter  
 39 > 28: father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter

## Gen. II

- 151 > 148: sister  
 151 > 153: mother's sister's daughter  
 126 > 122: wife's sister

## Gen. III

- 32 > 38: mother's brother's daughter. The proper term for this kinswoman is "daughter"; but 38 is an illegitimate child, she is not the daughter of 32's mother's brother; hence, explained 32, he calls her, "sister."  
 32 > 240: father's sister's daughter. 32 grew up with her, i.e., in the same household and called her mother, "mother." It must be remembered, however, in this case and in the preceding, that 32 grew up at Acoma where all cousins are called by the sister-brother terms.

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 68-9.<sup>2</sup>For the actual term see p. 160, n. 2.



- 32 > 153: father's sister's son's daughter. She is also his mother's brother's daughter's son's wife.  
 32 > 31: brother's wife  
 32 > 35: mother's brother's son's wife

Gen. IV

- 17 > 68: father's sister's son's daughter  
 17 > 9: brother's wife

*auwa*, brother, w. sp.

This term is applied by a woman to brother and parallel cousin, and to mother's mother's brother.

Gen. I

- 40 > 39: brother  
 28 > 11: mother's mother's brother  
 53 > 39: father's brother's son  
 28 > 18: mother's mother's sister's son  
 28 > 39: mother's mother's sister's son's son (?)

Gen. II

- 122 > 124: brother  
 122 > 258: father's brother's son. He is also a clansman.  
 53 > 166: father's brother's son  
 53 > 15: mother's mother's sister's son  
 122 > 67: mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son  
 148 > 227: mother's mother's father's sister's son's son  
 122 > 126: husband of half-sister (same mother)  
 122 > 245: husband of half-sister (same father)

*t'u'mě* (*umě'*), brother, m. sp.

Reciprocal between men for brother and parallel cousin, and for sister's daughter's son and mother's mother's brother.

Gen. I

- 18 > 22: brother  
 39 > 52: father's brother's son  
 39 > 24: father's mother's brother's son  
 18 > 8: mother's sister's husband. The only explanation I can see for this application is the fact that 8 calls the mother of 18, "mother." If this explanation holds, the application is a curious extension of the tek nymous usage.

Gen. II

- 151 > 51: mother's mother's brother  
 151 > 152: mother's sister's son  
 152 > 151: mother's sister's son  
 151 > 130: mother's mother's mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's son

## Gen. III

- 32 > 30: brother  
 32 > 246: father's sister's son. Again we have the Acoma rather than the Laguna system.  
 32 > 255: father's sister's son's son.  
 32 > 152: mother's brother's daughter's son. He is also father's sister's son's daughter's husband.  
 32 > 39: mother's brother's daughter's husband. He is also a clansman.

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 14: sister's husband.

*s'anawe* (*anawe*), mother's brother, m. sp., sister's son, m. sp.

Reciprocal between mother's brother and sister's son. The term may be also applied to the son of anyone a man calls sister.

## Gen. I

- 18 > 11: mother's brother  
 11 > 18: sister's son

## Gen. II

- 151 > 124: mother's brother

## Gen. III

- 32 > 9, 11: mother's brother  
 32 > 248: father's sister's daughter's son. We recall the fact that 32 calls the mother of 248, sister.  
 32 > 218: father's sister's son's daughter's son. 32 calls the mother of 218, sister.

## Gen. IV

- 17 > 32: sister's son  
 34 > 17: mother's brother.

*s'ak'u'ya* (*k'u'ya*), father's sister

This term is applied to father's sister. It is to be identified, I think, with the term for old woman, *k'oya*. In conversation one gets the impression that the term is used collectively as a generic term for father's kinswomen exactly as the equivalent terms, *kuku* and *kyiu*, are used at Zuñi and by the Hopi. For example Yu'si (Gen. I, 8) and Dziwi'd'yăi (Gen. I, 76) call each other *papa*—they are cross-cousins—mother's brother's son and father's sister's daughter; but Dziwi'd'yăi is referred to as *k'akuya* to Yu'si. 'I'ach' (*s'a'yach'*), child (my child),<sup>1</sup> is said to be the reciprocal;<sup>2</sup> but practically the daughter-son terms are used.

<sup>1</sup>The same term is used for "a child of the clan" *i. e.*, for the offspring of clansmen.

See p. 148 for the archaic reciprocal for "father."

<sup>2</sup>There being, as among the Tewa of Hano, no true reciprocal. (Cp. Freire-Marecco, 278).

## Gen. I

13 &gt; 72: father's sister

## Gen. III

32 &gt; 236: father's sister

## Gen. IV

17 &gt; 63: father's sister

*piye*, female connection by marriage, kin of husband

As at Zuñi, there are but two terms to express relationship through affinity—*piye* applied to women, *wati* applied to men. Ordinarily, in address, other kinship terms are used. *Piye* is thought of as a reciprocal (see p. 159) i.e., a woman applies the term to her husband's relatives (*shk'upiye*). The application, however, seems to be rarely made. *Wati* is also a reciprocal, i.e., a man applies the term to his wife's relatives.

## Gen. II

122 &gt; 52: mother's brother's wife

122 &gt; 57: mother's mother's mother's sister's son's son's wife

## Gen. III

32 &gt; 10, 13: mother's brother's wife

32 &gt; 244: father's sister's son's wife

## Gen. IV

17 &gt; 9: brother's wife

*wati*, male connection by marriage, kin of wife

## Gen. I

8 &gt; 70: father's brother's daughter's husband.

## Gen. II

122 &gt; 126: sister's husband

122 &gt; 255, 257: father's brother's daughter's husband. The connecting women are also clanswomen.

## Gen. III

32 &gt; 152: father's sister's son's daughter's husband

## Gen. IV

17 &gt; 14: sister's husband

APPLICATION OF TERMS IN TEXTS<sup>1</sup>

na'ya:	mother, mother's sister, mother's more distant female relations, mother's brother's wife, mother by adoption.
naict <sup>yi</sup> 'ya:	father, father-in-law.

<sup>1</sup>Contributed by Dr. Boas.



s'a'yate':	my child (from 'i'ate', child).
s'amrt <sup>y</sup> :	my son, my prospective son-in-law (stem mrt <sup>y</sup> ).
s'amaa'k':	my daughter.
t <sup>y</sup> αau':	(woman's) granddaughter; (girl's) grandmother.
pα'pα <sup>a</sup> :	(woman's) grandson; (boy's) grandmother.
nα'na:	(boy's) grandfather; (man's) grandson.
s'a'nawe:	my mother's brother.
s'ak'o'ya:	my father's sister, (stem -k'oyα; see k'o, woman; k'oyα used with mythical names of old women as k'o'ya k'α'mæck'k'o'ya, Old-Spider-Woman).
s'at <sup>y</sup> u'mr:	my brother (man's). (u'mr, t <sup>y</sup> u'mr), tu <sup>y</sup> mr'o in address).
s'a'wate':	my brother (woman's)
s'a'k'wite':	my sister (man's).
sαau':	my sister (woman's). (gαau' in address).
s'a'tcr:	my husband.
sα'au'kwe:	my wife.
bi'iyai:	daughter-in-law; sister-in-law.
egubi'iyε:	my mother-in-law.
wa't <sup>y</sup> i'':	son-in-law.
ts'iwa't <sup>y</sup> i'':	his father-in-law.
k'anaict <sup>y</sup> i'ya ε ts'iwa't <sup>y</sup> i'':	his father-in-law and his brothers-in-law.
ts'i'wa't <sup>y</sup> i'k'ana'ya:	his mother-in-law.
ts'iwa't <sup>y</sup> it <sup>y</sup> ä'mic <sup>y</sup> ε:	his father,- mother-, brothers-, and sisters-in-law.
sa'wit <sup>y</sup> :	my family, i.e., clan members who can trace relationship through the female line.

The terms for "mother" and "father" are frequently used to designate individuals who are in a way in a social relation to the speaker that resembles the relation of parents to their children. Thus, parents-in-law and children-in-law, as well as parents or children by adoption, use the regular terms "father," "mother," "children."

The Squirrel Woman who comes to help a youth is by him called "mother." The Turks call the woman who keeps them their "mother." The female deities Nau'ts'ir<sup>y</sup>i, Ts'itetc'i'na'k'o, and the sun; also the altar and the i'at<sup>y</sup>ik<sup>1</sup> are so called. The tc'aiya'n<sup>y</sup>i are called "mothers" although they are men. The general form of the term is in this case cana'ya caute'anic<sup>y</sup>ε, "our mother chief." We find even the form k'ana'ya k'au'te'an<sup>y</sup>i, "his mother chief."

The term "father" is used in a similar way, as "father chief." The male deity rtc'ts'it<sup>y</sup>i<sup>1</sup> is also called "father," and in one case we find the Spanish form "our father god." Salt Woman, Masä'wi and Oyo'yä'wi are conjointly spoken of as "mother and fathers," and sometimes the tc'aiya'n<sup>y</sup>i are called "those who are fathers."

<sup>1</sup>Originally undoubtedly a female deity.

In the same way the terms "son," "daughter," and "child" are used, not to express actual but social relation. The Squirrel Woman calls a youth whom she protects "my son"; the owner of turkeys calls them "her children"; the sun and the deities Nau'ts'ir<sup>y</sup>i, rtc'ts'zt<sup>y</sup>i, the hunter's protector, cai'yaik', call human beings "their children," and the tc'aiya'n<sup>y</sup>i use the same terms when talking to or about the people.

The terms for "brother" and "sister" are also used in this manner. Thus some female birds call a coyote-woman "sister," and the k'a'ts'in'a speak of a woman who used to feed them first as "mother;" later on, after they have rescued her, as "sister." A girl also calls an unrelated man of about equal age "brother." In the story of a marriage, the young man who is to marry a certain girl, addresses her as "sister" and asks her whether she wants to marry him.

The terms for "grandparents" and "grandchildren" are constantly used in a social sense without implying relationship. Particularly the Old-Spider-Woman is always addressed as "grandmother" and calls those whom she helps "grandchildren." Cases of this kind are very numerous.

#### AGE AND SEX TERMS USED BY KIN

We noted the use of "child" (i'ach')<sup>1</sup> and of "girl" (maa'k') and "boy" (muiti) used as daughter and son, narrowly and extensively. Although the latter terms are established as kinship terms, their meaning as age class terms now and again finds expression. For example, your father's sister's son calls you, a female, s'amaa'k', before your marriage, whereas afterwards he may call you naiye',<sup>2</sup> matron.

Naiye', somewhat curiously, is used by a child in addressing his or her mother. The usage may be in imitation of the father, for a man commonly calls his wife naiye'.

It seems highly probable, as noted, that the term k'u'ya, father's sister, is derived from k'oya, old woman. This derivation finds support in the fact that there is no reciprocal proper for k'u'ya. S'a'yach', my child, is said, or "daughter" or "son."

Among the Hopi there are also separate terms for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp. A man has a distinctive term for younger

<sup>1</sup>See p. 157. Also Parsons (f), 116 where Mother iyatik<sup>u</sup> addresses ma'sewi as s'a'yach'. Jesus is hochstili (üşhstili) or nautsiti (God) k'ayach' (his son). The name of one of the Earth mothers is regularly given at Laguna for God.

<sup>2</sup>The term corresponds to makyi in Zuñi, both referring to maternity, not to mating. Recently in conversation at Zuñi the distinction was strikingly made. One Ts'atilutsa was referred to as ellashtokyi, girl. "But isn't she married?"—"Got husband, not got baby. How call her makyi? Not got baby. She ellashtokyi, old maid."

sister. For younger sister, w. sp., and for younger brother, m. and w. sp., there is the same term.

In this connection comparison with Zuñi nomenclature is of interest. The father's sister, *kuku*, calls her nephew *tale*, a term which a man also uses in ritual as a reciprocal for "father." The father's sister calls her niece *eye*, a term which seems to be connected with *e'le*, girl. I surmise that "boy" and "girl" terms may have been anciently at Zuñi, as at Laguna, the terms used by father and father's sister for offspring and brother's children.

TABLE 5: AGE AND SEX TERMS.

*uwak* (o'a'k), baby (girl or boy)

*iach*, child

*ma'sch'ă* or *makūr*, girl (virgin, or rather, childless); *makūrts'a* (mo'gūrts'a)—*ts'a*, a verbal suffix, she or he is

*muiti* (mūrūt') or *mūrūdyets'a*, boy

*shuyeti*<sup>1</sup> (*shoyati'*, *shuichi*), youth, unmarried

*kitōnis*<sup>e</sup>, youth (*sitōnime'*, I am a youth)

*kwits'a*, (*kwits'a*), female<sup>2</sup> (mature? old<sup>3</sup>)

*hashch*,<sup>4</sup> male (mature? old)<sup>5</sup>

*naiye'* or *naiye'ts'a*, woman with a child, matron

*hachtsetsatsich*, married man

*kwitsich* or *kwitoseshi*, old woman

*kuyotseichē* or *kuyautseshi*, very old woman

*hashchitseichē* or *hashtsichtsatsich hachtse*, old man

At Zuñi and elsewhere among Pueblo Indians,<sup>6</sup> seniority among *geschwister* is indicated in kinship terms proper; at Laguna it is not thus indicated, but descriptive terms are in use for the eldest child in the family—*tsaia'* (*tsaiyatsa*)—and for the youngest—*chetsa* (*chaitsa*).

*Nawai'* is a term meaning senior. It was applied to the head of a society and it is still applied somewhat vaguely to clan heads or seniors or even to any clansman. Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) said, "I call my uncle

<sup>1</sup>*Paiyetemu* in the folktales and in *k'atsina* ritual is used as a complementary term to *kuchinninaku* (yellow woman). The term *paiyetemu* occurs in the ceremonial vocabulary of Zuñi and of the Hopi. According to some, at Laguna the term is also used in daily life.

<sup>2</sup>In the mind of one informant associated with *s'akwich*, the man's term for "sister" (and perhaps "wife"?). Compare Zuñi usage, *hom okya*, my woman, for sister. Parsons, (e), 263.

<sup>3</sup>A female mountain lion is *mukaich kuwitseshē*, a male, *mukaich hachtse*.

<sup>4</sup>*ha'chdzē mē'*, be a man, is a common expression.

<sup>5</sup>*hashchits'a*, he is an old man.

<sup>6</sup>Kroeber, 84.

At Zuñi there are separate terms for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp. A man has a distinctive term for younger brother. For younger sister, m. sp., and for younger sister and brother, w. sp., there is the same term.

Among the Tewa of Hano there are separate terms for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp., and for younger brother and sister, m. and w. sp., the same term. (Freire-Marecco, 275-8). Among the Northern Tewa there is the same term for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp., and the same term for younger brother and sister, m. and w. sp., something like the Laguna use of terms for the eldest and youngest in the family. See p. 170, n. 1. At Jemez and Taos there is a separate term for older brother and older sister, m. and w. sp. (Harrington, 482).



or brother *s'anawaia* or *sdranawai'* (*s'a*, my; *sdra* (*sdja*), our) when I don't want to name him, and anyone would know I meant a clansman. But I don't like to speak of my brother by this word." Dzira'ai (Gen. II, 35), the senior male among those whom we would call her nearby blood kindred,<sup>1</sup> is to Dzaid'yuwi' her distinctive *nawai'*, and were she to say *s'anawaia* or *s'anawai' tsaia'* or *sdranawaiashe tsaia'* any blood relative would know she meant Dzira'ai.<sup>2</sup>

#### TERMS OF ADDRESS

As noted, *naiye'* is a common vocative term for mother, and the age class terms of "eldest" and "youngest" are used in address in the family and even outside. There are no special vocative terms. The application of terms, however, may be somewhat different in address than in reference. You refer to your father's sister as *s'a'k'u'ya* and you may call her *s'a'k'u'ya* or *k'u'ya*; but you may also call her "mother." Any kinswoman, maternal or paternal, in whose house you grow up you are pretty sure, as already noted, to call mother. Thus Go'ty'ia'i' (Gen. III, 32) called his father's sister (Gen. III, 232) who reared him, an orphan; and thus, for like reason, K'awaity'id'yuwe' (Gen. II, 119) calls her father's sister (Gen. II, 53).

Again you may address your relatives by marriage as *piye* or *wati*, but more commonly you call them by the term which corresponds to the term for the connecting relative i.e., you may call your brother-in-law or the husband of your mother's sister, *wati*, but usually you call him brother or father, since his wife you call sister or mother. For example, Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls Yo'kwi (Gen. II, 126), Kaiyai' (Gen. II, 245), and Gwi'd'zirai' (Gen. II, 120), all in turn, brother, because she calls the wife of each man, sister, Yo'kwi's wife being actually her sister, Kaiyai's wife being her stepsister, and Gwi'd'zirai's wife being her mother's brother's daughter, but called sister because of household association.

How far the effects of this principle may spread is illustrated in Gen. I. Dyai'is'its'a (Gen. I, 9) called her brother-in-law Yu'si (Gen. I, 8) brother (or son). Their connecting relative died and Yu'si remarried; his second wife (Gen. I, 74) Dyai'is'its'a called sister. Again, since Yu'si calls Dyai'is'its'a, mother, her son (Gen. I, 18) he calls brother.

<sup>1</sup>At first I inferred that Dzaid'yuwi' had made a mistake in the relative ages of the mothers of Dzira'ai and Dzai'siyai' (Gen. II, 26), the latter descending, as the genealogical table stands, from the senior branch; but, on re-examination, Dzaid'yuwi' re-affirmed the tabular data. The senior branch does not live at Laguna and in this fact may lie the explanation for referring to Dzira'ai as family elder.

<sup>2</sup>See table 9 where Dzira'ai is also cited as the *nawai'* of the Water clan.

Again, you will call your father's brother's wife, mother, since your father's brother you call father. It is of interest that although you do not call your mother's brother, 'father,' his wife you do call, "mother," showing that conceptually your mother's brother is, as might be expected, of a senior age class.

### TEKNONYMY

Teknonymous usages occur at Laguna as elsewhere among the Pueblo Indians. A Laguna woman may refer to her husband as 'i'ach' *ganaishdyashi* (child, his father), and a man refers similarly to his wife as 'i'ach' *ganaiyashi*. In address the terms *ganaishdiesh* and *ganaiesh* will be used.

Adults in the family may call each other by the terms the children use. Thus Juana (Gen. I, 13) would sometimes call Dyai'is'ts'ă (Gen. I, 9), her maternal aunt, not "mother," but "grandmother" because, I infer, Juana's little daughter called Dyai'is'ts'ă, "grandmother."<sup>1</sup> Analogously, Juana's father (Gen. I, 8) would call Dyai'is'ts'ă, his wife's sister, "mother" because Juana called her, "mother." And Dyai'is'ts'ă in turn called her brother-in-law, "son."

### USE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS OUTSIDE OF RELATIONSHIP

A form of teknonymous custom or closely related to it is the use of the Spanish terms—*comare* (Sp., *comadre*) and *compare* (Sp., *compadre*). The rite of Catholic baptism is observed at Laguna, more especially after a woman has had misfortune with her children. In these circumstances she will choose a woman who has had several children and lost none to act as her *comare*.<sup>2</sup> I knew one fortunate woman who was *comare* in seven or eight families.

To invite a woman to become your *comare*, you take her some corn-meal (*shk'atina*) saying:—

shaugyi    s'a'yach    tsitsp' chaaich'<sup>3</sup>  
I give       my child    to be baptized

The woman goes out and sprinkles the meal on the ground and says a prayer. The same woman will continue to act as your *comare*; but for later children you do not repeat the rite of invitation.

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 272; Lowie, (b), 108. See too Parsons, (e), 259.

<sup>2</sup>Just as in identical circumstances, at Zuñi, a propitious woman is invited in at the birth to pick up the child and breathe into his mouth. The husband of this woman becomes the ceremonial father of the boy at the initiation into the *kotikyane*, the Zuñi *k'atsina* organization. (Parsons, (a), 172). Among the Tewa of Hano a sick child may be given to a woman "to make it live." The child will call the woman and her husband, "mother" and "father." (Freire-Marecco, 272, 278.)

<sup>3</sup>*tsits*, water, *chaachpanashu*, wash head ceremonially.



With your *comare* you associate her husband as *compare*, and to their children you apply the daughter-son terms. Reciprocally they apply parent terms to you and your husband, just as your children apply parent terms to your *comare* and *compare*. The Spanish terms for godparents, *padriño* and *madriña*, are not used. To one another the children of the two *comare* use sister-brother terms.

As in Spanish custom, the use of *comare-compare* terms is not confined to those who are thus ceremonially connected. The terms are convenient general terms of friendly address. A contemporary in an Acoma household I once visited for a few days would address me as *comare*. Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) sometimes calls her brother-in-law Yo'kwi (Gen. II, 126) *compare*, instead of *wati*, or "brother," although, I believe, there is no ritualistic relation between them. She also calls her father's brother (Gen. II, 235) *compare*, although in this case the man is actually her *compare*. From this case as from others, I get the impression that where the ritualistic relationship has been established between relatives the *comare-compare* terms will be given the preference over kinship terms.

Kinship terms are applied in address to wedding sponsors—to the *madriña* and *padriño de casamiento* (see p. 175), and the children of the two families make use of corresponding terms. Alice and Pedro Martin' (Houses 11, 29, 31) were *madriña* and *padriño* to Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) and her husband, I'g'ugäi, and they are therefore called mother and father by the latter,<sup>1</sup> and grandmother and grandfather by the latter's children.

As at Zuñi, relationship terms appear to have been applied in connection with initiation into the societies. The head *cheani* chose a member to become the "father" of the initiate, *k'anaishdyi'ya*, "his father."<sup>2</sup> It was the duty of "his father" to prepare the society outfit of the initiate during the four days of retreat before the initiation. The initiate joined in this retreat. On the fourth night the two heads of the *cheani* society put on the masks of the society,<sup>3</sup> "to pretend they were real *kupishtaiya*,<sup>4</sup>" and to breathe into the mouth of the initiate, thereby

<sup>1</sup>Did she not use the term of the ceremonial relationship, Alice would call I'g'ugäi, *papa*, as she does his brother (see p. 140, n. 5). As it is, Alice is calling one brother, "son," another brother, "grandson (grandfather)." It is a double illustration first of the indifference to generation we are to observe again more fully, second, of the priority of the terms of the ceremonial relation observed above.

<sup>2</sup>In the curing ceremonial of Cochiti the *chaiani* in charge is called *kanaishdia*, his father, i. e., the patient's father. (Dumarest, 154).

At Cochiti, *kanaishdia* and *kanaiya* are also applied to godparents. (*Ibid*, 143).

<sup>3</sup>"The *cheani* could not get on without masks." Each society had two masks to initiate with. Initiation in masks occurs at Jemez and at Zuñi, if not everywhere among the Pueblo Indians. Among the Keresan there is quite a little evidence to indicate that the *cheani* controlled the use of masks in general. I have little doubt that the efflorescent mask cult, the *kachina*—*k'atsina*—*koko* cult, developed out of the more restricted society use of masks.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 181.



giving him new life and a new name.<sup>1</sup> The rite is called *cheani ts'iya* (new born). After the head *cheani* breathed or blew, "his father" blew. Then "his father" took the initiate to his wife's house, summoning his clanswomen to wash the head and body of the initiate.<sup>2</sup> If there were several women present, from ten to twenty, each woman in turn applied a little water and then two women settled down to giving a thorough wash. Presents were given to the initiate. Thereafter the initiate was called "child of the clan" i.e., of "his father" and of the officiating women; for example, were they of the Sun clan, the initiate would be called, *oshach washjiti*, Sun child.<sup>3</sup>

It is more than likely that the given features of this initiation are carried out to-day, as at Zuñi,<sup>4</sup> in the *k'atsina* initiation. An equivalent term is used for "making *k'atsina*" the native rendering of *k'atsina ts'iya*; but secretiveness about present day ways interfered with getting positive general information or concrete applications of terms. I feel pretty sure that as in the case of the *comare* and *compare* terms, and as happens in Zuñi with the *koko* initiate, the Laguna *k'atsina* initiate will apply parent and sister-brother terms to the family of "his father."

We noted that in giving a light to the *cheani* father-son terms are used. Somewhat curiously, since the ceremonial connotation is obscure, the *cheani* is usually addressed as "mother."<sup>5</sup> On entering a room in which a *cheani* is, you say *gwa dzi shanaiya shauchani* (*gwa dzi*, how is everything?, the usual entrance formula,<sup>6</sup> our mother chief). In praying to *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup> you say also *shanaiya shauchani*. In praying to a *k'atsina* or a *santu* you would say *shanaishdyi'ya shauchani*, our father chief. The supreme god of the Catholics is called *naishdyi'ya dios*.

As among the Hopi and at Zuñi kinship may be assumed between one *k'atsina* and another. In the *chakwena* group there is or was an impersonation called *oyatsikina* who carries a gourd rattle in the right hand, an *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup>, in the left. She is called *chakwena ganaiyashi*, their

<sup>1</sup>For Zuñi cp. Parsons, (a), 171. As among other Indian tribes, the Pueblo Indian initiation is or was undoubtedly thought of as dying and coming to life again.

<sup>2</sup>In the cure for lightning shock described on p. 275, the doctor's sister was called in to wash the patient's head. Henceforward she would be "his aunt," *k'ak'u'ya*.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 206.

<sup>4</sup>Parsons, (a), 172.

<sup>5</sup>Cp. Dumarest, 197.

I surmise that the *cheani* is thought of as the representative of *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup>, the great mother supernatural.

Among the Northern Tewa the winter cacique is called father, the summer cacique, mother. (Harrington, 478-9).

<sup>6</sup>The rejoinder is *dawa' e'*, well it is. And you are told to "come in from the East" or from whatever direction the door actually faces, a striking little illustration of that sense of orientation so ubiquitous in the mind of the Pueblo Indian.

Incidentally, let me say, that greetings on the road are quite similar in tone to those at Zuñi, where an observation of coming or going is formulaic. At Laguna you say, *ditcha'?* (sing.; *dicheha*, dual; *ditdyie'*, pl.), Are you here?

mother. *Kaya'petsit'*<sup>a</sup> and *kauk'a'kaya*, star *k'atsina*,<sup>1</sup> are a pair of brothers to be identified probably with that famous brother pair, *maasewi* and *oyoyewi*.

At Laguna as everywhere in Pueblo Indian life terms of relationship are used to express ideas of species, class, or category. The select ears of corn referred to on p. 214 are called "their mothers," the horned toad referred to on p. 196 is instructed to report to his grandmother; in folk-tale<sup>2</sup> and in daily usage similar expressions abound.

### STEP RELATIVES

Step relatives, like half relatives, receive the same terms as full or actual relatives. A good illustration of this usage was seen in the household of Kuyu'd'yuwe (Gen. I, 68). Here there were three sets of children, the children of Kuyu'd'yuwe by her first husband and by her second and present husband, and the children of her second husband by his first wife. There was no discrimination in address between these three sets of offspring. Yu'si (Gen. I, 8), for example, who calls Kuyu'd'yuwe, sister, calls all the children in her household *naiya* or *s'anawe*.

### KINSHIP TERMS FOR MAN-WOMAN

Fortunately one of the few men-women (*kokwimu*, *kok'we'mă*) I have heard of at Laguna<sup>3</sup> appeared in one of the genealogies—Gen. II, 161. He retained his masculine name;<sup>4</sup> but my informant referred to him, her grandfather's brother, as grandmother, and she expressed a naïve surprise at the suggestion that any kinship terms but those for women should be applied to him<sup>5</sup>—perhaps the strongest evidence of any we have of how thoroughly a change of sex is imputed to the man-woman.

### WIFE AND HUSBAND TERMS

*S'aukwi* (*s'au'kwe*) is the term for wife in reference; it is never used in address. (Literally, my wife; *gaukwi*, "his wife"). *S'a'che* (Acoma, *s'a'ch*) is a term of reference for husband. Kroeber has recorded (*s*)*atü*, a term which I also got at Zuñi from an Acoma man as *staatsu*. *S'a'ch* may be related to *s'a'yach'*, "my child." In Zuñi folktales, I note, a woman

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), 95.

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 159-160.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 237, 272; also Parsons, (b), 181-2.

<sup>4</sup>Of the three men-women of Zuñi one had changed his name, from Tsalamuni, a man's name, to Tsalatitsa, a woman's name. Tsalatitsa died, by the way, in 1918.

<sup>5</sup>Or of course that any but terms used by women should be used by him. One of the men-women of Zuñi is ridiculed by people, according to some, "because she goes on talking like a man, she says *ikina* [younger sister, m. sp.] instead of *hani* [younger sister, w. sp.]."



may call her husband, "my child," and he calls her, "my mother" even before she has a child<sup>1</sup>. . . . *Stuitunushi*, translated to me as "two thinking alike," is a term that may be used at Laguna by either spouse of the other. *Gaish* is a term for boy as sweetheart.

As noted, one spouse will address the other teknonymously, and a man will call his wife *naiye'*. If she is elderly he will also call her *kuyotseich*<sup>2</sup>, old woman; and she will call him *hashchitseich*<sup>2</sup>, old man.<sup>2</sup>

*Dzaid'yuwi'* (Gen. II, 122) calls her husband *chetsa*, youngest, the term he is called by in his own family, and there is nothing uncommon about *Dzaid'yuwi'*'s practice.

*Tsuyuchusti* is a term I recorded at Acoma for widow or widower.

### COLLECTIVE TERMS

*T'emishy*<sup>3</sup> is a suffix indicating plurality which is used in describing a kinship class e.g., *s'at'u'mět'emishyě*, all my brothers, or *s'akwich t'emishyě*, all my sisters, or *s'anawet'emishyě*, all my mother's brothers or sister's sons.<sup>3</sup> *Shtraiaiyet'emishyě*, a parent might say, meaning "our children." *S'apiyet'emishyě*, or, in the pronominal objective form, *skopiyet'emish*, means my husband's people, *sku(w)atit'emish*, my wife's people. *S'ananatyemishyě*, a man might say of his grandchildren. Here the male sex terms would include the female terms; but when Gen. I, 13, a female, uses the term *s'agyaui't'emishyě* to include all the children of 18 or 11, female and male, the female sex term includes the male term. In other words, when the collective term has to include both sexes, the consideration in the mind of the speaker seems to be sex identity rather than priority of either sex. Unfortunately I did not note to what extent this principle may be implicitly expressed in the use of the collective terms for father's people—*s'a'k'uyat'emishyě*, literally, "all my father's sisters," and *naisht'emishyě*, "all my fathers." Explicitly all my father's clanspeople, men and women, are *naishdyi'ya gawit'emishyě*. Speaking of a man's father's people you would say *gak'u'yachi*, a woman informant stated.

*Papatyich* is also a collective term for grandchildren, and *nanatyich* for grandsons.

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Kroeber (72) has explained an apparently like usage as a reference to the relationship between the woman and her sister's children, *an tsita*, their mother, she is called by her husband. Folktale references may have a different implication. (See p. 197, n. 3).

<sup>2</sup>This is Zuni and Tewa usage.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 159 for *sa'wi'tu'*, all my people.



## USE OF ENGLISH TERMS

English terms are used much as might be expected from the foregoing observations i.e., mother, father, sister, brother terms are used not only as in English but in certain wider applications—mother's sister or father's brother would always be called mother or father and the sister-brother cousins would be called sister or brother. The term cousin is but little if ever used, rather "a kind of relation" will be said where sister or brother is not to be applied. The terms aunt and uncle are given a quite definite application to father's sister or kinswomen and to mother's brother or kinsmen. In other words aunt and uncle are not used as in English, but are fitted into the Indian habit of differentiating between the maternal and paternal collaterals. This extremely interesting instance of adapting a new form to an old habit of thought<sup>1</sup> I found also among the Hopi and at Zuñi—aunt always means paternal aunt, and uncle, maternal uncle.

## MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

*Naiyase'sha* and *naishdiase'sha* are terms for house mother and house father in the sense of trustee of the household property.

*Shtanaishdyěshě?* (? *shja*, pronominal first person pl.—our father) is a term for the oldest man in the house.

*Tsaachich* is a term for household I recorded at Acoma.

*She* is a suffix equivalent to deceased or late. "From whom did you learn that lullaby?" I asked an old lady. "From *s'anaiyashe* (my mother·gone)." *Gyiaushe gamuiteshe*, deceased grandmother's deceased uncle, you might say. The opposite idea is expressed by the suffix *tyě* e.g. *s'gyiautyě* means "my grandmother present" in distinction to *s'gyiaushe*, "my grandmother passed away." The suffix may be used for personal names—e.g., *Juliashe*, the late Julia or *Tsik'ayashe* (Gen. I, 66), the late *Tsik'aya*.

*Choasedyu* is a term that may be used by a man for his own begotten child. "It is a man's word" i.e., used only by men. It may be used in referring to a mare and her colt.

At Cochiti<sup>2</sup> and at San Felipe *yaya* is a term for "mother";<sup>3</sup> at Laguna *yaya* is a nursery term. *Chichi*, a term for "sister" at Acoma in the mouth of adults,<sup>4</sup> is at Laguna merely a nursery term, used to or by children.

<sup>1</sup>Analogously, I found a child of mixed blood calling her mother's brother not *s'amuiti*, but *naish-dyi'ya*.

<sup>2</sup>Dumarest, 144, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup>At Santo Domingo, *iya*, among the Tewa, *yiya*.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 200.

## PRINCIPLES

## INDIFFERENCE TO GENERATION

Dyai'is'ts'ă (Gen. I, 9), we noted, was called grandmother by her niece, and mother by her brother-in-law who in consequence called Dyai'is'ts'ă's son, "brother"<sup>1</sup>—all primarily teknonymous expressions, but also to be taken as illustration of that indifference to expressing actual generation which is a notable feature of Laguna kinship terminology<sup>2</sup>. One could find many similar illustrations. For example, you may call the same person by different generation terms according to whether you are thinking of the relationship through their father or through their mother, persons whom you happen to call by different generation terms. Dzaid'yui' (Gen. II, 122) may call Gen. II, 189, granddaughter because she calls the father of 189, son; or Dzaid'yui' may call 189, daughter because, as it happens, she calls the mother of 189, sister.<sup>3</sup> Again, there being no term for stepsister, Dzaid'yui' calls Dyaiyo'wăi', her stepsister, sister; now Dyaiyo'wăi''s mother, the wife of Dzaid'yui' 's father, Dzaid'yui' calls daughter—because the latter is the child of Dzaid'yui''s clan. "Daughter" to a woman whose own daughter is called "sister!" Go'ty'iăi' (Gen. III, 32) calls his father's sisters, mother—he grew up in their house; but the son of one of them he calls, not brother, but father. "Mother" and "father" to a woman and her son! Or, since you may call the husband of your father's sister, "father," you call both father and son, "father."

Again indifference to generation is seen in the cases where persons of successive generations are called by the same term.<sup>4</sup> For example, Yai'yaăi (Gen. II, 151) would call both Sh'au's'imăi' (Gen. II, 156) and G'yi'mi (Gen. II, 166), the son of Sh'au's'imăi', father. G'yi'mi is his father's clansman, and hence called father, and Sh'au's'imăi is called *papa* by Yai'yaăi's mother (her grandfather's brother) and so by Yai'yaăi is to be called father. Again, as a man, you call your brother's son, son, as well as your mother's brother's son; or your brother's daughter's daughter you call *papa* as well as your mother's brother's daughter's daughter.

In these cases indifference may be thought of as due to the juxtaposition of clan terms and kinship terms<sup>5</sup>. In another case, the indiffer-

<sup>1</sup>See p. 163.

<sup>2</sup>As it is of Zuñi terminology (Kroeber, 60).

<sup>3</sup>Here we have a good instance of what Kroeber calls the looseness of Pueblo Indian kinship nomenclature. It seems to me, however, not looseness as much as freedom of choice among various fixed principles.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 77.

<sup>5</sup>In one case where a man calls both his father's sister's son and his father's sister's son's son, "brother", the indifference seems to result from the juxtaposition of two kindred systems—the systems of Acoma and Laguna.



ence cannot be thought of as thus originating. A woman calls her mother's brother, son, and his wife, if the affinity term (*piye*) is dropped, sister. Thus Dzaid'yuwi' called Gau's'in'äi' (Gen. II, 52), the wife of the mother's brother she called son. Again the daughter of Gau's'in'äi', the cross-cousin already noted, Dzaid'yuwi' calls *gyiau'*. "Granddaughter" to a woman whose mother is called "sister"! (A sense of coherency will be recovered when we recall that the grandparent-grandchild terms between cross-cousin are based on the mother-son terms between mother's brother and niece).

Again, persons of the same generation will have different generation terms for the same person. A man, you call your mother's brother's son, son; but your sister calls him grandson.

In the application of clanship terms a confusion of generation is involved as may be seen, for example, in the fact that a male of any age in your father's clan is called father.

In discussing cousin terms we observed that it was well to think of kinship terms in mutual correlation, a closer approximation to the native habit of thought. When terms for grandparent, parent, or offspring are not thought of as generation terms at all, but merely as terms in a fixed relation to other terms, the positive character of the facts we have been reciting disappears, instead of a denial of difference of generation we have merely indifference to expressing generation.

#### SENIORITY

Indifference to generation does not mean indifference or rather thoroughgoing indifference to seniority. Terms for oldest child and youngest are used, as noted, in the family and sometimes outside. In the cross-cousin nomenclature priority is attributed to the female line, just as at Zuñi, although the expression is different. At Zuñi sister-brother terms are applied to all cousins, and priority in line is expressed in the seniority distinctions between sister-brother terms<sup>1</sup>. Since at Laguna these distinctions do not exist in the sister-brother terms proper, another way is taken. The elder generation terms are applied in cross-cousin terminology to the offspring of the female line. There is one marked case in the genealogical record where parallel cousins are referred to by terms of different generation (Gen. I, 13>18)<sup>2</sup>. The cousins are

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<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 59. If it is true, as Kroeber suggests, that the principle of seniority in sister-brother terms gave way at Laguna to the Spanish descriptive terms of oldest and youngest, then the desire to express seniority of line between cross-cousins may have led to the introduction of different generation terms for cross-cousins.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 152.



nearly a generation apart and it is quite possible that the difference in age accounts here, as it would at Zuñi,<sup>1</sup> for the terminology, i.e., a mother's sister's son, if much older, being accounted an "uncle" or senior clansman rather than a brother or contemporaneous clansman.

There appears to be a slight preference by seniority in the inheritance of the house (see p. 248). Among the clans, with possibly one exception (see p. 232), there is no priority based on seniority or any other principle.

Clan headship<sup>2</sup> appears to have an association of seniority, not with the individual *per se*, but rather with the individual through his family i.e., it is not the oldest member of the clan that is thought of as *nawai'*, but the oldest member in the family which is thought of as the senior family in the clan. It must not be understood that anything as definite as this is ever stated by a native about this most obscure subject of clan headship. From different informants, as we shall see, we get different lists of the clan heads, and it seems impossible for an informant to explain lucidly why such and such a man is accounted a clan *nawai'*.

Kin terms used as clan terms are applied, as we are to note later in detail,<sup>3</sup> according to seniority.

#### FAMILY IMITATION

As already suggested, terms of address and even terms of reference may be determined by other terms familiar in the family. Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls K'awaity'id'yuwe' (Gen. II, 119) sister because K'awaity'id'yuwe' grew up in Dzaid'yuwi's house and called Dzaid'yuwi' 's mother, "mother." Strictly, the latter, a father's sister, should be called *k'u'ya*, and K'awaity'id'yuwe' and Dzaid'yuwi' who are cross-cousins should call each other by the reciprocal *gyiau'*. The change in address between these two cousins will alter the address of their descendants. Dzaid'yuwi' may call the child of K'awaity'id'yuwe', daughter or son, instead of sister or brother, the proper terms for the children of a collateral whom you call by the grandparent-grandchild terms.

Here we touch upon the general Laguna principle that the child bases his use of kinship terms upon that of his mother.<sup>4</sup> In many instances Dzaid'yuwi' did not know why she used a term except that it corresponded to a term used by her mother. Persons a woman calls by daughter-son terms, her children will call by sister-brother terms. For

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, 54.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 212.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 208.

<sup>4</sup>Rivers noted the same practice among the Todas where "the mode of relationship is handed down from generation to generation." (Rivers, 491).

example, Dzaid'yuwi's son (Gen. II, 151) calls his great-uncle, Hai'-yuwäisiwä' (Gen. II, 51), brother, because Dzaid'yuwi' calls him son; or because Dzaid'yuwi' calls a very distant collateral, (Gen. II, 227), son, the son of Dzaid'yuwi' would call him brother.

Again, persons a woman calls by the grandparent-grandchild terms, her children will call by the great grandparent or, what is the same, the parent terms. For example, were Dzaid'yuwi' to call her cross-cousin K'awaity id'yuwe' (Gen. II, 119) *gyiau'*, the daughter of Dzaid'yuwi' would call K'awaity id'yuwe' great-grandmother or mother. Or persons a woman calls by the parent terms, her children call by the grandparent terms. For example, Dzaid'yuwi's mother calls Djai'd'ziě (Gen. II, 184), father (he is her father's sister's son), so Dzaid'yuwi' calls him grandfather, and in turn Dzaid'yuwi's son (Gen. II, 151) calls him father. To further illustrate, according to whether Dzaid'yuwi' calls Ko'ri (Gen. I, 31, Gen. II, 189, Gen. III, 193) granddaughter or daughter ("granddaughter" because Ko'ri is her mother's father's brother's son's daughter; "daughter" because Ko'ri is her (step) father's brother's daughter's daughter), the son of Dzaid'yuwi' will call Ko'ri mother or sister.

Where kinship terms are applied to such remote kin as in some of the preceding cases, it is fairly obvious that some mechanical principle like taking the cue from the mother's application of terms, is indispensable. And to the native mind what more natural? "If our mother calls a man, *naishdyi'ya*, we call him *papa*." And to the speaker that was all there was to it.

Application of terms by analogous rules of thumb are notable in various particulars. For example, Go'ty'iäi' (Gen. III, 32) who by courtesy calls an illegitimate cousin (Gen. III, 38), sister (instead of daughter), calls her son (Gen. III, 114), son (instead of grandson).

There is conjugal imitation. We noted that you might call a relative by marriage by a term corresponding to what you call the connecting relative, you may also call the relative by marriage by the same term your husband or wife calls him. The two practices, of course, commonly dovetail. For example Yo'kwi (Gen. II, 126) calls Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) sister because Yo'kwi's wife calls her sister or because Dzaid'yuwi' calls him brother, since she calls his wife, sister. Similarly you may call your mother-in-law or father-in-law, mother or father, because your husband does, or because they call you daughter since your husband they call son. But there are instances where the emphasis falls upon the fact of imitating your spouse, as, for example, where a woman



gives up the term she has used before marriage for a certain person in preference for the term used for the same person by her husband. Before her marriage Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) called Dyai'is'its'ă (Gen. II, 157), grandmother. Dyai'is'its'ă was the wife of Dzaid'yuwi's grandfather's brother; but after marriage, because Dzaid'yuwi's husband called Dyai'is'its'ă, mother (she was his cousin in the maternal line), Dzaid'yuwi' also called her, mother. On the other hand such conjugal imitation may not occur. Tsiwakwits'a, Corn (House 123) called Go'ty'iăi', Corn (Gen. III, 32), brother; but Tsiwakwits'a's husband, Wik'ai, does not call him brother, but, grandfather, since Wik'ai's mother, being child of Corn, called Go'ty'iăi', father.

The imitation may be blind. Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls Guwaidityě (Go'w'ăi') (Gen. II, 23) mother because Dzaid'yuwi's husband calls Guwaidityě, mother, for what reason our genealogical tables do not indicate *nor does Dzaid'yuwi' know*.

#### TERM CORRELATION

To be included under this subject are reciprocity of terms and the application of terms serially. *Gyiau'*, *pa'pa*, *nana*, the grandparent-grandchild terms, *anawe*, uncle-nephew, *gauau'*, sister and *t'u'mě*, brother, are reciprocals in the strictest sense, both relatives using the single term; in the wider sense of reciprocity, it may be said that whomsoever you call *nai'ya* or *naishdyi'ya* calls you *s'amaa'k'* or *s'amuiti*, and similarly the sister-brother terms between the opposite sexes are reciprocal.

Serially, there are regular associations in the use of terms. The son of anyone you, a man, call sister, you call *s'anawe*. The son or daughter of anyone you call *s'anawe*, you call *s'amuiti* or *s'amaa'k'*. The children of those you call daughter or son you call grandchildren; and, in turn, the children of those you call grandchildren, you call daughter or son. Hence we get such series as:—

m. sp.	> <i>s'anawe</i>	> <i>s'amuiti</i>	> <i>nana</i>	> <i>s'amuiti</i>
	mother's	mother's	mother's	mother's brother's
	brother	brother's	brother's	son's son's son
		son	son's son	
w. sp.	> <i>gyiau'</i>		> <i>nai'ya</i>	> <i>au'</i>
	mother's mother's		mother's mother's	mother's mother's mother's
	mother's sister's		mother's sister's	sister's daughter's
	daughter		daughter's daughter	daughter's daughter

As we have already pointed out, much of the bizarre character of the nomenclature disappears when we consider the nomenclature in terms of correlation rather than in terms of literal translation.



## PATRONYMICS

The use of Spanish names is, as we know, a long established practice among the Pueblo Indians.<sup>1</sup> There are today in Laguna ten women who are known as Wana (Juana) and one man,<sup>2</sup> perhaps more, as Wan (Juan);<sup>3</sup> and there are several Pe[d]ros and at least one José. And many other children undoubtedly have been given Spanish names.<sup>4</sup> Spanish names may be used also as patronymics. Pisano is one (See Houses 1, 33, 116),<sup>5</sup> Pino, another<sup>6</sup>, and Pedro and Alice Martin', had they children, would undoubtedly pass on their name. This use of a patronymic, is probably not a very recent development in Laguna, but the use has been promoted, I incline to think, by English White example, notably the example of three White men who married Laguna women and whose children are known by the paternal name, Pradt or Marmon. (See House 59).

Yu'si (Gen. I, 8) borrowed the latter name. He is called Robert Marmon, and his daughter (Gen. I, 13) was called Margaret Marmon. Kai and Johnson seem to be patronymics in other families, as in each case two or more brothers (Gen. II, 235, 238; Gen. IV, 15, 17) go by the same name. In the families of Bert Wetmore, Jefferson, Perry, Reilly and Day the patronymic seems likely to be passed down; and no doubt a more general acquaintance would have revealed other instances. In one case an English name (perhaps Spanish anglicized) and an Indian name were combined as given name and surname—Thomas K'aityima

<sup>1</sup>A study of the circulation of Spanish names among the Hopi and at Zuñ compared with the thoroughgoing circulation in some of the eastern pueblos would be of considerable interest. (Cp. Harrington, 476-7).

<sup>2</sup>John Reilly or G'yi'mi (Gen. I, 16, Gen. II, 166, Gen. III, 90; House 56).

<sup>3</sup>Tsi'wak'ā (Juana) and I made the enumeration on the eve of St. John's Day, *sawatsaschi*, June 24. On that day, in the afternoon, a few men will assemble at the house of the *saxtana* (House 13, and pp. 260ff.), hence proceed to House 56 (see p. 242) where they will shout, "Come out! Come out!" The inmates will throw bread, mutton, etc. see p. 279) to them, calling "This way! This way!" and then douse them with buckets of water, calling *ohai! ohai!* (Children caught out in a downpour of rain are taught to call out *ohai!*) The dousing "shows that rain will come." The party of men, reinforced by any who wish to join, goes on to every house in which lives a Juana or a Juan, to repeat the performance.

On St. Peter's Day, *saperotsaschi*, June 29, there is the same ceremonial, with the house of every Pero and Paura substituted.

Formerly at Zuñi a like water-pouring rite took place during the summer solstice ceremonial (Stevenson, (b), 152). The water was poured by the inmates of the houses on the *koyemshi* who during the rite were called *dumichimchi*. (The cry of the *koyemshi* is *ahai!* compare the Laguna cry *ohai!*). Formerly at Zuñi, too, there was a nighttime firing of pottery during the summer solstice ceremonial. (Stevenson, (b), 150) I incline to think that both practices, firing and water pouring, were introduced from the cult of San Juan, a cult well acculturated among the Pueblo Indians. See Parsons, (l). Incidentally I recall that June at Laguna is called *sawatauwach*, St. John's moon.

<sup>4</sup>In the genealogies we find Mariano, Dolivio, Garcio, and Lopez (Lope, Lupi, Lopina).

<sup>5</sup>The relationship between Edith Pisano (Houses 1, 33) and Frank Pisano (House 116) was given to me through their paternal lines—their paternal grandfathers were brothers. But for the patronymic I doubt if this relationship would have been known to my informant, instead she would have mentioned the fact that both persons happened to belong to the same clan, Turkey clan. My informant was, to be sure, of mixed-blood, no full-blood would as yet mention paternal descent to the exclusion of clan membership. Nevertheless we may see here, I think, a forerunner incident.

<sup>6</sup>See House 38, Gen. III, 39. George Pino's daughter Tsi'wak'ā (Gen. III, 116) is also known as Mary Pino.—She is married, but her husband appears not to have an American name. Dzaid'yuwi' or Jennie Johnson (Gen. III, 122), the wife of Joe Johnson, Mrs. Reilly (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89, House 56) and Katie Day (Gen. III, 76; Houses 119, 120) are the only women I heard of, exclusive of the native wives of Whites, by their husband's name.

(Gen. IV, 14; Houses 39, 66). Another Indian name, Wik'ai, is also used as a surname—Annie Wik'ai (House 123). There are, too, several instances of Spanish surnames; but they do not appear to be used as patronymics proper or family names. For example, Go'ty'iäi' (Gen. III, 32) has the Spanish surname of Lancisco, but it is not used in connection with his children or with his brothers. One of his brother's daughter's has the surname, Santiago, Bertha Santiago (Tsaishdyiäi', Gen. III, 98). On the other hand, Go'ty'iäi''s English name, Brown, was used by his stepdaughter, Jennie, before she married.

## FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

### COMPOUND TYPE

As elsewhere among Pueblo Indians family organization tends to be of the compound family type, consisting of three rather than of two generations. Married daughters and sometimes married sons go on living at home. In many households there are, too, collateral ascendants and, even after his wife dies, a man, unless he remarries, will live on with his children. This practice is more common at Laguna, I get the impression, than at Zuñi, where a widower, immediately after the burial, unless he is an old man, will return to the house of his mother or sister. The difference in custom is readily explained as a corollary of the Laguna theory that a man may own a house.<sup>1</sup>—As the Laguna household grows, new rooms may be added to accommodate the increments. These rooms may be attached to the old building or detached. It is by this process, I believe, that houses of the same clan come to be clustered together, i.e., the grouping is intrinsically a kin, not a clan, expression. But of this matter more later on.

### MARRIAGE.

As in other Pueblo Indian towns, marriage at Laguna is monogamous. Laguna monogamy is more or less brittle, probably less brittle in practice, certainly less brittle in native theory than at Zuñi. Most, if not all, go through the marriage ceremony in the Catholic church, although couples may live together before the ceremony; and at church people hear considerably about fidelity and permanence in marriage.<sup>2</sup> That the

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>In a simple and exceedingly well preached sermon I heard one Sunday on the Catholic moralities of economic honesty, obedience to parents, etc., exhortation to conjugal fidelity was included. On another occasion we attended a double wedding at which the exhortation to be faithful unto death was translated to be faithful for a little while—perhaps the mention of death was deemed untimely by the interpreter; perhaps, conscious of his own past (See p. 272) he had his tongue in his cheek; or perhaps he merely misunderstood the English phrase.



Catholic standard is quite familiar at Laguna is apparent from criticisms one hears expressed, as I have said before, of the brittle Zuñi system. Nevertheless as one hears the gossip of the town, it becomes quite plain that changing mate does not seem to people unnatural or reprehensible. Hiedyedye (Houses 11, 29, 31) was not blamed for marrying in Laguna although he had a wife and children in Isleta; nor was the husband of Gen. III, 118 blamed for leaving her because he could not put up with the American extravagance in her household;<sup>1</sup> the separation of the parents of Gai's'iwă (Gen. III, 179, House 51) and of Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) was mentioned in a matter of fact way.

This last divorce appears definitely in the genealogical table; but the separation of Gen. III, 118 and her husband does not appear. The girl was merely described as unmarried, i.e., not having at that time a husband. I incline to think that there may be other cases in which the tables do not show the entire conjugal history;<sup>2</sup> but this omission is due to my own inadvertence and to the reluctance in general to contribute information at a critical time on the part of my principal informant rather than to the withholding of information on this specific subject. Since writing the foregoing, data in the List of Houses have been carefully revised from the point of view of remarriage and of illegitimacy. Separation after marriage has been recorded in but three additional cases<sup>3</sup>; but several cases of illegitimacy come to notice. It becomes clear, indeed, that there is little if any more permanency in mating at Laguna than at Zuñi, the only difference is that the matches in early life are at Zuñi frank relationships and, at Laguna, surreptitious.

At marriage a Laguna man goes to live in his wife's household,<sup>4</sup> However, if there is no younger woman in his mother's house, his wife will go there to live.<sup>5</sup> A number of cases where the woman settles in the house of her husband's people are recorded.<sup>6</sup>

Where a couple in a younger generation wish to have their own house, either the man or the woman may acquire the new house, by purchase or building. In several instances a house was said to have been built for a woman by male relatives; and in several instances a man had established his family in the house he had inherited or bought. The house belongs to the acquirer, or, should husband and wife acquire the

<sup>1</sup>See p. 209, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Tsiwi'yai (Gen. III, 30) was the father of Shi'ye (House 106) and this first marriage of Tsiwi'yai was unrecorded.

<sup>3</sup>Among those were Gen. I, 97, Gen. III, 153; Gen. III, 40.

<sup>4</sup>*S'odyău*, I live in my wife's household; *sodyama*, my wife's house; *k'audyama*, her house (Boas).

<sup>5</sup>*Sekoô*, I live in my husband's house; *s'agoo*, his house (Boas).

<sup>6</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 105. See pp. 236, 238, 246.



house together, one room may belong to the husband, another room to the wife. A man might work on his wife's house without putting in any claim to it, but, contrary to Zuñi custom, the money he put into it would entitle him, I believe, to a degree of proprietorship. Male proprietorship in houses is a familiar idea at Laguna.<sup>1</sup>

The householding experience of Dzaid'yuwi' and I'g'ugăi appears to be characteristic. After living a few years in the rather large household of Dzaid'yuwi's mother, they decided to move out. I'g'ugăi never got on with his stepfather-in-law whom both he and Dzaid'yuwi' condemned as lazy. Dzaid'yuwi's maternal grandfather Si'rowaisiwa (Gen. II, 14) who lived in the household and who as a weaver and sheep owner was well off, bought for Dzaid'yuwi' the rear room of her present house. In course of time the couple bought with money from sheep given Dzaid'yuwi' by the same grandfather and from I'g'ugăi's daily wages—he worked for Whites—the two front rooms of the house. The rear room and one of the front rooms belong to Dzaid'yuwi', the other front room to I'g'ugăi. It was Dzaid'yuwi's two rooms we occupied, and she said quite emphatically that she did not have to consult her husband about renting, for the rooms were hers.

As with houses or parts of houses, so with other property. In practice there is conjugal pooling of property but no pooling in the theory of ownership. In theory, as at Zuñi, husband and wife continue to hold in severalty what each came by individually—fields, sheep, horses, blankets, and jewelry. Unfortunately in my notes concrete cases of partition at death<sup>2</sup> or of sale and purchase are scant. I may cite one case where I was negotiating with an old woman for some *shuhuna*, stone fetish animals used by hunters,<sup>3</sup> which had come down to her and her deceased elder sister from their father, a *cheani*.<sup>4</sup> The widower of the elder sister, a member of the household, was at the time out herding, and the old woman sent a boy to ask him about consummating the sale.—He might sometime want to use the *shuhuna*. Word came back that the *shuhuna* were hers to do with as she wished. (They are now in the

<sup>1</sup>But there is nothing exigent about the idea as there appears to be in the eastern pueblos. No man at Laguna would have told me as did a man at San Felipe how he had "got ashamed" of living in his wife's house, the house her father had given her at marriage, so he had gone out to the edge of the town and built a house to belong, not to his wife, but to himself. A house "of my own name," he said, adding, "I am a man, I should have my own house." To be sure, there are men in Laguna who have done the same thing (see House 58), but they would not express their motives in these terms, I think, these very Spanish terms.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 195.

<sup>3</sup>At San Felipe and Santo Domingo *tshürshki*, Coyote, becomes *shurtsuna* and it occurs to me that here may be the etymology of *shuhuna*. And it is perhaps a not irrelevant fact that at Isleta the fetish animal of the hunt is the wolf.

<sup>4</sup>It is of interest that among the Hopi, a stone fetish animal belongs in every house as the property of the woman of the house. She has to feed it daily; it is the guardian of her house.

American Museum of Natural History).<sup>1</sup> I also recall the complete indifference of Hiedyedye to his wife's dealings with us in eggs—the fowl were hers.

There may of course be conjugal disputes about property at Laguna as well as about other conjugal concerns, but with the exceptions already cited and one other, I heard of none. Like other Pueblo peoples Laguna people are of an equable temper and given to household peace. The exceptions cited were solved in characteristic Pueblo fashion—by separation. The exception to be described in another connection (see p. 272) has another solution—by murder. It read like an American newspaper story.

#### ILLEGITIMACY

There is a large amount of illegitimacy at Laguna. The illegitimate is called, as at Zuñi and by the Hopi, a “stolen child,” *yani wahshtyi*. When the girls come back from the boarding-schools, they do as they like, people say, going up on the hill (just to the north of town) with the boys, and there are several cases of women who have worked out having fatherless children. The father or fathers of the children of Gen. I, 13 were unknown. From the looks of the eldest it is likely that the father was a White, probably a man in one of the families where the girl had worked. A little girl in House 47 has White blood. The father of Gen. II, 186 is said to have been a Mexican met by her mother while she was away working at Cubero, a Mexican town. “She may know who he is; we don't know,” said my informant, a connection of the woman by marriage.

In her turn, Gen. II, 186 had two illegitimate children, one, it was rumored, by a gallant of the town, another by a Sant' Ana man who had lived first in the tuberculosis sanitarium near by and subsequently in the house of the gallant. Finally, the stepfather together with the gallant saw to it that the Sant' Ana man married the girl. The girl continues to live at home in a room built for her next to her mother's rooms (see p. 242), and here her Sant' Ana husband visits her.

There are several other cases of illegitimacy which runs in the family, so to speak. The aforesaid gallant is reputed to be the father of two children in House 4, each a child of each of the twin daughters of the house. The second child of one of these twins is said to be the child of a man notorious for other irregularities of conduct (see p. 272). Now the

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<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 20.



maternal grandmother of these twins had a like history, in her case after marriage, and the people say of the twins, "Well, their grandmother was the same." . . . House 27 belongs to a woman who had been the mother of three unfathered children. Their reputed father, the hunchback of House 123, is the son of a woman who had two illegitimate children. In House 19 lived a pregnant unmarried woman who was said to be the daughter of her mother's brother-in-law.

As might be expected, the fact of illegitimacy is not revealed in the application of kinship terms. The usual terms are in use, and when the mother was married, her illegitimate child is reckoned, as far as the familiar application of terms is concerned, as the child of her husband. In the application of terms I noted but one exception. Go'ty'iaï' (Gen. III, 32) calls Gen. III, 38, the illegitimate daughter of the wife of his mother's brother, "sister" not "daughter," and Go'ty'aiäi' definitely stated that he did not call her "daughter" because of the fact of illegitimacy. From this case, regrettably limited as is the evidence, I surmise that the illegitimate child is not thought of as the child of the clan of his adoptive or stepfather—unless, as happened in one of the families of House 4, the husband claims or recognizes the children as his own. In House 4 the husband, a Sant' Ana man, sent for his sisters, telling them that the two children were his, and his sisters washed their heads, i.e., made them children of their clan.

Among the Hopi this headwashing and naming rite is quite obviously a rite of adoption or initiation into another group—in the case in point the father's clan. The clan, like the fraternity, is grateful for receiving a new child. The "stolen child" is thought of by the Hopi as stolen by the woman from the father's clan. I doubt if this point of view finds expression at Laguna where the rights and duties of the father's clan are less marked. At Laguna, whatever disapproval of illegitimacy there is, appears to be based on economic grounds, on the failure to add an economic supporter to the family connection. In the case of the Sant' Ana man of House 56 who was forced to marry and in the case of the woman of House 27 whose "uncle," i.e., mother's brother, was said to have refused her help even when her children were ill—pressure came from the woman's people.

At any rate, illegitimacy is merely a family concern; outsiders are not called upon to express opinion. From outsiders disapproval extends but little, if at all, to the woman, and to offspring no odium attaches at all. For example, when the illegitimate children in House 27 were sick of the influenza, of which they died, Dzaid'yuwi', frequently a sharp-



tongued critic of social delinquencies, sent her own daughter to the house with presents of food, she felt so sorry, as she said, for the poor solitary woman, and in Dzaid'yuwi's own house, as at Alice Martin's (Houses 29, 31), the sprightly young woman of House 1, another mother of an unfathered child, was a constant visitor. At Casa Blanca she had been a neighbor of Alice Martin' and though Mrs. Martin' was a strict guardian of her own conjugal relationship, she was not necessarily a censor of others.

#### PRESENTING TO THE SUN AND NAMING

After four days, at the close, as we would say, of the confinement, the infant is presented to the Sun. First an altar is laid out on the floor of the house by the *cheani*<sup>1</sup> and then at sunrise the infant is taken outdoors where meal is sprinkled and a prayer said to the Sun. The mother is present, but it is the maternal grandmother who holds the infant and says the prayer.<sup>2</sup> The *cheani* also prays.<sup>3</sup>

At this time, according to several informants, no name is given to the child,—the name is not given until the child is over a year old,<sup>4</sup> when any member of the family on either side of the family may suggest a name. On the other hand, I have heard of names given soon after birth. For example, according to the genealogical record (Gen. II, 149) a child who died within a few days of birth was given a name. (The mother showed me the Catholic prayerbook in which she had written the names and birthdays of her children). Moreover, in a text collected by Dr. Boas, a name is given at the rite of presenting the child to the Sun.

Sometimes an old person who has led a fortunate, vigorous life is asked to give his or her name to the child, the name carrying with it a promise of happiness and long life. In this connection an account given by Go'ty'iäi' (Gen. III, 32) to Dr. Boas is of considerable interest. Go'ty'iäi' related that when his wife was about to give birth they talked about who should give their children names. "I said, 'Father Si'rowaisiwa (his wife's father, Gen. II, 14) shall give them a name.'—'All right' said my wife. I told Father Si'rowaisiwa, 'Father, I ask you to give a name to your grandson.'—'It is good' said he. He took up pollen and beads and meal, and early the next morning he prayed there on the

<sup>1</sup>See p. 261.

<sup>2</sup>See Parsons, (c), 31-36.

<sup>3</sup>No sacerdotalist figures in the presentation rite at Zuñi or among the Hopi. The appearance of the *cheani* in the Laguna rite is an effect, I surmise, of the influence of Christian baptism.

<sup>4</sup>The name is not given at an early age because, people say, were the child to die, they would not want to remember it by name [Parsons, (c), 36].

north hill. . . . He asked all the *kopershtaia* (supernaturals)<sup>1</sup> how he should name his grandson, and some one said to Si'rowaisiwa, 'Give to your grandson your own first name . . . : because you are getting old, and you have lived for a long time. . . .'<sup>2</sup> Father Si'rowaisiwa went from there and said, 'Give me my grandson. . . . Grandson, I will give you my own name. Your name shall be Dzio'k'-wid'iwa (Dzio'kwid'yu'ă, Gen. II, 124). From now on everybody will know you and will call your name. . . . Therefore<sup>3</sup> you will grow and you will become old.' And he blew<sup>4</sup> into his mouth four times. Then, indeed, he gave him back. Thus we, ourselves, give names to our children when they are born."

On p. 179 there is a reference to the sisters of a Sant' Ana man coming to Laguna to wash the heads of his children and give them names. This widespread Pueblo custom seemed quite familiar to the narrator of the incident, and I am not at all sure that the custom is not followed in some Laguna families. In fact it was stated definitely by Dzaid'yuwi' that on the fourth morning after the birth, before sunrise, the paternal grandmother came in to wash the head of the baby and give the baby a name which belonged to the clan of the grandmother. Dzaid'yuwi''s oldest boy was thus named by Hieguma (Gen. IV, 3). After Hieguma's death, her daughter, Dzamai', the paternal aunt of Dzaid'yuwi''s children, acted as their godmother. . . . Probably different naming practices are followed in different families.

In Laguna theory, as in Hopi,<sup>5</sup> names are supposed to have clan significance, not always, but commonly. And as indicated in the list of names by clan (Table 6) there are cases where the clan name indubitably suggested the personal name. To these I may add a few other names heard of in other connections: Two girls of the Corn clan are called Kuchini, Yellow (Corn understood), and another Corn clanswoman is

<sup>1</sup>A comprehensive collective term—*iyatik'u*, *k'atsina*, and *santu*, all are *kopershtaia* (*kopishtaya*).

<sup>2</sup>We have here an extremely interesting fact of personal supernatural experience, experience familiar enough among other Indian peoples, but little noted among the Pueblo Indians. That it occurs, however, I am much inclined to believe, although it has been so scantily recorded. (But see, Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (i), 329).

At Zufi I know a girl whose father's father gave her a name which he had dreamed.

<sup>3</sup>The practice of a healthy old person giving his or her name to a child exists also at Zufi. A young person does not give his name because it conveys no assurance of longevity, "He doesn't know if he is going to be old." Of a girl to whom her father's mother, an old woman, had given her name it was said, "May beshe too get old." It is regularly an *wowa*, the father's mother of the child, who gives the name, her own or another. If the child is a boy and if an *wowa*'s brother is old and robust, she might give the child her brother's name. According to one informant, when her *wowa* dies, her mother's brother (*kyakya*), the eldest brother, will give names to the children to be born to the daughters of the family i. e., the maternal great-uncle will take the place of the paternal greatgrandmother.

<sup>4</sup>An ubiquitous Pueblo Indian rite, in Keresan, *oputs*. See p. 191. Cp. Parsons, (f), 125-126, where however, *g'oputs* was confused in name with *kaiashats*, a more violent expulsion of breath. *Kaiashats* appears to be a rite of exorcism. The snake-bitten, e. g., will *kaiashats* on the sore navel of a baby. The breath is expelled onto one's own hands, held clasped together.

<sup>5</sup>Lowie, (b), 119; Voth, (a), 68. Unfortunately, we have no study of names at Zufi, among the Tewa, or among the eastern Keresans. I note incidentally that Dumarest mentions Mitch as a Corn clan name at Cochiti. (Dumarest, 154). *Mi (le)* is the ceremonial term for corn at Zufi.

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN<sup>1</sup>

Water Clan	
F	M
Dzai'ity'i	Dzauwai'd'yäi'
Gawai'y'unäi'	K'aai'd'ziäi's'iwă
Gaiyais'dyais'a'	(Shaking Medicine)
	Tsshka'a(siwa) <sup>2</sup>
(Gaiyai's'dyuits'a)	Shkashi
	Dziwai'id'yiräi'
	Id'yim'e
Kowai'd'yui	Watye
(Puddle)	Shawisiyë
Go'w'aits'a	Aiyudyaishiwa
Go'wai	Ok'aiyă
Go'w'aid'yuits'a	(A plant which grows at a spring)
G'awaid'yuwi	Yu'si
Goaisdywits'a	(Yo's'iai')
Goyai'd'yuwë'	Dză'yu
Hănai'sits'a	Tyi'k'amăi
K'oaisië	(Name of a <i>shiwanna</i> )
Hityi	Dziwaikch'
Osharani	Shaiyo's'ië
Tsaaimadyaita	Dzai'si(yai')
K'tai'd'yuwë'	Re'ni(d'yai')
(People on earth surrounded by water,	Tsi'shdyi'wă
?Islanders)	(Tail Feather)
Dziu'nits'ă	K'au'wină'
Kăai'd'yuwë	(Moss)
Dzia'yots'a	Dzira'ai
(Nearly running (?))	Shaa'yună'i
Dzai'ity'e(d'yuwits'a)	Kawi'd'yäi'
Dya'g'ürü	Mid'yai'siw'ă
(Bud)	Shaatse
Gowa'k'ăd'yäi'	Ko'ya'shdyië
(End of water)	Yai'yaăi(siwă)
Howa'k'ă(d'yuits'a)	Dzio'kwid'yu'ă
(Sky)	Hë'nadyi
Ga'i'tsdyui(ts'ă')	(Cloud)
Dziwaiid'yi	Ka'chănish'
Dziai'd'yuwe	(Rain water)
Dzi'yäi'	Kaau's'iyäi'
Naiyai's'iro'	Hai'yuwăi(siwă)
Dziwai'd'yuë('ts'a)	Wa'k'aine'shu'
Dzanăi'(d'yuits'a)	(Wakaïenishe)
Dziwi'	(All ready, (?) <i>wakainashi</i> , heavy
(Julia)	clouds)

<sup>1</sup>Of name bearer. Had we more data, it would probably be preferable to classify personal names according to the clan of the name giver.

<sup>2</sup>Enclosed in brackets is the longer form used by one informant.



TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (Continued)

F		M	
Naau'g'ũyăi'		Dziuniyě	
Tsh'ais'iaï'			
Dzidzai'd'yuwé			
(Horizon)			
Dziwüşhdyăwi'			
(Stratus cloud)			
Dzaid'yuwi'(ts'ă')			
Kwid'yaid'yui(ts'a)			
Kaw'i'ts'i(răi')			
(Offering-of-Meal-and-Pollen)			
Parrot Clan			
F		M	
Kăau'shurts'ă		Dzawai'is <sup>i</sup>	
(Rays-of-Rising-Sun)		Onăi'	
Wamai's(i'ts'a)		Gaishpidja'ty <sup>a</sup>	
(Spotted Corn)		(Sunrise)	
{ Hea'si		Hea'sh'dyiwă	
{ Hea's's'dyuwe		Dyăi'yuwe	
Hai'ty'imai'		Shau'd'yiye	
Kashie'nă		Yo'd'yidyăi'	
Tsi'wa'k'ă		Sh'au's'imăi'	
Koadyuma		Ni'yuyăi'	
Dyayonai		Gawai'd'yirăi'	
Wa'ganidyuwits'ă		(gawai'd'yich', middle of water)	
Lopina (Sp.)		Da'yu'	
Lope (Sp.)		(Eagle's friend)	
Kiwaaits'ă		Djai'd'zie	
Yo'nimaits'ă		(djai'ts, a throwing stick of oak)	
Kyiai'sdyuwits'ă		Tsiyusiě	
		Dziwishpirăi'	
		(dziwishpityat, sunlight)	
		Tsa'shumăi	
		Dzaai'y'unăi'(siwă)	
		Peau'siwă	
		K'awi'răi	
		Oshare	
		Ha'd'yai'yăni(siwă)	
		Ship'a'p'	
		Doli'vio (Sp.)	
		Dziwi's'iyăi(d'yiwă)	
		Oy'o'ri	
		Tsi'ish'(dyiwă)	

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

## Turkey Clan

F	M
Dziwai'y'unăi'	Dzi'nats'î'd'yiwă (dzî'nats'îdja'ty', clouds come up)
Săp'	Djo's'iyăi' (A flower called djo's')
Dzid'zai'd'yuwi	Ya'od'yidyăi'(siwă')
Sho'ty'i(dyuits'ă)	Wiyăi'd'yua'
(A bird so named)	Ga'ai'(s'iwă)
	Mais'iwă
K'ayo's'iaî	Dzawi'răi
Dzio'riăi	Shuwai'ri
Shi'k'ăyăi	Dzai'tsdyiwă (Piñon-tree)
	K'ais'iyăi'
	Ai'ty'iaî
	Ga'g'iri
	Tsaau's'diyai

## Sun Clan

F	M
Dziwai'isiro	Owi'd'zîrai
Kuyai'd'yid'yuwe'	Na'siyai'
{Iaiyidyuwe	Ky'iau'd'yăiaî
{Iaedyuwe	Kio'd'y
Shau'k'ămă	Ma'rani
Na'yow'aits'ă	Gyi'mi
He'yăis'its'ă	Kowău' sh'dyiwă (kowaushdyërits'ă, spread tail)
Dziwai'id'yits'ă'	K'u'na'sh'
Dzai'is'ts'ă	Au'y'unăi'(s'iwă)
Yuwai'd'yaits'ă	K'ăwai'ish <sup>u</sup>
Shaya'ai	Dya'găiyai
Ai's(dyŭwits'ă)	Tsi'raăi
K'a'wină	Kăwe'sh'dyemă (North Mountain)
(Moss)	Ko'raity'i' (Field)
Go'isdyuits'ă	No'raai
A'waid'yid'yuwi(ts'ă)	Gat'a'yă
Gau's'dyŭwi(ts'a)	Yaai's'dyiwă'
Hiai'g'umă	I'g'ugăi
Dzio'koish	Na'yabuni
(Pleiades)	Dzirai'ity'i
Dzamai'(d'yuits'a)	Shta'yăi
Dzai'ty'iyai'	Dzawai'iy'unăi'
Tsa's'îro	
Gau's'ire	
Gwi't'y'i(dyuits'a)	

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

F	M
	Yo'rimăi'
	Shta'y'ăi
	Witeie
Ts'i'd'yuwi'(ts'ă)	Gai's'iwă
Dzi'd'ja'ai	Tsa'sdiye
Shaa'i'shdyiăi	Dzawaid'yăi'
Sai'yap <sup>a</sup>	
Dziomăi'(ts'ă)	
Dyia'ro	
(Parrot in Hopi, In correct Hopi <i>kyaro</i> )	
Gwi'shk <sup>a</sup> iě	
(Blue)	
	Bear Clan
F	M
Dzai'r'inăi'	Ma'ts'aiyăi'
Dzaai'y'ăi	Gwi'd'zirăi'
Dzi's'dyuwi'(ts'a)	Niăi'
Kio'd'yiăi'	Sh'auwiăi'
Sep <sup>a</sup>	Ha'g'uye
Gau's'iro	Au'd'yăi
Dzit'ai'd'yuwi	Koi's
Gaai'd'yuits'a	Kăya's'iwă
Onăi'	Ki'owăi'
Dziwai'ity'inăi'	
Īya's'ī'	
(A shell used for beads, Olivella? <sup>1</sup> )	
Kio'ty'iăi	
Shăai'dyid'yuwits'ă	
Gaiya' <sup>a</sup> ts'imăi	
(gaiya' <sup>a</sup> ts'ēshe, mixed Corn, blue and white)	
	Lizard Clan
F	M
Ky'iwis'dyuwi(ts'ă)	Dzio'ty'
{Kowai'(d'yuits'ă)	Goa'ty'imăi(siwă)
{Go'w'ăi'(d'yuits'ă)	
Dzĭu'ty'ityi	Shtowain'ă'(siwă)
E'd'ă	K'aiyai'ity'i(siwă)
Ais'dyuwits'ă	Dyai'riyăi
Dzi'rai'(d'yuwits'ă)	Gayai'd'yăi
Hi'n'ăits'ă	Tapi'noshkă'(siwă)
Me'yu'shk'ă	(Horned Toad?)

<sup>1</sup>It was worn by the *u'pi*, the war priests; it is tied to the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>.



TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN, (Continued)

F	M
K'o'ty'imai (Mountain) Dzaai'd'yi(d'yuwits'ă)  Ha'ts'e (Earth) Gau's'en'ăi' K'ă'waity'id'yuwé Gu'miyai' (Water dammed up) Dzaai'd'yid'yuwe'(ts'ă)	P'e'nits'ă'yo Ai's'iyē' Dzai'găi Ya'dôky' (Sun in Zuñi) Dzai'd'yiăi' Koi'ch'ină
F	M
Dziwai'ity'i K'ă'ya'sh <sup>a</sup> (Mixed) Yo's'iro Shuwăi  Dzi'tydziro Dziwi's'dyuwi Na's'iai Dyă'waits'i K'auwimaits'ă Dzamai'd'yuwits'ă Dyi'd'zai'd'yui (End of earth)	Dziwa'hăyăi ( <i>Kashare cheani</i> name) Gau'sh'dyunăi K'ăai'g'ürü Shăa'shk'ă (Chaparral Cock) Yo'kwi Dyumai' Yai'ty'imăi Mo'k'aich' (Mountain lion) Shu'uty'i Shau'wag'o'ye Rau's'iyăi Dyuityie
F	M
Gawai'id'yd'yuwits'ă Yu'yaits'ă Waiaye Gai's'iro(ts'ă') Gŭyai'ts'ă Tsa'ts'i' Shu'măi Dzai'sdyui(ts'ă) Dziwi'd'yăi Dzăiyai'(d'yuwits'ă) Kaai'yunăi' Chuetsa Dzai'shdyiăi(ts'ă) K'a'pok'ă Kwi'n'ye'ts'a	Goa's'iro  Ho'pydiwă Shau'w'ăi' Dziw'ai's'iwă We'd'yumă Ka'yo' Gă'pydyewă Dziwi'd'yăi K'ăwai'siyăi

## Chaparral Cock Clan

## Badger Clan

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

Eagle Clan

F	M
Gai'ty'i'ait's'ă	{ Riyo' Lio'
Dzawai'g'uits'ă	(From the song of a bird)
Ganai'	Dziwai'd'yirăi
Ts'a'shdjdyuwě'	Shau'w'ăi'
(Dawn)	Kaau'styiăi'
Ts'a'sh'umăi'	Oyo'y'ăi
Koyo'd'yŭwe'	(Oyo'yewi)
Dzaai't'y'iě	Dzi'y'aid'yi'wă
Tsik'ayăai'ts'ă	
Go'yăi	Oshă'
Dzaiyě°wăi'	
Shăts'ăi'	
Gauw'ai'd'yuwi(ts'ă)	
Tsai'shdyiăi'(ts'ă)	
(Squash Flower)	
Dzaăi'ty'id'yuwits'ă	
Ga'wiaits'ă	

Corn Clan

F	M
Kyi'waaid'yuwi(ts'ă)	Na'tsiwă
Dzaiaai'd'yuwits'ă	Tsiwi''yai
Wayaid'yuwits'ă	Garashdyi'
Wakăi	Dyi'nă
Dzi'w'ămai'	A'ts'ăyě
Kăau'd'yuwits'a	{ Wai's'iro Waiyais'iro
Hiwai'	Tsita
Tsiwaisie	A'ushuyăi'
(Ma'na, Moki name) <sup>1</sup>	{ Go'ty'iăi' (siwă) Go'ty'i'amŭr
Niwi'	(First to come out from <i>ship'ap</i> )
	Hio'd'yăi
	Gai'd'ori

Oak Clan

F	M
Sha'wity'i	Ai'wanăi
(Parrot)	Dyăitsdyămŭr
Nămăi(d'yuwi)	(an evergreen)
Shăai'ty'id'yuwe'	Shgawa''yu'
Ki'wa'd'yuwi(ts'ă)	Ai'shin'i'
(Tree called <i>kiwa'</i> )	A'wi'yăi'

<sup>1</sup>i.e., Hopi term for girl.

TABLE 6: PERSONAL NAMES BY CLAN (*Continued*)

F	M
Ko'ri(d'yuwits'a)	Yo'răni
Sha'ty'i(d'yūwits'a)	K'o'sima
Sh'aw'i'	(Cloud like smoke)
Tsa'k'wits'ă	Īyai's'dyiwă'
(? I am a woman)	Ha'p' ai
(Flat Corn)	Ts'gai's'iwă'
Dzai'ch'u	Tsi'd'yime'
(Field in Santo Domingo speech)	Īya'n'ă
Shi'mănai	Dzîs'ity <sup>u</sup>
(Hopi name)	(Low oak)
	Kaw'a'k'ăyă
	(With melon vines)
	Shiwănă
	(Storm cloud)
	Gai'ty'imăi
Locust Clan	
F	M
Dzi'wai'sh'u	Ho'ak'ă'
Kăau's'iyě	(Sky)
Osha'rad'yě'	Shka'guri
(Sun ?)	(Shka'shgo is the name of an animal)
	Gai's'iro
Antelope Clan	
F	M
	Wi'sh'gă
	(Robin)
Turquoise Clan	
F	M
Kiw'ai'ity'i	Yă'wî'yăi'
	Kăiyai'd'yai'
	Gawai'is <sup>i</sup>

called Kashesh, White (Corn understood); K'itishtata, meaning growing corn which is not quite ripe, and Ashini, corn tassel, are said to be Corn clan names; Gaishpiisho, Great Rays of Light, is the name of a Sun clansman. In other cases<sup>1</sup> the name etymology is, Dr. Boas concludes, merely fanciful, in order to fit the facts to the native theory.

It is more than doubtful, too, as to names being clan property, so to speak, a given name to be appropriated only by a given clan member. Blue (Corn understood), is said to be a Corn clan name, but it is borne by a Sun clanswoman (Gen. III, 76), child of the Corn clan. In this connection we should note that persons of different clans in some cases

<sup>1</sup>For example, Dzaid'yui' (Gen. II, 122), Water clanswoman, had her name translated as Clouds Above.



have the same name. An Eagle clansman (Gen. I, 65) and a Water clansman (Gen. III, 167) have the same name—Dziwai'id'yirăi. So have a Water clanswoman (Gen. II, 127) and a Locust clansman (Gen. IV, 21)—Ho'ak'ă', Sky; a Water clanswoman (Gen. II, 105) and a Turkey clanswoman (Gen. II, 136)—Dzidzai'd'yuwe; a Water clanswoman (House 15) and a Sun clanswoman (Gen. I, 15)—G'awina (K'ăwină, K'auwină'); a Parrot clansman (I Gen., 79) and an Eagle clansman (House 74)—Dziwishpirăi'; a Corn clansman (House 115), a Parrot clansman (p. 226), a Chaparral Cock clansman (p. 224)—K'awimaisewa; a Parrot clansman (p. 224) and an Oak clanswoman (Gen. III, 227); a Lizard clanswoman (Gen. III, 10) and a Sun clanswoman (Gen. I, 14)—Ais;<sup>1</sup> a Badger clanswoman (Gen. I, 76) and a Parrot clanswoman (House 12)—Dziwi'dyăi; a Bear clanswoman (Gen. II, 209) and a Parrot clansman (Gen. I, 41)—Onăi'. In this last case the fathers of the persons in question are Sun clansmen, and the name Onăi' may be in native opinion a Sun clan name. In fact the appearance of the same name in different clans might be in general accounted for by name giving through the paternal line. In which case the fact of the appearance of the same name in different clans would be no argument against the existence of clan proprietorship in names.

In a number of cases names were said to have been given by or through the father and in still other cases the name as translated is obviously a name associated with the father's clan. See Table 7.

From these instances one might infer that, as among the Hopi,<sup>2</sup> naming was indeed a function of the father's people but for the fact that certain names appear, according to the genealogical tables, to run in the maternal clan, or, more correctly perhaps, in the mother's line.

The name Go'w'aid'yuits'a occurs among Water clanswomen four or possibly six times. In three instances the name is within the same family or family connection. It is likely that the older woman, Gen. II, 11, gave the name to the younger, Gen. II, 73, her mother's sister's daughter's daughter. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth instances the name or what seems to be a variant was borne by three sisters. Again Dzaid'yuwi' appears to be a Water clan or family name (assuming that slight variations are due to differences in pronunciation or observation.) Dziwaid'yui (Gen. II, 33) may have given her name to Gen. II, 105 (?Dzidzaid'yuwe'), her mother's sister's daughter's daughter. The name A'ud'yăi' occurs twice among Bear clansmen (Gen. I, 52 and Gen. III, 250) who, as far as I know, are not related by blood. The name Go'w'ai-

<sup>1</sup>It was stated, definitely, that the latter got her name from the former who was called *nai'ya* by the latter's father, for what reason my informant did not know.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (b), 65. Voth is self-contradictory in this matter. [Parsons, (k), 101.]

d'yuits'a occurs twice among presumedly unrelated Lizard clanswomen (Gen. II, 23 and Gen. III, 166).—Skyashka, Chaparral Cock, occurs twice in the Chaparral Cock clan.

TABLE 7. NAMES RECOGNIZED AS GIVEN THROUGH THE FATHER<sup>1</sup>

Place in Genealogy	Clan	Name	Father's Clan
Gen. I, 18	Sun	Kōwāush'dyiwă (Spread Tail)	Parrot
Gen. II, 152	Water	Tsi'shdyi'wă (Tail Feather)	Chaparral Cock
Gen. II, 184	Parrot	Djai'd'zie (Throwing-stick of oak)	Oak
Gen. I, 40	Parrot	Kāau' shurts'ă (Rays-of-Rising-Sun)	Sun
Gen. II, 199	Parrot	Gaishpidja'ty <sup>a</sup> (Sunrise)	Sun
Gen. IV, 24	Locust	Osha'radyě (Sun (?) )	Sun
Gen. IV, 21	Locust	Ho'ak'ă' (Sky)	Sun
Gen. III, 154	Lizard	Ya'dôky' (Sun in Zuñi)	Sun
Gen. I, 15	Sun	G'awina (Moss)	Water
Gen. III, 55	Bear	Gaiya'atsimăi (Mixed Corn)	Corn
Gen. III, 76	Sun	Gwi'shakaiě (Blue Corn)	Corn
Gen. III, 43	Oak	Tsa'k'wits'a <sup>2</sup> (Flat corn)	Corn

We noted that the names Sky, Moss, and Onăi' were borne each by a woman and a man. I note a few other instances where a name is indifferently female or male—Ts'a'sh'umăi' is the name of an Eagle clanswoman (Gen. I, 57) and of a Parrot clansman (Gen. IV, 7); Ais'yiě' is the name of a Lizard clansman, (Gen. II, 146) and of a Bear clanswoman (House 16); Shawityi (Parrot) is the name of a Parrot clansman (p. 224) and of an Oak clanswoman (Gen. III, 227), Shawi is the name of a Corn clanswoman (House 1) and of a Chaparral Cock clansman (House 4). But as these are the only instances out of a total of about 450

<sup>1</sup>The first four names were stated incidentally to have been given by or through the father. The other names which are among the comparatively small number of translated names, were quite obviously, from their meaning, given by the father or his people. The bulk of the names were untranslated or untranslatable and what proportion of them may have been got from the paternal side of the family is not known.

<sup>2</sup>This kind of an ear is said to be fed to stock to promote fertility. Among the Hopi, after an eagle's head is washed with whitewash, the bird is given water with an ear of flat corn. A flat or branching ear, at Zuñi, is thought of as mother and child, and it is this kind of an ear which is left alongside an infant for protection. (Parsons, (a), 170).



names in which the same name is given to both sexes,<sup>1</sup> it is fair to say that names are commonly associated with one sex or the other. This is native theory, too. There are, moreover, distinctive sex suffixes—for females,<sup>2</sup> *dyuwe*, *dyuwits'a* (said to mean "touched" or "touching on top"), for males, *s'iwa*.

These sex suffixes are commonly dropped in speaking. Two of my women informants rarely, if ever, used them. They and others shortened up names in other respects as well<sup>3</sup>. Ts'iwairo became Rairo, for example, or K'ashiena, Shena, or Dyai'is'its'ă, Ges, or Tsik'ayăai'ts'a, Tsik'ayă. On the other hand, Go'ty'iăi', Dr. Boas' chief informant on names, always gave a name punctiliously in its fullest form.

There are several instances of naming from ceremonial personage or circumstance—Iyats'a from *iyatik'u*; Oyo'y'ăi from *oyo'yewi*, one of the two war gods; Tyi'k'amăi, a *shiwanna*; Hemish (House 123) from a *k'atsina* dance; Ais, the name of a woman, *aistye*, who became tired as they came up out of *ship'a'p'*; K'a'pok'ă is the name of one of the *iyatik'u*; Kaw'i'ts'irăi', offering of meal and pollen; İya's'ı', the white shell used for beads or for the shell mixture of offerings,<sup>4</sup> Ko'raity'i' is the name of the eagle and chaparral cock feathers tied together and worn on the head by women in dances. Tsi'raăi is a *shiwanna* name; No'-raai, Field, is the *k'atsina* term for field; Ship'a'p' is the mythological place of emergence of the whole people; Go'ty'iăi's'iwa is from *go'ty'i'-amür*, first to come out from *ship'a'p'*; Gawiretsa (House 92) is the name of the Morning Star, a *kopishtaya*. Obviously, the mythological name or circumstance is not esoteric or taboo for secular use. . . . These names may be given directly by the ceremonial impersonation or chosen in connection with ceremonial performance. Kisuwets'a, an old lady of the Sun clan (House 92), told me that she got her name as a little child because her family liked the name as they heard it sung by the *k'atsina*. Her people asked the *k'atsina* for the name. The child was led out into the plaza during the dance and the *k'atsina* breathed upon her (*guputstani*). She was "washed" by the family of the war captain in charge of the dance. Wamais (Gen. I, 42) is said to have got her name from a song, too—she was named by a *cheani*. The name We'd'yumă is from the song of the four *ts'itsinuts* at the *k'atsina* initiation. *Wenimatse*

<sup>1</sup>Outside of our tables and lists I have heard the name *Shyashka*, Chaparral Cock, applied to a woman as well as to men.

<sup>2</sup>Cp. Voth, (a), 71, 72; Fewkes, (d), 261 n. 1. In Zuñi, *titsa* is a suffix for female proper names.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Harrington, 476.

<sup>4</sup>White Shell Woman figures in Pueblo Indian mythology.



brother (*tiumě*) was the suggested derivation. There is at Zuñi and among the Hopi<sup>1</sup> a like use of religious names as personal names<sup>2</sup>.

At Laguna, too, as at Zuñi, the society name of a society member or *cheani* may be used secularly. Dziwa'hăyăi is a *kashare cheani* name; but whether or not the bearer was a *kashare* I do not know. Tsinadyuwi, the *cheani* name of Dzai'ty'i (Gen. II, 19), is commonly used. . . . It appears that the initiate into the *k'atsina* gets a new name as well as the initiates into societies. The present head of the *k'atsina* is known by his *k'atsina* name—Tsasji (House 4). The *k'atsina* name is given by the initiator (see p. 264).

Several foreign names or names said to be derived from another language are recorded—Ma'na, Hopi for girl; Shi'mănai [Flower-girl], also Tusayan; Dyia'ro, Hopi for parrot; Dzai'ch'u, a Santo Domingo word for field; Yu'kwi, a Zuñi word; Awiloya (House 73), a Zuñi name; Ya'doky', Zuñi for sun,<sup>3</sup> K'u'na'sh<sup>u</sup>, a *shtoroka*<sup>4</sup> word for mountain. On the other hand, the Zuñi name, Siu'rosits'ă, of a Badger immigrant from Zuñi, is said to have been changed for a Laguna name—Yu'yaits'a.

Laguna people may acquire foreign names through a headwashing and naming rite performed in another town. Thus at Sant' Ana I'g'ugăi had his head washed and was given three names—Tsauwawak, Wiyut-sima, and Heash (vapor after rain). He received the bowl his head was washed in and an ear of corn. This rite of adoption, so to speak, is performed at Zuñi and among the Hopi. It is not practised, I think, at Laguna.

At Laguna a few cases of nicknames came to my notice. K'aish'dōwă (arrow) (Gen. II, 14) was so named because he was a famous hunter. One Tsitosh was so named from his small round mouth.<sup>5</sup> Tsiwema (House 13, p. 260) was called Tsipehus, (his, ear, god) because a prospective mother-in-law once boasted of him as a rich suitor visiting the house wearing a silver belt and handsome earrings. The joke spread—surreptitiously, for I was cautioned not to refer to the nickname in Tsiwema's presence.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Voth, (a), 83-84, 93.

I note Tshakwania, Bear clansman, and Polakka, Corn clansman [Fewkes, (d), 256]. A Laguna man resident at Zuñi is called Polaka. The name Polaka has a special interest since it was given me at Zuñi as a synonym for *iatiko* (the Keresan corn ear fetish and earth supernatural) and both *polaka* and *iatiko* at Zuñi are accounted synonyms of *poshaiyanki*, the male supernatural to whom all the Zuñi societies pray. *Poshaiyanki* is to be equated with the Hopi *muyingwu* or germ god, sometimes called goddess. There were formerly among the Hopi a *poshwymykiya* (*wympkiya*, society member) to cure the bewitched [Fewkes, (e), 7]. A Hopi doctor's curing ceremony is called *poshwimi*. In Zuñi myth the first corn bringers were witches [Parsons, (n)]. In the East *poshaiyanki* is identifiable with Montezuma or Jesus and at Laguna with *bacheani* [Parsons, (f), 115.]

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 171; Parsons, (i), 329.

<sup>3</sup>A man out of House 109 is called Pëkwi, from the Zuñi word *pekwin*, speaker.

<sup>4</sup>The *shtoroka* are the legendary people known at Zuñi as *ky'anakwe* with whom the Pueblo Indians once fought. There is a *shtoroka* "dance" and it is possible that my informant was merely referring to a dance word.

<sup>5</sup>Parsons, (f), 122 n. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Parsons, (j), 256. Fewkes mentions a Hopi nickname "Baldhead" or "Curly-Hair" objected to by the bearer. [Fewkes, (d), 263 n. 1.]

In one case the name of a man's clan is prefixed to his personal name—Tsurshk<sup>y</sup> (Coyote) Goyuna (Table 9).

#### CHILD-REARING

Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I have described several of the practices, precautionary and educational, carried out for the benefit of the child. To these practices, which are mostly of a magical nature, I may add the following: After the birth an ear of corn is left near the cradle for four days. Thereafter, when the baby is left alone, a corn ear or a poker<sup>2</sup> or a spruce twig should be left near him. When Dzaid'yuwi's baby was a year and a half old, she still had in her possession, she told me, the protector ear of corn. . . . The cradle board (*witsimă*) should be made of lightning-struck wood, and an arrow point tied to the board. . . . If dentition is backward, one who has been snake-bitten would rub the child's gums with his finger—a practice noted at Zuñi. . . .<sup>3</sup> If a child is slow to talk, you put a key in his mouth and turn it as if unlocking a door—obviously a practice borrowed from Whites. If you want a child to learn English easily, you hold a mockingbird to his lips<sup>4</sup> and have him draw in his breath, "kiss" commented my interpreter. (This was not the first time I had to note both at Laguna and Zuñi that the rite of breathing in was associated with kissing). . . . For backwardness in walking, you rub the white of egg on the child's legs—chickens run around quickly—another borrowing from the Whites.<sup>5</sup>

Of practices not based on reasoning by analogy, observation, I regret, was limited. Lactation lasts presumedly as long as the milk supply. I refer elsewhere<sup>6</sup> to the child in our household who was being suckled after he could run about; and I have seen even older children take the breast.

At Laguna, as in other Pueblo Indian towns, babies and older children are looked after a good deal by the old people of the household; grandmother or grandfather is the natural custodian of the baby at all times, and more particularly when household work compels attention. Go'ty'iăi' regularly brought his three-year-old grandson to our house when he reported for work in the morning, and at any hour of the day Go'ty'iăi' and the boy could be seen going about town hand in hand.

This sturdy little boy's cousin, the spoiled child I have referred to elsewhere, was never looked after by Go'ty'iăi,' his step-grandfather, he

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (c), 34-38; 168 ft.

<sup>2</sup>Dumarest, 142 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Parsons, (a), 172.

<sup>4</sup>Parsons, (a), 172; Parsons, (k), 103.

<sup>5</sup>See, too, p. 270, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 266.



did not live in Go'ty'iăi's household; he tagged on to his mother or more especially his little sister. The little girls as well as the old people look after the babies, carrying them in a blanket on their back. I never saw younger men, young fathers, carry children, as in Acoma or Jemez, so that in this respect the Laguna way may be like the way of Zuñi, where the younger men play with the little children, but would not dream of toting them about or walking the floor with them to soothe them.

According to the genealogies there is much the same kind of adoption of children at Laguna as at Zuñi, and, I suppose, elsewhere. Parents lacking, children are brought up by other kindred. Go'ty'iăi' (Gen. III, 32) we recall, was brought up by a paternal aunt, and, as it happened, Go'ty'iăi's wife (Gen. II, 53, Gen. III, 33, House 41) brought up her brother's children (Gen. II, 119, 121). Tshuwai (House 3) and his brother were brought up by a maternal kinswoman, and so were Nămăi' (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89, House 56) and Tsiwidyě (House 12). Kuyu'd'yuwe (Gen. I, 68, Houses 24, 33, 118) has brought up her deceased sister's sons. In one case of separation the child remained with the father (House 4). I heard of no case where offspring were transferred from a parental household to another. Dzaid'yuwi' could recall no case of a child adopted by non-relatives except the girl referred to on p. 276. The orphan girls adopted by Miss Dissett of Santa Fé we did not count. The only term for adoptive child known to Dzaid'yuwi' was *k'aonamat-sanishě*, which means, I think, one without relations.

Little children are sent to the American day school. The little girl in our house went most regularly together with two or three neighbors from across the way. And older boys and girls go to the Government boarding-school at Albuquerque or even to Riverside in California, or to the Catholic Sisters' School at Santa Fé. However, I met young women who had been only a year or two in day school, and the school children are shy about speaking even the little English they know, considerably less shy, however, than at Zuñi, where outdoors, in street or plaza, a child may whisper *e'l'o!* to you as you pass, or even shout, but where no child will talk to any *Melika*.

#### DUTIES OF SPECIAL RELATIVES.

At Laguna, as at Zuñi, the household rather than the family is the unit of service. Economic duties and obligations belong primarily to the household. But services, economic and ceremonial, are rendered by kin outside of the normally constituted household.

*Mother's Brother.* There is little doubt that this relationship is thought of as close. References to the oversight or guardianship ex-



pected of "uncles" i.e., mother's brothers, are not lacking,<sup>1</sup> although definite cases of services rendered are unfortunately scant. I heard of one case where an "uncle" sent money to his drafted nephew about whom he was much worried, and another case of a man (Gen. II, 45)<sup>2</sup> giving a large field to his sister's daughter's son.<sup>3</sup> (The boy's father, I'g'ugăi, [Gen. II, 123] holds the field in trust and cultivates it).<sup>4</sup> In another case a woman's grave was dug by her "uncle" and I believe that this is the regular procedure. In several cases the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> in the family custody was said definitely to be inherited from an "uncle," and although there are also cases where the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> has come to a woman from her father, I get the impression that in native theory these most sacred fetishes descend in the maternal line. Personal masks, on the other hand, are inherited from the father.<sup>5</sup> Fields and sheep, the chief forms of material property outside of houses (for the holding and inheritance of houses see pp. 248ff.), are inherited in equal shares by offspring, male and female, but, offspring lacking, a sister, I was told, will be preferred to a brother. No instances of such inheritance came under notice, however, nor of direct inheritance from a maternal uncle.<sup>6</sup> In one instance noted (Gen. II, 47), offspring lacking, sheep and fields were inherited by the widow, not by the sister of the deceased or his brothers.

*Father's Sister.* At initiation into the societies the head of the initiate was washed by the father's sister of the introducer or ceremonial father, as at Zuñi. And we are to note that in the Laguna salt collecting ceremonial the father's sister distributed the salt and washed the nephew, giving him balls of clay and of corn and breathing on him. After a deer hunt the head and eyes of the deer are taken to the father's sister of the hunter. She prays that they may have venison the coming year.<sup>7</sup>

At death, a father's clanswoman is called in to wash the corpse, but this means, I believe, the nearest female kin to the father, i.e., the father's

<sup>1</sup>For example, see p. 238 for a case where an "uncle" censured a woman because, as I was told, "she would not live the way he wanted." In referring to the unmarried life of Juana (Gen. I, 13), an informant expressed surprise that her "uncles" did nothing about it.

See Parsons, (e), 271 n. 1 for a striking assertion of authority at Zuñi by a maternal uncle. Among the Hopi the maternal uncle acts as instructor. [Lowie, (b), 82].

<sup>2</sup>After all the offspring of the man had died.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Zuñi practices, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup>In 1920 I'g'ugăi was away, and the field was cultivated by Yo'kwi' (Gen. II, 126), husband of the boy's mother's sister. The day he was cutting the alfalfa I met the boy's mother taking him his lunch.

<sup>5</sup>See pp. 241, 243.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 238.

<sup>7</sup>This information was contributed by Miss Esther Schiff who learned it from Gen. II, 120. He also related that when a man is going on a hunt he tells his wife the direction he is to take. Every morning she sprinkles meal four times outdoors [presumably from the direction followed by the hunter to the threshold], and she or some woman of the household must stay indoors i. e., a woman must be at home all the time. And the door must be left open that the deer may walk in. . . . At this time the women houseclean and whitewash the walls, using flowers in the wash—to attract the deer. These data throw light on scattering references elsewhere to the behavior of the hunter's household. Obviously their behavior should be pleasing to the spirit of the deer. [Cp. Parsons, (f), 128].

sister, only if paternal kinswomen were lacking, would a mere clanswoman be summoned.<sup>1</sup> Juana (Gen. I, 13) daughter of Yu'si of the Water clan, died in 1918, and, as Yu'si has no kinswomen,<sup>2</sup> Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122), a Water clanswoman, was called in. In this case Dzaid'yuwi' took the place of her mother, too blind to officiate.

The paternal Eagle clan relatives of Gawiretsa (House 92) live at Tsiamia and when Gawiretsa visited them there they always gave her a very warm welcome, killing a cow for her. When Gawiretsa died in 1918 these ladies came to her house, one in particular, her nearest *k'u'ya*, taking charge, washing her body and head and singing the Eagle clan grinding song that Gawiretsa had asked them to sing when she died.

While we were staying with Dzaid'yuwi', her husband's paternal aunt (Gen. IV, 63) fell sick. Considerable concern was expressed about her, and her nephew, I'g'ug'äi, went twice to Mesita to visit her.

Gawiretsa used to joke a lot with her paternal relatives; but in the absence of other data about relatives joked with I cannot hazard speculation about any stereotyped joking-relationship. The regular conclusion of Laguna folktales, however, should not be overlooked in this connection. The farcical nominee is: "Thus long is the backbone of my aunt." (*tometsish s'ak'oya k'ayodzeshpot<sup>3</sup>its*).

*Cross-Cousin Marriage.* One day in getting a list of words for snakes, toads,<sup>3</sup> lizards, etc., I was told of the *tsasje*, presumably the chameleon, and my informant added that when a child was bashful about calling anybody *pa'pa* people told the child that *tsasje* would dart at it. "Why should a child be shy about saying *pa'pa*?" of course I queried. "It is just like saying 'husband' or 'wife'. . . . So we say to a boy, 'If you don't want to become her husband, *tsasje* will chase you. . . . If *tsasje* runs at you, you must dance a circle around

<sup>1</sup>This is so also at Zuñi. Recently, at the death of an old woman, a Badger clanswoman and the child of the *pikchikwe* clan, the corpse was washed by the deceased's daughter, son-in-law, and sister of son-in-law. The deceased had no close paternal relatives, and none of her father's clan, the *pikchikwe*, was called in. Later, certain *pikchikwe* said to my informant, the deceased's granddaughter, "Why didn't you call us?" And my informant added, "People don't like to wash old, very old persons, the body looks so bad. That is why my mother did not call in the *pikchikwe*." . . . The grave was dug by the deceased's son-in-law and his two sons, one of them unrelated to the deceased.

Among the Tewa of Hano, a paternal kinswoman (*kyiu*) comes in at death, presenting a blanket or a piece of cotton cloth. (Zuñi usage, also. See p. 197 and Parsons, (p), 252). . . . The father or the maternal kinsman of the deceased carries away the corpse.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 237.

<sup>3</sup>Horned toad is *d'upinushka*. You may tie a bit of red or green yarn around the neck of a *d'upinushka* for whatever you want, say a new belt, and say:—

Pag'ücha	pa'pa	chupe'
give	grandmother	tell

"Tell your grandmother to give me" etc.—There are corresponding Zuñi and Pima practices. At Zuñi, to cure a sore, a *klechokyapa* (a little red, rough-skinned creature with a tail) will be caught and in case of a woman a bit from belt, in case of a man, from *banda* or shirt, will be tied around the neck of the animal. It is payment to it for taking away the sore. "I make you *kihe*" (ceremonial friend) is said. Among the Pima, "If one accidentally steps on a horned toad he must tie a red string around its neck and let it go, saying '*nyu u-ut hok*,' my blood eat. This is to cause the subtle toad to eat the bad blood that may cause disease in the person." (Russell, 264).



him and call out *pa'pa*, then *tsasje* will let you alone'<sup>1</sup> . . . My *pa'pa* is my wife too—*s'apa'pa e s'aukwi* (my *pa'pa* and my wife).” More than that could not be elicited, but my informant himself undoubtedly had the sense of this identification.

The information, detached though it was, was startling.<sup>2</sup> It suggested that you might think of your father's sister's daughter, as a potential wife, or of your mother's brother's son as a potential husband. Notable in this connection are the facts that you call your mother's brother's wife, “mother” and your father's sister's husband “father.”<sup>3</sup> Again, if the term for husband is connected with the term for “child”<sup>4</sup> and if the term for mother's brother's son was “child” before the use of “son” for mother's brother involved the use of “grandchild” for his offspring, we get another etymological argument for cross-cousin marriage.

#### NOTE ON INHERITANCE AT ZUÑI.

The following scattering observations at Zuñi are of interest in connection with the relation of the family to property. As far as I know, the facts might be paralleled at Laguna.—Flora's mother owns a cornfield which she inherited from her father. While he was still alive, he told her she was to have the field, otherwise her two brothers would have taken this field, together with the other fields of their father. Flora will not inherit this field from her mother, it will go back to her mother's *kuku* or father's people—unless they fail to contribute something, perhaps a dress, at the funeral. Then the family of the deceased woman would say, “We have spent much for our mother, you have spent nothing, you may not have the field.” . . . Flora's father has two fields, one at Caliente, one on the north side. He has already stated that the Caliente field is to go to Flora's younger sister, and the north side field to Flora and her older sister. There is a son, but he will not

<sup>1</sup>Among the Hopi a large yellow and green lizard is called *manaña'* and if a boy married into his father's clan he would be told that the *manaña'* would dart at him.

<sup>2</sup>And on a par with the indications of sometime cross-cousin marriage among the Tewa. “When a boy baby is brought to visit in the house of his father's clan, he is loudly welcomed as the “husband” . . . of one of the girls of the clan . . . a woman speaks of her son's sons in jest as “our bridegrooms,” . . . etc. (Freire-Marecco, 286). Among the Hopi as well as the Tewa of the First Mesa, I was told, women might refer at any time to their brother's son as “our son-in-law.” Your aunts i. e., father's sisters are always given to laugh at you, whether you are a boy or a girl, but they joke more particularly when they see you after an absence. “They pretend to be mad with the girl you [their brother's son] are going to marry.” A mock fight of water and mud slinging is customary between the women of the groom's family, mother, sisters, etc., and his “aunts” or paternal kinswomen who attack.

<sup>3</sup>Analogous facts of nomenclature have been noted at Zuñi. A woman calls her brother's son, *talle*, and the term for bridegroom or male connection by marriage is *talakyi*. “The similarity of the terms might be interpreted as indicative of a present or former identity of the persons. This would mean that a woman's brother's son came into her home to marry her daughter, his cross-cousin” (Kroeber, 67), i. e., one to whom he is *an chale*, “child” (See p. 167, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup>See p. 166.



share in this inheritance "because he is a man and can get a field for himself." . . . Flora's sister's husband inherited one of his father's two fields. The other field went to a daughter. Flora's husband owns three fields, one he staked out for himself on the north side (land opened to cultivation by the Black Rock irrigation works), one he got from his father, one he got from his mother's brother (*kyakya*) who had no children. This field Flora's husband will give to their son. Half or less of the north side field Flora's husband has given to his sister's son (*gyase*) because when the boy married he had no field. . . . Were there but one field to be inherited, said Flora, and a son and daughter to inherit, were the daughter married to a poor man, she would get the field, otherwise the son would get it. . . . As to sheep or cows—Flora's father got his cows from his father through his elder brother, a half-brother. At the death of their father, they were his only children, all the cows went to the elder boy, who, later when the younger boy grew up, shared them with him. His sheep, Flora's father got from his mother's brother who has two daughters. Flora's husband got his sheep from his still living mother's father for whom as a boy he herded sheep—the forty sheep are now two hundred. These sheep will go, not to Flora, but to their children, half to the boy, half to the girl. A while ago Flora's husband bought a wagon for Flora's father. At the death of Flora's father this wagon will go not to Flora's brother, but to Flora's son. . . . Another family connection: Nick has two fields, one he bought, one he inherited from his mother's father. Nick has a daughter, two sons, and a sister, and among them his two fields will be evenly divided, unless the daughter take the sons' shares, "they can pick up some ground after a while." Or unless Nick's children failed to treat him well, or his widow, trustee for the children, remarried too soon, before a year or so. Then Nick's sister would go to the governor and be given the fields. . . . The governor and the *tenientes* sometimes hold long sessions over the disposition of fields—"talk three nights, two days, eat nothing"<sup>1</sup> . . . . When Nick's father died, Nick's sister got the peach orchard, the fields and the stock. His two brothers may have got something, he got nothing. Subsequently one of these brothers herded Nick's sheep with his own, while Nick looked after the brother's horses with his own. The brother died, his son took all the sheep. Nick went and said to him, "You give me sheep, I give you horses." But he would not agree, he kept all the sheep and Nick kept all the horses. Nor would this nephew share with his half-brother and half-sister. "He was a bad one, but he was my

<sup>1</sup>See Cushing, (c), 135-151.

nephew, and I wouldn't tell the governor." A good man would have earmarked the sheep and shared them with his relatives. Had the case been taken to the governor, two *tenientes* would have visited the flock and supervised the division. . . . Nick undoubtedly felt that a man's sister has a strong claim on his property—subject always to considerate behavior. "If my sister treat me nice, I give her something—sheep. When I die, my sister will take it all unless she treat my wife nice, then she don't take it all." The widow has no absolute claim. "When I die my wife like to have something. Sometimes my children (her step-children) take all from her. . . . That ain't right." The right of the man's sister to inherit his property appears again in the matter of the tiny gardens, chili gardens, the women cultivate and exclusively inherit. Were a man to buy a garden for his wife, paying a shawl or a belt for it, the garden would descend to their daughter, but if there were no daughter, the garden would be inherited by the purchaser's sister.—Obviously a systematic study of property holding at Zuñi<sup>1</sup> would be rewarding.

## KINSHIP NOMENCLATURE IN OTHER KERESAN TOWNS

### ACOMA KINSHIP TERMS

Acoma kinship terms correspond closely to Laguna terms, the chief difference being in the application of sister-brother terms to all cousins. This is the Zuñi system likewise. But at Zuñi, there is, too, in practice a cross-cousin nomenclature which is remarkably like that of Laguna, of the Hopi and of Hano, a practice based on classifying the father's sister's children with the father or father's sister. It would be surprising, if further familiarity with Acoma nomenclature did not reveal similar classifications.<sup>2</sup> The same observation holds good of the cross-cousin nomenclature of the Eastern Keresan.

Unlike Kroeber's composite Acoma-Laguna list, and my own Laguna list, my Acoma list contains no special term for father's sister. This may be an oversight on the part of my informants; although I note that one of my Laguna informants who grew up in Acoma referred to his

<sup>1</sup>Likewise among the Hopi where the old system is breaking down through the introduction of American laws of inheritance, offspring inheriting rather than brothers and sisters and collateral kinsfolk, particularly in the case of stock and of "beads." For fields the old rule still holds. Fields are inherited by the family connection within the clan. . . . Formerly stock or sheep were also inherited by clanspeople. Were a man to leave fifty sheep, his connections consisting of wife, daughter, son, sister, brother and clanspeople, the widow, son and daughter would inherit none, half the flock would go to the sister, half to the brother, each keeping ten sheep and distributing the other fifteen among the clanspeople, or if the deceased had so requested, giving a certain number to the daughter or son. All the clanspeople would have a claim, even a Navajo of an equated clan.

<sup>2</sup>In one of the Acoma kinship lists I recorded, mother's brother's daughter and son were given as *s'ama'k* and *s'amuiti*.



father's sister there not as *k'u'ya* but as *nai'ya*, mother. He explained his practice, to be sure, on the ground that he grew up in her house.

The following lists were made from Acoma informants in Acoma; but there was little or no opportunity to observe applications.

*naiya* (voc.) *senaiya* (desc.) mother, stepmother, mother's mother's mother, mother's sister, father's sister, sister's daughter, m. sp.

#### Reciprocal Terms

*s'amaak* (voc. and desc.) w.

*s'amuiti*<sup>1</sup> (voc. and desc.) m.

*naishdia* (voc.) *senaiishdia* (desc.) father, stepfather, father's father's father, father's brother.

*papa*<sup>2</sup> (voc.) *s'tapapa* (desc.), mother's mother, m. sp., mother's father, w. sp., father's mother, m. sp., father's father, w. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*papa* (voc.) *s'tapapa* (desc.)

*dyiau*<sup>3</sup> (voc.) *s'tadiu* (desc.), mother's mother, w. sp., father's mother, w. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*dyiau* (voc.) *s'tadyiau* (desc.)

*nana* (voc.) *s'tanana* (desc.), mother's father m. sp. father's father m. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*nana* (voc.) *s'tanana* (desc.)

*gaau* (voc.) *shaau* (desc.), w. sp., sister, mother's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter.

*chichi* (voc.) *s'takuich* (desc.), m. sp., sister, mother's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter.

*chichi* (voc.) *stauwach* (desc.), w. sp., brother, mother's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, father's brother's son.

*tiuma* (voc.) *s'tatiuma* (desc.), m. sp., brother, mother's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, father's brother's son, clansmen of same generation.

*anawe* (voc.) *stanawe* (desc.), mother's brother, m. sp.

#### Reciprocal Term

*anawe* (voc.) *stanawe* (desc.)

*s'awitemish*, my mother's people, i.e., blood kindred, but to what degree it is reckoned appears uncertain. [This term and the following are probably, as at Laguna, inclusive clan terms; but I leave my earlier Acoma definition as illustrative of the difficulty of distinguishing with informants between blood relations and clanspeople.]

*s'takuyatemish*, my father's people.

Relationships by affinity are expressed by consanguineous terms; but, as at Laguna, there are special terms.

<sup>1</sup>The consonant is written above the line to indicate that it is not fully sounded. The degree of sounding varies considerably. The glottalized s at Laguna might often be written *s'*. It is a very elusive sound.

<sup>2</sup>p=indeterminate.

<sup>3</sup>*Dyiau* may be heard for *gyiau* at Laguna likewise.



*piye*, wife of male relative; kin of husband

*wati*, husband of female relative; kin of wife

Affinity terms are the same as at Laguna;<sup>1</sup> but their application as reciprocals appears more usual. It was definitely stated that your wife's mother or father you call *shuwati* [*shgu* ?], and all her people, *shuwati-temish*; and that your husband's mother or father you call *shupiye* and his people, *shupiyetemish*.

From the point of view of cross-cousin nomenclature Acoma practice is closer to Zuñi than to Laguna practice, and in this particular presents an interesting illustration of the independence between sameness of custom and sameness of language.

On the other hand, the Acoma and Laguna (and San Felipe and Santo Domingo) systems agree in their grandparent-grandchild terminology and differ from the Zuñi (and Hano and Isleta) system. In the latter, in the grandmother-grandchild terms difference of line is expressed; in the former, the principle of sameness or opposition of sex.

#### SAN FELIPE KINSHIP TERMS

*yaya*<sup>2</sup> (voc.), *s'a'naiya* (desc.), mother, mother's sister, father's sister.

##### Reciprocal Terms

*s'amak* (voc. and desc.) w.

*s'amuit'* (*s'amuiñt'*) (voc. and desc.) m. or (mother's and father's sister)

(*s'a'wishe* (*s'a'washe*) (child)

*umũ*, *tata* (child's term)<sup>3</sup> (voc.), *s'a'naishd'yě* (*s'anaish'*) (desc.)

##### Reciprocal Terms

*s'amak*

*s'amuit'*

or

*s'a'wishe*, w. and m.

*t'ao'* (*taau'*) (voc.), *s'a't'ao'* (*s'a'taau'*) (desc.), mother's mother, w. sp., father's mother, w. sp.

##### Reciprocal Terms

*t'ao'* (voc.), *s'a't'ao'* (desc.)

*papa* (voc.), *s'a'papa* (desc.), mother's mother, m. sp., father's mother, m. sp., mother's father, w. sp., father's father, w. sp.

##### Reciprocal Term

*papa* (voc.), *s'a'papa* (desc.)

*mumũ* (voc.) *s'a'mumũ* (*s'au'mumũ*) (desc.), mother's father, m. sp., father's father, m. sp.

<sup>1</sup>The affinity terms and translations recorded by Kroeber, 84, are due, I think, to slight misunderstandings between informant and recorder.

<sup>2</sup>Woman's term, *ya* is the man's term (Boas).

<sup>3</sup>Woman's term, *omũ* is the man's term (Boas)

## Reciprocal Term

*mumũ* (voc.), *s'a'mumũ* (desc.)

*so'she* (*sau'shi*), *shkashgau* (voc. and desc.), w. sp., sister  
*meme* (voc.), *s'ameme* (desc.), m. sp., sister, w. sp., brother  
*tyumũ* (voc.), *s'a'tyumũ* (desc.), m. sp., brother  
*nyenye* (voc.), *s'a'nyenye* (desc.), w. sp., mother's brother

## Reciprocal Term

*nyenye* (voc.) *s'a'nyenye* (desc.)

*s'anawa'* (voc. and desc.), m. sp., mother's brother

## Reciprocal Term

*s'anawa'*

*s'atroshtse* (*s'ad'esh'e*)<sup>1</sup>, husband (desc.)

*s'au'k'o*, wife (desc.)

*shk'ui'biya*, parent-in-law, w. sp.

*shk'ui'wati'*, parent-in-law, m. sp.

*s'abiya*, daughter-in-law

*s'awati*, son-in-law

In address the teknonymous terms *g'a'naishd'yē* (his father) or *g'a'naiya* (his mother) would be used, or *naishdya*, old man,<sup>2</sup> or *k'uyau*, old woman. A child's name with "his mother" or "his father" suffixed is also used in teknonymous reference. *Biuro* (Sp. viudo) is a term for widowed. For great grandparents there is none but grandparent terms. Sister-brother terms are said to be applied to cousins. *S'ak'-oyatya'me*, a woman would say of all her brother's children. *S'ahachts-tya'me*, a man would say of all his sister's children. *Saianichume* is a term for all my near relatives, maternal or paternal. The eldest child in the family may be referred to or called *s'eatsa*, the youngest, *cheatsa*.

## SANTO DOMINGO KINSHIP TERMS

*iya'* (voc.), *s'a'naiya* (desc., a child's term?), mother, mother's sister, father's sister.

## Reciprocal Terms

*s'a'mak*, w.

*s'awishe*, m.

or

*s'awishe*, w. and m.

*omũ*<sup>3</sup> (voc.), *s'anashd'y<sup>a4</sup>*, father

<sup>1</sup>Boas.

<sup>2</sup>Old man is *naishdyuuts'a*, old woman, *kuyats'a*. The Laguna term *s'ak'uya* for father's sister was entirely unfamiliar to one informant and by another as *s'a'koya'*, it was translated as "sister" and equated with *s'akwich*, a Laguna term he had learned, if not a Tewa term, *k'wi* meaning in Tewa a woman in her prime, and *kwiye*, an old woman. (Harrington, 491, 492.)

<sup>3</sup>*O'm* recorded by Dr. Boas from another informant who stated that this term was used by men only, *tata* being used by women.

<sup>4</sup>*S'a'nürshty'* (Boas).

## Reciprocal Terms

*s'a'mak*, w.*s'awishe*,<sup>1</sup>m.*s'a't'ao'* (desc.), mother's mother, w. sp., father's mother, w. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

(s) *a't'ao'**s'a'papa* (desc.), mother's mother, m. sp., father's mother, m. sp., mother's father, w. sp., father's father, w. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'a'papa**s'aumumũ*, mother's father, m. sp., father's father, m. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'aumumũ**t'ao'na* (voc.), *s'a't'ao'na* (desc.) w. sp., sister*meme* (voc.), *s'ameme* (desc.), sister, m. sp., brother, w. sp.*tyumi* (voc.) *s'atyumi* (desc.), m. sp., brother*s'anyenye* (desc.<sup>2</sup>), mother's brother, w. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'anyenye**s'a'naishdye* (desc.), mother's brother, m. sp.

## Reciprocal Term

*s'awishe*<sup>3</sup>*s'a'kwishe*, *s'a'kuya*<sup>4</sup> (desc.), father's sister*tata*,<sup>5</sup> father's brother

## Reciprocal Term

*s'awishe**s'anye*, cousin, w.<sup>6</sup>*ana'*, cousin, m.*s'aiyichime'*, all my maternal relatives*s'awityeme'*, all my paternal relatives*s'auk'u*, wife*s'a shasodya*<sup>7</sup>, husband

For relatives by affinity only parent-child and sister-brother terms are used.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*S'a'hawish'iyā* (Boas).<sup>2</sup>*S'a'nve* (Boas).<sup>3</sup>*S'a'nawa'* (Boas).<sup>4</sup>*K'uyas*, old woman, *naishdyuya'*, old man.<sup>5</sup>Father, w. sp. (Boas).<sup>6</sup>This may be a term used between female and male cousins, as *ana'* may be used between male cousins; but in this case, as in others, cousin nomenclature remains uncertain until tested by observation.<sup>7</sup>*S'a'drishye* (Boas).<sup>8</sup>*Shk'ui'bi'a*, father-in-law, w. sp.; *shk'ui'wat'i*, father-in-law, m. sp.; *s'a'biya*, daughter-in-law; *s'a'wat'i*, son-in-law (Boas).



## COMPARATIVE NOTES ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE EASTERN KERESANS

At San Felipe and at Santo Domingo, also at Cochiti,<sup>1</sup> we find one of the two Laguna terms for brother, *umu'*, used as a man's vocative for father. We also find that the Eastern reciprocal for grandfather-grandson, *s'a'mumũ*,<sup>2</sup> (*s'aumumũ*) differs from the Laguna-Acoma reciprocal, *nana*, a term identical with the Zuñi term. There is no doubt, I presume, that the term *nana* was borrowed from Zuñi. How the change came about<sup>3</sup> in the meaning of the term *umũ* is perplexing. It is possible that there may be some etymological connection between *tyumũ*, *umũ*, and *mumũ* and that *tyumũ* and *umũ* came to be identified at Laguna subsequent to the introduction of *nana* for *mumũ*.

As at Acoma, the father's sister is classified in terminology with the mother and the mother's sister. Although the term *s'akuya* is not unfamiliar, it is not used in address nor as commonly even in reference as at Laguna. The surmise that it is identifiable as an age term is substantiated by Eastern data.

The surmise that *akwi*, the Laguna term for a man's sister, is merely a sex term, is also substantiated by Eastern data; for the sister-brother reciprocal of the Eastern Keresans,<sup>4</sup> *meme*, is not found at Laguna.

It is notable that *meme* is the term for mother's brother at Isleta and Hano, that at San Felipe and San Domingo *nyenye* is the term for mother's brother and that at Cochiti *māme* or *n<sup>y</sup>en<sup>y</sup>e* is the exact reciprocal between sister and brother and between sister's daughter and mother's brother. Now neither *meme* nor *nyenye* is found at Laguna, but *akwi*, as noted above, for sister, with a reflexive from the woman's term for sister as a reciprocal, and the term *s'amuiti* for the woman's maternal uncle.

Another surmise or inference is substantiated. The use of *s'amuiti*, my boy or kinsman, for a woman's maternal uncle is seen to be a differentiation peculiar to Laguna and responsible for further differentiations in the Laguna nomenclature, more particularly, in the cross-cousin nomenclature and in the man's application of the term for mother to his sister's daughter.

<sup>1</sup>Through the kindness of Dr. Lowie, I am able to refer to a kinship list collected by Dr. Paul Radin from a Cochiti man in Santa Fé.

<sup>2</sup>Same at Cochiti.

<sup>3</sup>It antedates 1853. See Whipple, 86.

<sup>4</sup>Including Cochiti.

It is of interest that the term *s'amuiti* has reached San Felipe as a reciprocal of parent, but that even in this limited use it has not spread to San Domingo.

Even this limited survey of comparative terms makes it plain that Keresan kinship nomenclature can not be understood, even partially, without a comparison of the kinship terms of neighbor tribes. It is to be hoped that nomenclature data for all the Pueblo tribes may become available, so that a comprehensive study of the entire nomenclature system will become possible.

## II. CLANSHIP

### CLAN DESCENT AND EXOGAMY

The Laguna clan (*hano*)<sup>1</sup>, like other Keresan clans, is maternal; but, as in the Zuñi clanship system, and the systems of other matronymic Indian peoples<sup>2</sup> the father's clan is not disregarded. Of your father's clan you are, as at Zuñi and among the Hopi, the child (*wahashtyi*, *wa'ashch'e*).

The clan is exogamous, and marriage into your father's clan is or was also disapproved. So was marriage with connections by marriage. The old exogamous usage is breaking down.<sup>3</sup> The old people of Laguna had a saying some years ago that once the young people put on horse (hide) shoes they would be flown, meaning that they would depart from custom, particularly exogamous marriage custom. In the Laguna genealogies three marriages into the clan are recorded,<sup>4</sup> and in the List of Houses one marriage into the clan (House 44). This last marriage is also into the father's clan, a Sun, child of Corn, woman marrying a Sun, child of Corn, man. In the genealogies occur nine<sup>5</sup> marriages into the father's clan,<sup>6</sup> and in the List of Houses, one such marriage (House 31). I note one marriage between parallel cousins—a man is married to his father's brother's daughter (Gen. III, 91, 92); one between cross-cousins, a man is married to his father's sister's daughter (Gen. II, 168, 169), one by a man with his father's brother's daughter's daughter (Gen. II, 126, 125), one by a man with his mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter (Gen. III, 124, 125). One marriage with a deceased wife's sister is recorded (Gen. I, 62, 63, 64). Gossip goes that the couple in this case had had intimate relations before the death of the first wife,<sup>7</sup> and that their oldest child was born before their marriage.

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<sup>1</sup>*Hano* means people, a generic term having the same meaning as the Zuñi suffix *kwe* or the Tewa *towa*. The clans are referred to as *tsits hano*, *yaka hano*, etc.

For the Laguna native or group the terms used are *g'awekame* (sing.), *g'awekamech* (pl.).

For "Pueblo Indians" after some hesitation I was given what seemed to be merely a translation—*skaashjitsama* (town) *s'chauoo* (living) *hanotich* (people).

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (b), 65.

<sup>3</sup>But here, as in other particulars at Laguna, some reservation is called for. At Laguna it is extremely difficult to distinguish always between what may be disintegration and what may be original or archaic custom. In view of preceding evidence about cross-cousin marriage it is not at all impossible that marriage into your father's clan was archaic custom.

<sup>4</sup>I, 20, 21; II, 19, 21; IV, 10, 12.

<sup>5</sup>Besides I heard of another instance. Shruisits'a, a daughter of Giwire (House 92), the *shikani-kurena cheani*, married Yashuna, her father's sister's son, (son of Kisuwets'a), her father's clansman and her cross-cousin. At Pohwati there were three cases of marriage within the clan, I was told, and at Paraje, three cases.

At Acoma I heard of two marriages within the clan, one in the Eagle clan, the other in the Sun clan. In the latter instance the husband himself explained to me that as his wife's mother's mother was a Laguna woman, it made a difference. The man was a non-conformist in several particulars. However a Santo Domingo man has explained that although both his parents were of the Coyote clan, his father was Grey Coyote from Sia, and that made a difference.

<sup>6</sup>I, 3, 4; I, 18, 19; I, 26, 27; I, 56, 57; II, 47, 48; II, 122, 123; III, 60, 61; III, 76, 77; III, 181, 182.

III, 38, 39 appears as a marriage into the father's clan, but it may not be so reckoned as No. 38 is an illegitimate child.

<sup>7</sup>There are two other cases of reported intimacy with a brother-in-law. See p. 276. A folktae collected by Dr. Boas is based on a like incident.



Curiously enough in commenting on these specific cases, informants, young and old, were never condemnatory, whether the marriage was within their family or outside.<sup>1</sup> No penalty either in this life or the next<sup>2</sup> appears to attach to clan incest. At Zuñi such marriage will be ridiculed, but not, it appears, at Laguna.

Similar indifference seems to attach to marriage with Whites, "American" or Mexican,<sup>3</sup> although in one case a woman did refer somewhat scornfully to an acquaintance who had got rid of her Indian husband to marry a White man. People vary in their feeling about intermarriage with Navajo. In one case a woman was said to make a boast of her Navajo blood, but in other families the fact will be concealed from shame. In Genealogy I, the Navajo marriages were in fact concealed from me by my otherwise frank informant and by her aunt. The Navajo clans appearing in the genealogies are Sun and Water and, inferably, Oak (Gen. III, 15).

#### FICTITIOUS CLANSHIP

Clanship, students of Indian society have found, is an immutable condition; neither man nor woman changes clan at marriage, and even with adoption, if the adopted one comes of a group with clan organization, he preserves his original clan membership or at least fits into some conceptually affiliable clan. The most striking instance I know of is that of Margaret Lewis of Zuñi. Coming to Zuñi from Oklahoma, a Cherokee of the Wolf clan, she was associated with the Coyote clan, there being no Zuñi Wolf clan, and her children by a Zuñi man of the Sandhill Crane are accounted Coyote clan members.

It was startling, therefore, to hear at Laguna of the possibility of a change of clan or, more strictly speaking, of clan adoption—to meet a ceremonial exigency. The case of Kăiyăid'yai' (Gen. IV, 64) of Mesita is in point. He is a Turquoise clansman married to a Corn clanswoman. From old Corn clansmen he learned the Corn clan songs and prayers and he is accounted a Corn clan head or elder (*nawai'*)<sup>4</sup>. From him his brother is now learning the songs.

<sup>1</sup>The one case of reputed incest in the narrower sense of which I have heard (the father of an illegitimate child was said to be her mother's brother) was referred to as a scandal, the first *gumeyoish* (see p. 220) case on record, but the comment was far less drastic than it would be in White circles.

<sup>2</sup>An Acoma man remarked in general that if you married into your clan your children would not be strong. Another Acoma man, with Mexican affiliations, once said more or less as a joke that after death the Pueblo Indian spouse of a Navajo would become a deer, of a Mexican, a mule, of an American, a horse. Later I heard the same fancy expressed at Zuñi where I had also heard an old man express as a theory the idea that after death the incestuous would be burned. All these concepts are borrowed, I believe, from Whites.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Harrington, 475.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 212. One more instance, and striking at that, would not Dr. Kroeber say, of how clan headship is merely a ceremonial affair. But see p. 214.

The particular exigency in this case is not plain—perhaps if we knew more about the descent of Kăikăi'd'yăi's wife in her clan, the matter would be clearer. But when I asked what would happen in connection with the *k'atsina* cult if Badger clansmen failed—the prospect at Laguna is imminent<sup>1</sup>—there was no hesitation in answering that some one would “be made Badger clan.”<sup>2</sup> At Mesita, indeed, men have been “made Antelope clan” to father the *k'atsina*, Guwai of the Parrot clan and, since his death, Keasiro of the Bear clan.<sup>3</sup> Again in the Laguna colony at Isleta I am told that G'eonaï, Lizard clansman, (see p. 255) was made Antelope clan to father the *k'atsina*. At G'eonaï's death, his son Nashu, a Sun clansman, took his office.

My Laguna informants always referred to initiation into the *k'atsina* or *cheani* groups in identical terms—“he was *made cheani*.” Indeed, it is inferable, I think, that in Laguna opinion a clan in its ceremonial aspects is like any other ceremonial group, and may lend itself to the same organization and functions as such groups. Out of the same point of view there seems little doubt that the *shiwanni* or rain priesthood system of Zuñi developed.

#### CLAN TERMS

*s'a'wi*, meaning a member of my own clan, is the only distinctive clan term learned. My clanspeople altogether I call *s'a'wit<sup>y</sup>emishě* (see p. 167); but “all my blood relations” I also call *s'a'wit<sup>y</sup>emishě*, so that the term is after all inclusive rather than distinctive, or, we had better say, there is no distinctive term for blood relations or kin viewed collectively. Possibly between the terms (*s'*)*a'wi* and (*s'*)*anawe*, the man's term for mother's brother or senior clansman, there is etymological connection.

All the kin terms are commonly used for clanship, except perhaps the grandparent-grandchild terms, and they may be used. A senior clanswoman you call mother, referring to her as *stranaiyashe* (*sdjanaiyashe*), “our mother”; a senior clansman, you, a woman, call *s'amuiti*, my mother's brother; a man, you call him, *anawe*. However, the terms “father” and “grandfather” might also be used for a senior clansman. The oldest man in your clan you refer to as *stranawaiaishe*. Contemporary clanspeople will use the sister-brother terms. To junior clanspeople, if you are a woman, you use the daughter-son terms; if you are a man, the sister-brother terms<sup>4</sup> or the terms you would use to your sister's

<sup>1</sup>See p. 222.

<sup>2</sup>But see p. 278.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 222.

<sup>4</sup>As one man put it, “If I call a clanswoman, ‘sister’, I call her son, ‘brother’.”



children, *anawe* and *naiya*. You refer to any clanswoman of your father as *s'ak'u'ya*, but in address, if the woman is your senior, you call her "mother," the reciprocal being, of course, "daughter" or "son." The reciprocal of *s'ak'u'ya* is *s'a'yach'*, my child. Between "my child" said by a parent and "my child" said by a paternal clanswoman, one informant insisted there was a difference in pronunciation, *sa'yach'* in the first case, *s'ai'ach'* in the second case; but the distinction in actual speech was difficult, if not impossible, for me to recognize. Any paternal clansman you call "father;"<sup>1</sup> the reciprocal being "daughter," except when he is addressing you, and you are a mother, when he will call you *naiye'* (matron). The wife of any clansman you may call *piye* (reciprocal, *shkupiye'e*), and the husband of any clanswoman, *wati*.

The kinship terms are not limited to clanspeople and father's clanspeople; they may be applied to others with whom you have a more indirect clan connection. For example, I'g'ugăi (Gen. IV, 17) calls Tsi'wa'k'ă (Gen. III, 116), sister because they are both children of Corn<sup>2</sup> (*yaka wash*).<sup>3</sup> For the same reason I'g'ugăi called Gau's'in'ai (Gen. II, 52), sister. Wik'ai', Oak (House 123), calls Go'dy'iăi', Corn, (Gen. III, 32), grandfather because Wik'ai''s mother who was child of Corn called Go'dy'iăi', father.<sup>4</sup> Alice Martin', Turkey (Houses 29, 31), calls Yaai'-s'dyiwă', Sun, (Gen. IV, 15), *papa* because his mother was child of Turkey. Indeed you are expected to know not only the members of your parents' clans but of their fathers' clans, at least of your mother's father's clan. For example, one day I overheard Yonimait's'a of House 90 express surprise to Mrs. Eckerman because she did not remember that one Dyure' was an Eagle clansman, since Mrs. Eckerman's mother's father belonged to the Eagle clan. Again, I heard Dzaid'yuwi' call an Acoma visitor, a Parrot clanswoman, *gyiau'*, because the woman belonged to the clan of Dzaid'yuwi''s mother's father. In this instance we have an illustration, by the way, of the general Pueblo practice of applying clan terms to clanspeople of another pueblo.

Most of these principles of nomenclature are illustrated in the following observations:—

Gen. II, 122 > 15, *amuti*, senior clansman; 254, 256, "sister," contemporary clanswoman; 258, "brother," contemporary clansman; 273, "daughter", junior clanswoman; 234, "daughter," child of her clan.

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 277.

<sup>2</sup>Because of this relationship, it was stated explicitly, I'g'ugăi felt justified in expostulating to Tsi'wa'k'ă upon her household extravagance—she would buy boxes of crackers, e. g., instead of making bread.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Freire-Marecco, 276.

<sup>4</sup>Here is a case of the principle of conjugal imitation not applied, since Wik'ai''s wife, being a Corn clanswoman, called Go'dy'iăi', brother.



Gen. II, 151 > 166, "father," father's clansman.

Gen. II, 123 > 52 or Gen. IV, 17 > Gen. II, 52, "sister," the fathers of both are clansmen.

Gen. III, 32 > 116, "daughter," daughter of clansman; 212, "grandson," because he is the son of 116.

Gen. III, 32 > 179, "son" because 181 is the child of his clan. (See House 51.)

Gen. III, 32 > 226, "grandson" because 226 is the son of 179.

Go'dy'iäi', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls K'awaityi, Corn clansman (House 45) *anawe*.

Go'dy'iäi', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls Tsaisiro, Corn clansman (House 52), a junior, *anawe*.

Juana, Sun clanswoman (Gen. I, 13), calls Giwire, senior Sun Clansman (House 92), "my father."

Hiedyedye, Bear clansman (House 11), refers to İya'si, Bear clanswoman (Houses 25, 34), as *sdranaiyashe*, our mother.

Hiedyedye refers to Keasiro (see p. 208) as *sdranawaiaishe*,<sup>1</sup> our elder.

Go'dy'iäi', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls Tsiokoish, daughter of Kiwisiro, Corn (Houses 95, 98), "daughter"; and the son of Tsiokoish, "grandson."

Go'dy'iäi', Corn clansman (Gen. III, 32), calls Shiai, child of Corn (Houses 44, 45), "daughter;" and her son, "grandson."

Gawiretsa, Sun clanswoman and child of Eagle (House 92), refers to Kuyu'd-yuwe, Eagle (Gen. I, 68), as *s'ak'u'ya*. (See p. 219.)

#### PREFERENCE OF CLAN TO KIN TERMS

In several cases I noted that terms due to clan connection were preferred to terms due to kin connection. Her father's brother's children Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) calls "sister" and "brother" because, said she, they happen to belong to her clan, not, as we would say, because they are cousins. (We must note that Dzaid'yuwi's father and mother separated when Dzaid'yuwi' was an infant). One of Dzaid'yuwi's paternal uncles is married to a Mohave woman and their children (Gen. II, 268, 269) Dzaid'yuwi' refers to as *muhawe washsich*, Mohave children, she does not refer to them as children of her father's clan, let alone cousins. Again Dzaid'yuwi' once said that she would call her father's sister's son, "father" because he belonged to her father's clan, and all her father's clansmen she would call "father." Asked on another occasion what she would call Gen. II, 265, her father's sister's son, curiously enough, she said she did not know what she would call him. She probably thought she was being asked for a kinship term in distinction to a clanship term. The father of I'g'ugäi (Gen. IV, 17, Gen. II, 123) and the father of Gau's'in'äi' (Gen. II, 52) were Corn clansmen and I'g'ugäi and Gau's'in'äi' therefore called each other "brother" and "sister."

<sup>1</sup>Cp. p. 212.

TABLE 8: LAGUNA CLAN LISTS.

Parsons <sup>1</sup>	Bandelier <sup>2</sup>	Hodge <sup>3</sup>
ts'its, Water (7)	Water	Sits, Water
shawiti, Parrot (5)	Parrot	Shawiti, Parrot
tsinä, Turkey (5)	.....	Tsina, Turkey
osha'ch', Sun (4)	Sun	Oshshahsh, Sun
kwäyă, Bear (4)	Bear	Kohaia, Bear
me'yu', (4) Lizard (3)	.....	Meyo, Lizard
.....	.....	#Hatsi, Earth or Sand
.shia'ashk'a, Chaparral Cock (3)	(Roadrunner, Chaparral Cock)	Shiaska, Chaparral Cock
dyupi, Badger (2)	Badger	Chopī, Badger
dīa'mī, Eagle (1)	Eagle	Tyami, Eagle
ya'k'a, Corn (5)	Corn	.....
.....	.....	Kūkinishyaka, Red Corn
.....	.....	Kochinishyaka, Yellow Corn
ha'pān'i, Oak (1)	.....	Hapai, Oak
ts'i'gă, <sup>6</sup> Locust (1)	.....	.....
kūrtsi, Antelope	Antelope	Kūrtsi, Antelope
shuwimi, Turquoise	Turquoise	Shūwimi, Turquoise
tsurshk', Coyote	Coyote	Tsūshki, Coyote
#dyē'n'i, Deer	.....	.....
#ta'n'i, <sup>7</sup> Pumpkin	.....	.....
#āshān'i, <sup>8</sup> Wheat	.....	.....
#shuwi, Snake	Rattlesnake	Sqowi, Rattlesnake
.....	.....	Shūrshka, Watersnake
.....	.....	Kakhan, Wolf
....	.....	#Mokaiqch, Mt. Lion

<sup>1</sup>Figures in line refer to the women heads of households ascertainable from data given in the list of Houses (pp. 235-248) supplemented by the genealogical data of Tables, 1, 2, 3, 4. Unnumbered clans are either extinct or unrepresented by households at Laguna. # means extinct.

<sup>2</sup>Bandelier, 273. Of the fourteen clans enumerated two are unnamed.

<sup>3</sup>Hodge, (a), 348-352.

<sup>4</sup>Also called *hatse*, earth, "because the lizard goes on the earth," a characteristic explanation, and identical with the Hopi explanation (Voth, (f), 142).

Kroeber cites the Lizard and Earth clans as an illustration of the association of clans in pairs in the general Pueblo clan system. At Laguna, as at Mishongnovi, the Lizard-Earth people form but one group, a single group with two names. I see no tendency at Laguna towards what Kroeber calls clan polarity (Kroeber, 142ff) nor do I understand clearly what he means by his own data. See p. 232.

<sup>5</sup>There are no divisions or subdivisions of Corn people; but answers to your questions at first seem indecisive, for people are apt to think you are asking about individual members of the Corn clan, who are named White or Yellow or Blue.

<sup>6</sup>Equated with the Tansy Mustard (*ise*) clan of Acoma, according to one informant.

<sup>7</sup>Never existent, according to one informant. Another informant remembered a Pumpkin clansman.

<sup>8</sup>The grandfather of the Turquoise clansman who was a war captain in 1918 and in the *chakwena* dance of October 3-4 led the line, was a Wheat clansman. He, too, had been a war captain, and it was his family that washed the head of the child who took her name on that occasion from the *k'atsina* (See p. 191.) Rather curiously, since there is no other evidence of the kind, the old woman informant thought that the office of war captain might have been "handed down."

Consequently Gau's'in'ăi' called I'g'ugăi's son, "son," and by him was called, "mother." Now the little boy's mother also called Gau's'in'ăi', "sister," since Gau's'in'ăi' was her mother's brother's wife, and Gau's'in'ăi' and the little boy might have called each other, "mother" and "son" because of this connection. The terminology was accounted for, however, on the clan connection, not on the affinity connection.

Again when people refer to a person's mother's sister's sons, they are apt to call them, not so-and-so's "brothers," but so-and-so's "uncles" (*amuiti*) or clansmen. For example, G'yi'mi, Kowău'sh'dyiwă, K'u'-na'sh<sup>u</sup>, and Dzirai'ity'i (Gen. I, 16, 18, 20, 22) were always referred to as the "uncles" of Juana (Gen. I, 13), although, strictly speaking, they were her maternal cousins and should have, therefore, been called her "brothers."<sup>1</sup>

From this case, as from others, indeed, it is apparent that the term *s'amuiti*, my boy, is intrinsically a clan term, used by the women of the clan for the males of the clan, irrespective of blood nearness. In accordance with this theory, the maternal great-uncle, female line, is called, not by a grandparent term, but by the clan term, *s'amuiti*, and analogously the paternal great-uncle, female line, is called "father" as are all male members of the father's clan.

## CLAN ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

### CLAN HEADS OR ELDERS

There is little doubt that formerly at Laguna, within the memory of the older people, each clan had senior members, men or women, but more commonly men, who were considered clan heads or elders, *hano nawai'* (*nawaai'*). The names of persons, living or deceased, who may still be referred to as clan *nawai'* are given in Table 9. The data as given by the three informants have been kept distinct the better to show the agreement or disagreement between informants.

If a man wants his clanspeople to help him in his fields, to help cut his wheat, for example, he makes cigarettes and takes them to his *hano nawai'*, his clan head or elder. The *hano nawai'* will smoke in all the directions (*kaiyawai'hots*, *kaiya*, all kinds), a rite which is a summons to the *shiwanna* to come and help, and he prays to the beings connected with his clan to help too—to the *na'wish* and *shonata* of the *k'atsina*, if he is of the Corn clan, to the bears if he is of the Bear clan, to frogs, fish and all water creatures, if he is of the Water clan, to turquoise and *tsàtyini*

<sup>1</sup>*Mæmæ*, the Tewa equivalent for *amuiti*, is applied to mother's sister's son, if senior to speaker, as well as to all senior clansmen (Freire-Marecco, 274).



(shell mixture used in offerings), if he is of the Turquoise clan. This is the closest approximation to the totemic idea, let me note, that I ever heard expressed in the Southwest<sup>1</sup>—a truly surprising expression. At Zuñi, totemic associations are always positively repudiated.<sup>2</sup>—Then the *hano nawai'* will summon his clansmen, giving each a cigarette<sup>3</sup> and telling him to come and work the following day.<sup>4</sup> After the work is finished, the *hano nawai'* will pray again to the beings of his clan. The rites thus engaged in by the *hano nawai'* may be referred to as *k'oach'aiyanit'iya*, they act like *cheani* (*ch'aiyani*), and the *hano nawai'* thus acting, will be referred to as *shuts cheani hano nawai'*.<sup>5</sup>

We should note in connection with this subject that if a man is a *chakwena* he may call on the members of that *k'atsina* group (see p. 223) for help in cutting wheat. He would apply to *We'd'yumã* or *Ts'iwairu* and they would call together the *chakwena* members, supplying cigarettes.<sup>5</sup>

According to Hiedyedye, a middle-aged man who grew up in Isleta, where his Laguna parents had migrated, the clan heads, four men to each clan, were chosen for life at meetings of the clan, by women as well as men, held on the eve of the summer solstice ceremonial which is due on June<sup>7</sup> 5<sup>8</sup>. These clan heads, beginning with the Sun clan on June

<sup>1</sup>Since this writing I have visited the Hopi and heard some of their clan migration legends in which the totemic idea is conspicuous. (See, too, Voth, (d), 17.)

<sup>2</sup>That they may be found, however, at least to the Laguna extent, in the rituals of the *ashiwanni* or rain priests, is not at all improbable. The *ashiwanni* are organized along clan lines, corresponding in a way to the clan *nawai'* of the Keresans, (see p. 227) and it is among the *ashiwanni* that any clan esotericism would be preserved. We know little or nothing of *shiwanni* prayers and songs. Until we know more of this subject it is premature to assert that "There is no belief . . . in spiritual connection with the animal or object that names the clan." (Kroeber, 48).

There are other facts, too, which make the assertion questionable. The Zuñi Bear clan are associated with the war god cult. Bear clansmen and women make the war god images and paraphernalia, including prayer-sticks, during the winter solstice ceremonials. As the war gods are associated with the bear, I can but interpret the facts as pointing to a "belief in spiritual connection with the animal . . . that names the clan." Similarly, according to Cushing, there is a connection between the Eagle and Coyote clans and the prey animal gods, i. e., Eagle and Coyote. At each full moon Eagle and Coyote clansmen plant prayer-sticks to the prey animal gods. Moreover the head of the Eagle clan is usually, if not always, the "Keeper of the Medicine of the Bear." (Cushing, (b), 19, 31). At the summer solstice Badger clansmen make prayer-sticks for *shulawitsi*, a firemaking *koko*. Fire "belongs to" the Badger clan.

<sup>3</sup>A rite of ceremonial request. At Zuñi, for example, if a kiva dance group invite the *ne'wekwe* to come out and "play," a cigarette will be given to their head, the *ne'mosi*. Ultimately he buries it with the prayer-sticks he makes for the occasion.

<sup>4</sup>In this clan farming system at Laguna and in the women's gardens at Zuñi, Dr. Lowie may find support for his suggestion that joint gardening or farming as well as joint house occupancy may be the source of the maternal clan or, to use his term, sib. (Lowie, (a), 38-9). The ceremonial identification of women with the maize cult which is so conspicuous in the Southwest may point in the same direction.

<sup>5</sup>See p. 216, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Similarly at Zuñi a man's kiva (or *shiwanni*) group may help him in field-work (or in house building). And there is coöperation by relatives in threshing wheat and in other agricultural work at Zuñi, but whether or not the clan in distinction to the kin is called upon is doubtful. I believe that only the family connection would be called upon. I have heard, however, of other cases of economic coöperation within the clan. It is customary for a household that is to entertain the *shalako* to invite clanspeople to come in and breathe on (*yechu*) the prayer-stick insignia (*telawe*). A woman of the Coyote clan married to a Crane clansman, told me of four instances where she and her husband had been invited to contribute services or supplies during the ceremonial year. One invitation was from a Coyote house, two from Crane houses, and one from a Badger house (the husband was child of the Badger). (Parsons, (b), 99-100).

<sup>7</sup>*Shawwutsshoutis' tauwach* (moon). This is the May moon. Cp. Parsons, (f), 112 n. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Hiedyedye held that this date was set in the old calendar the people went by given in a book owned by the Marmon family. This was a book brought up from Mexico by Kwime', a *kurena cheani*, and the father of Giwire, a *shikani-kurena cheani*, a Sun clansman, (House 92) and Mrs. W. G. Marmon (Parsons, (f), 87).

5, went successively into a rain retreat of four days when they made prayer-sticks for the Sun with the assistance of any clansman who volunteered. The clan heads had no altars and no corn fetishes (*iyatik'*<sup>u</sup>) proper; but they kept in a basket the completely kernelled ears of corn (*kotona* or *yaka* [corn] *kotona*) of which the *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup> is made. Arrow points would be tied to the *kotona* as to the *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup>, and the *kotona* would be set out on sacred meal. The clan heads would send out to notify clansmen to bring them all the *kotona*<sup>1</sup> found in their harvest.<sup>2</sup> The clan heads kept fetish animals (*shuhuna*), also terraced medicine-bowls (*waitichaini*). Clan heads assisted the *cheani* at the winter solstice ceremonial to cut prayer-sticks for the Sun and for property.

Although Hiedyedye was extremely positive about this ceremonial clan system, having heard about it, he said, from his own father, I failed in repeated endeavors with other informants to substantiate his account.<sup>3</sup> The concept of clan heads was quite familiar to other informants, but their ideas about the functions of these heads were indeterminate. *Nawai'*<sup>4</sup> means senior or rather qualified senior, for seniority is not indispensable; whereas knowledge of the duties of office is indispensable. A *hano nawai'* must be a man who *knows*. There is no doubt that in Pueblo Indian opinion it is knowledge, and for the most part ritual knowledge is meant, that is always the basis of leadership, not age, or birth, or wealth, secular wealth, but knowledge. That is why the *ashiwanni* of Zuñi are the dictators of town affairs and why even today at Laguna there is a tendency to theocratic control.

#### CLAN JUDICIARY

In case of dispute within the clan the controversy would be taken to the oldest member of the clan, not necessarily the clan *nawai'*,<sup>5</sup> for

<sup>1</sup>The ear of corn placed inside the cradleboard as a protector for a baby is, according to Hiedyedye, a *kotona* (as at Cochiti, Dumarest, 142), and, according to Hiedyedye also, the clans used *kotona* of different colors, the Sun clan using white corn; Lizard clan, blue; Chaparral Cock, dark blue; Corn, variegated; Eagle, red and white; Eagle of Zuñi, white sprinkled with black; Bear, black-purple; Bear of Hopi, small, black; Parrot, blue-white; Badger, yellow; Turkey, greyish. This statement was denied by Tsinadyuwi who also said that only an ordinary ear of corn, not a *kotona*, was left near the cradle.

<sup>2</sup>People always keep four large ears of corn unhusked until all their store of corn is used up. These four ears are called "their mothers" (*ganaiyashe*).

The branching ear of corn which is used as a child protector at Zuñi is not eaten at Laguna, but otherwise no fetish character attaches to *yakaachini*, corn sprouts, as it is called. It is fed to stock to promote fertility magically. In this connection I may note that Laguna sheep herders are supposed to sprinkle cornmeal and corn pollen early in the morning to the *kopishtaiya* that rain may fall for the sheep and for the health of the sheep. Zuñi herders do likewise. Besides they put meal in the center of the corral, asking the Old Ones (*atashinawe*) to guard the sheep at night, against wild beasts.

<sup>3</sup>According to an Acoma informant, the custom is not observed at Acoma, although the *hano nawai'* does cut prayer-sticks.

<sup>4</sup>The term is also applied to *cheani*; the ranking *cheani* of his group being called *cheani nawai'*. A *cheani* is called *honawait'* (See Stevenson, (a), *passim*) [? ho > hocheni, chief; *nawait'* > *nawai'*] when in the ceremonial he represents the bear, mountain lion, eagle.

<sup>5</sup>On this particular an Acoma informant differs. He is *osha'ch' hano nawai'*, Sun clan head, and he is not the oldest man in the clan. (He is about fifty). He is *hano nawai'* because he *knows*. Now disputes within the clan, he says, would be referred to him—disputes about land or stock.



settlement, and only if not settled by this procedure, to the governor or officers. The right to store hay in an unoccupied house was mentioned as a typical matter of dispute.

## CLAN GRINDING SONGS

One day I was conducted by the little daughter (Gen. II, 148) of Dzaid'yuwi' to the house of her kinswoman Hai'ty'imăi' (Gen. II, 169) to get permission to listen to the grinding songs a woman's party were singing in the adjacent grinding room. (House 70). Permission was refused<sup>1</sup> unless I paid a dollar to each of the eight women in the gathering, an impolitic procedure which I declined, but as I stood in the doorway I heard the conclusion of a song and noted the arrangement of the grinding stones—eight stones, four in a row, and the two rows of women knelt facing one another and facing in, one row facing the east, the other, the west. On another occasion the following grinding songs of the Water clan were sung to me privately:—

## 1

hamaidyia	koasaya	k'awaik' mŭkaityi	kotiko ktie'ku
Corn mother (?)	old name of Laguna	Laguna behold	nicely you going
iariko <sup>2</sup> chokoya			
iyatik' <sup>u</sup> sits down			

## 2

dyityiabŭrnă	itiakui	aidyuna	shiwana	wŭri
Northwest	they go	against the sky	storm clouds	start (?)
chakoyo aiyamata	chaairě	eme hama	chaairě	
wonderful things (?)	did it	long ago	did it	
a—a—a—a	e—e—e—e			
kochininaku	melinaku <sup>3</sup>	chakoyo		
Yellow woman				
wŭri wŭri	eme hama	chaairě		
about here and there	long ago	did it		
shkotikomish	wŭri wŭri	chakoyo		
sound nicely	about here and there			
emee	chaairě	hama		
	did it	long ago		

<sup>1</sup>Hai'ty'imăi, herself was not grinding, nor did she go with me to the grinding room or make any effort in my behalf. Nor, apart from sending her little daughter with me, did my own hostess, Dzaid'yuwi'. One must expect in Laguna to be treated as a tourist in spite of patient endeavor to differentiate oneself. And for a tourist nobody wants to be responsible.

<sup>2</sup>The Cochiti and Sia term for the corn ear fetish and the earth mother supernatural.

<sup>3</sup>*Melinaku* was referred to as the mother of Yellow Woman, Blue Woman, Red Woman, White Woman.



## 3

koa koanyiko	dya	iariko <sup>1</sup>
How will they make a living	with this	
heya towaya	shiwana	dyianyiko
with this	storm clouds	with this make a living
dyiale	iariko <sup>2</sup>	

Īy'as'ī', Bear clanswoman (Gen. III, 16, Houses 25, 34) knows the grinding songs of the Bear clan. She sang them to me in circumstances where I was not able to make records.—Each clan, everyone testified, has its own grinding songs.

Men will sing to the women's grinding, ceremonial grinding (see p. 223, n. 4), but the songs are not clan songs. These male singers are called *tsaiagaiyat'*. They beat a rope-tied wagon cover bundle.

## CLANSHIP AT CHEANI INITIATION

When a person considers becoming a *cheani*, all his clanspeople have to be consulted.<sup>3</sup> Messengers will be sent out even to clanspeople in outlying towns, to come to the house of the proposed initiate<sup>4</sup> and consult. It was a Bear clansman (and a *cheani*, although this fact was never mentioned between us) who made this statement and he mentioned as Bear clanspeople who in his supposititious case would be summoned Keasiro of Mesita and Īya's'ī' (Gen. III, 16) of Laguna, and Tsasji (Houses 4, 6), the last, perhaps all three, belonging merely to the clan.

## CLAN FUNCTIONS AT DEATH

Clans have their peculiar face painting at death, according to some informants, "to show who it is to our mother." According to several informants, the face is painted (*tsashwit'awo*, make new face for the dead) by a *cheani*, who sings as he paints, and according to one man the patterns are known only to the *cheani*. This informant was a *shuts*<sup>5</sup> *shiwanna*<sup>6</sup> *cheani*, and he gave me quite a list of the colors used in the different clans; but when it came to making pictures, after putting down the colors used in his own Corn clan (see Fig. 1), he balked and claimed that

<sup>1</sup>Tsaid'yuwī' interpreted imperfectly; but the use of the term *iariko* is interesting, also the reference to *melinaku*, and the general structure of the songs comes out. In the opening song there were no words whatsoever.

<sup>2</sup>The corresponding fetishes of the Zuñi, the *ettowe*, meaning, after Cushing (b, 44), the contained, are referred to as "what they live by." They are the *elleteliwe*, again after Cushing, the relics of the gods, given directly to mankind.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Stevenson, (a), 74.

<sup>4</sup>There is no consultation on a marriage as at Cochiti (Dumarest, 147), or among Cochiti's Tewa neighbors (Harrington, 474), or at Isleta.

<sup>5</sup>The word means raw, unripe, and, applied ceremonially, uninitiated, one who acts as helper, understudy, substitute, not in his own right, one who has not been through the retreat of four days.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 264.

the knowledge belonged to the *cheani* and should not be imparted. I incline to think that the color list he had previously given me was fictitious.

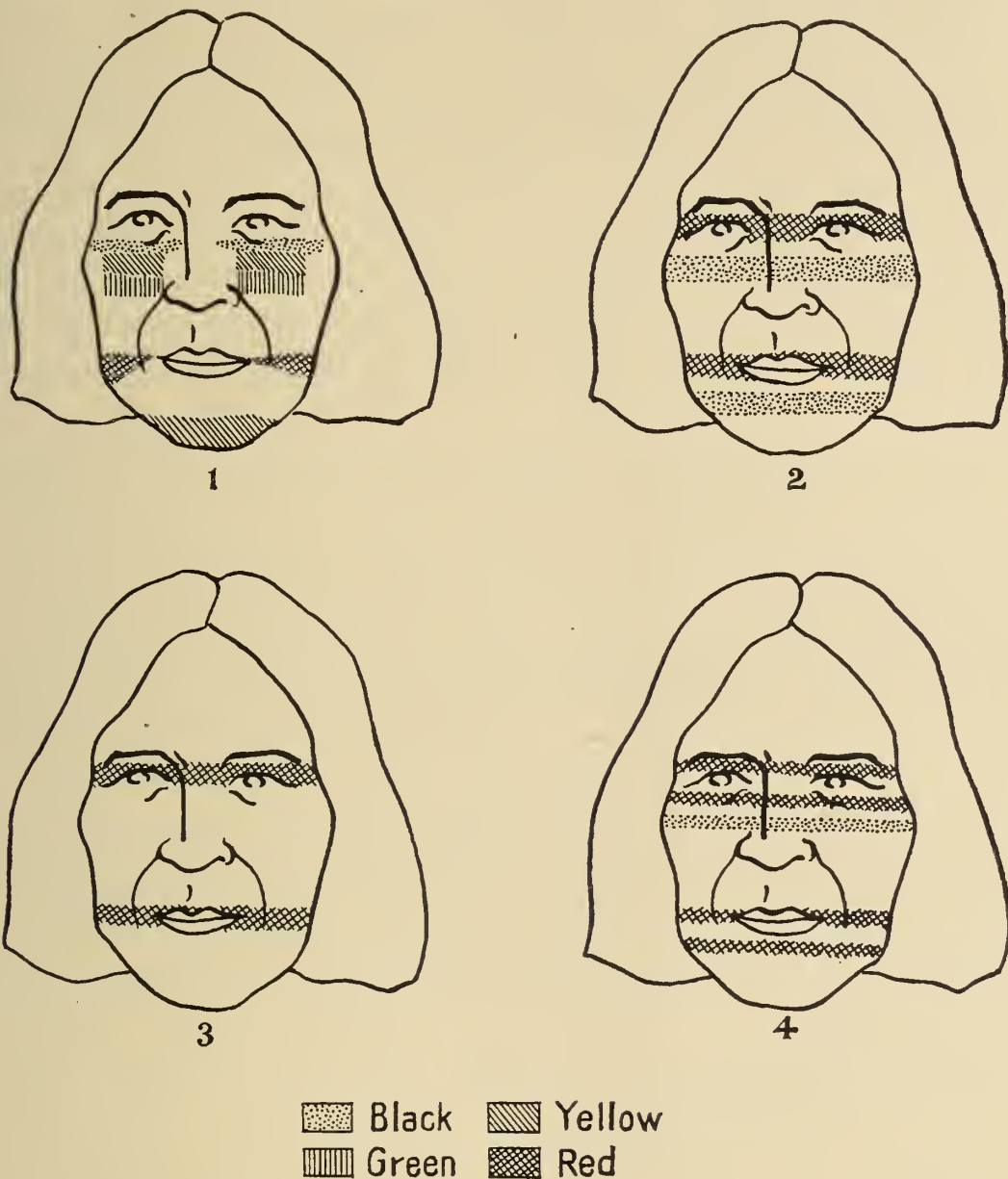


Fig. 1. Face Painting at Death of a Corn Clansman.

Fig. 2. Face Painting at Death of a *cheani*.

Fig. 3. Face Painting of a *k'atsina* Impersonator.

Fig. 4. Face Painting of a Hunter.

According to another informant, glib as usual in assigning foreign origins to clans, the Corn, Eagle, and Badger clans being from Zuñi, follow Zuñi practices at death—covering the face with corn pollen if available, otherwise with cornmeal, and the body with cornmeal. Tsaishdyiäi' of Powati (Gen. III, 98) whose mother is in fact an Eagle

clanswoman from Zuñi, told me that this was indeed the death practice in her family and that it was followed when her sister died in 1918.<sup>1</sup>

When Howa'k'a (Gen. II, 127), a Water clanswoman, died, her face was painted yellow above the nose, green (blue) below. In this same case, cotton [commercial] was put on top of the head, and on the cotton black and white eagle (?) feathers. A cross of wood painted yellow, the butts black, and tied with green (blue) yarn was laid on the corpse.

The face painting was done by Dzai'ity'i (Gen. II, 19; p. 269) a Water clanswoman and a kinswoman, too, of the deceased; likewise a *shiwanna cheani*. So that the instance throws little or no light on the question whether clanspeople or *cheani*, in this particular, prepare the corpse.

The face of every *cheani*<sup>2</sup> after death, irrespective of clan, is painted as in Fig. 2, a red streak (*yakacha*) across the eyelids and across the lips, a black streak of micaceous hematite (*chamuně*, *shamona*)<sup>3</sup> below. Of possible interest in this connection are the facial paintings of the *k'atsina* impersonator and of the hunter—two red streaks on the *k'atsina* impersonator's face, across eyelids and lips (Fig. 3) and similar streaks on the face of the hunter with the red streaks doubled and an additional black streak across the bridge of the nose. (Fig. 4) Black and red belong to the war gods, *maasewi*<sup>4</sup> and *uyuyě*, and the pigmentation precludes scare and scare-sickness. Presumably the hunter pigmentation also precludes scare, since "sickness comes from wild animals scaring you in the hills."

While the corpse of Howa'k'a was being sprinkled with water,<sup>5</sup> Dzai'ity'i sang:—

Shiwanna dyig'a hotaatsi he. . . e he . . . e.

You will be with the storm clouds.<sup>6</sup>

This was one of the four songs which the deceased had to have to meet her Mother, *naiya iyatik'u*. These songs were said to be Water clan songs (*tsito hano gaiushe shtraiyushi*). However, the near kinswoman of the dead girl did not know the songs, only her remote kinswoman, Dzai'ity'i, who was a *cheani*. According to Dzai'ity'i herself, any

<sup>1</sup>Unfortunately, I did not ascertain if there was any singing at the funeral. See below. Funeral singing is not a Zuñi practice, and there are no Zuñi clan songs.

<sup>2</sup>But see below.

<sup>3</sup>Cp. Stevenon, (a), 98.

<sup>4</sup>At his death, Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani*, was said to have been painted like *maasewi*—two red lines across the nose, two red lines across the lips and four lines on each cheek.

<sup>5</sup>Water is sprinkled also at Zuñi—on the face. At the death in 1914 of Tsatiselu, Badger clansman, after he had been washed by his father's kinswoman his face was sprinkled by Yususi, an old Badger clanswoman, not kinswoman. (Then all the household sprinkled meal on his face.)

<sup>6</sup>This is an extremely interesting reference to the concept of the dead as rain makers, a concept prominent and definite at Zuñi, but uncertain at Laguna. (Cp. Dumarest, 174). Nor are the *k'atsina* associated with the dead at Laguna.



of the Water clan songs would be sung at the death of a clan member, there are no special death songs. Again we are left in the dark as to whether the funeral singing is a *cheani* or kin function. From the observance at Gawiretsa's death (see p. 196) however, we may infer that it is a function of kindred.

The coöperation of the father's clanswoman is expected at death, although just what they are expected to do is obscure. (Besides the washing, dressing, painting and sprinkling of the corpse there is much to do in the way of exorcism. All the property of the deceased must be washed and then fumigated in cedar wood smoke.)<sup>1</sup> After the death of Gawiretsa (House 92), child of Eagle, Kuyu'd'yuwe, Eagle (Gen. I, 68), came in to help in washing the corpse. Kuyu'd'yuwe was not a blood relation.<sup>2</sup> I have already related how when Juana (Gen. I, 13) died, Dzaid'yuwi' (Gen. II, 122) was sent for as the clanswoman of Juana's father, Dzaid'yuwi', eldest daughter, taking the place of her mother, too blind to be of service.

Juana's grave was dug<sup>3</sup> and she was carried to it by her mother's sister's sons, (Gen. I, 16, 18, 20, 22). An Acoma informant stated that if there were no near relatives clanspeople were expected to "help" at the burial.

#### CLAN STICK-RACES

Stick-races which were run until very recently at Laguna, on Sundays, are said to have been formerly run by clan. As at Zuñi and among the Hopi, clan symbols were painted on the back of the runner. A Bear clansman stated that his clan painted in black; but he did not know the symbol. The kick-stick was "painted" according to clan. According to one informant, each clan had its own building or *k'a'ch* where the racers dressed.

#### CLANSHIP IN THE K'ATSINA CULT

Clanship figures in the *k'atsina* cult. A few of the masked impersonations "belong to" certain clans, and *k'atsina* management in general is a function of the Antelope and Badger clans. Antelope and Badger clans are said "to make *iani* (i. e. the road) for the *k'atsina*." The term

<sup>1</sup>See p. 269. Parsons, (b), 129. There is death fumigation at Zuñi (Parsons, (p), 254). Similarly among the Tewa of Hano, gum and cedar are burned and face, hands, and feet are fumigated—to stop thinking or dreaming of the deceased.

<sup>2</sup>She and Gawiretsa were *comadres*. When one of the girls in Koyu'd'yuwe's household was upset from a wagon into the river and badly frightened, Giwire, Gawiretsa's brother, was called in to cure her. See Parsons, (f), 121.

<sup>3</sup>After a burial the gravediggers take a purge of cedar and vomit; as do the household on the fourth day after the death.

may be used figuratively; but there are concrete expressions. For example, Antelope and Badger clans i.e., individuals in office, will smoke before the *k'atsina* go out to see what the weather will be. If their smoke rises slowly and heavily, there will be rain, if fast, wind. (The war captains also smoke for omens. If the *k'atsina* are already out and winds arise, a war captain may recall the *k'atsina*, and with medicine in his mouth he will go out to the hills and spit out the medicine. This will hush the winds.) I infer that it is, too, the officiating Antelope or Badger man who sprinkles meal on the ground for the *k'atsina* i.e., makes the road for them in the dance.

Badger clan, i.e., its representative, exercises a right of trusteeship over the body pigments of white and red used by *k'atsina* impersonators. The impersonator will stand before the Badger clansman who will apply a dab of white above the right knee and a dab of red on the right side of the trunk. From those dabs the impersonator will proceed to color his legs white and his trunk red, singing as he paints.

Formerly, associated with the Antelope and Badger clans, were other clans, the Wheat clan and, according to some informants, the Deer Clan, according to others, the Squash Clan. As there are no Squash, Deer, or Wheat clanspeople today in Laguna, and but one Antelope clansman qualified for leadership (Ts'iwairo or Rairu who lives at Paraje), leadership is vested in We'd'yumă (Gen. I, 56). The *k'atsina* are "his children."<sup>1</sup> He is their "father", he takes care of them (*kwatseishe k'atsina dyupi hano*). In the line of *k'atsina* he walks towards the head, after the war captain<sup>2</sup>. In his house (House 33) are kept the set of *gumeyoish* masks and the *ts'itsinuts* masks. It is We'd'yumă's sister's daughter (Gen. I, 76) who does the housework for the *k'atsina* dancers. She is referred to as *dyup naiye'ts'a* or Badger matron, as before marriage she was referred to as Badger maiden (*dyup makürts'a*). She took the place of Tsa'ts'i<sup>3</sup> (Gen. I, 78), her mother's sister's daughter. Tsa'ts'i was also called Badger matron.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Voth, (c), 93, 105.

<sup>2</sup>And before the *shiwanna cheani* who is also associated with the *k'atsina* [Parsons, (f), 103 n. 5]. In the *shiwanna cheani* may be seen, I surmise, influence from the Zuñi *ashiwanni*, rain society members, associated likewise with the *kachina*. In the other Keresan towns there is no *shiwanna cheani*. The *shiwanna cheani* have had no house of their own, a fact in support of the theory of acculturation from Zuñi.

<sup>3</sup>This woman was a "stolen child." She had a reputation for dishonesty and witchcraft, a reputation which attaches to her descendants. The household was poor and they always seemed to have plenty of food; they were supposed to steal corn at night. Besides, Tsa'ts'i was quarrelsome and reckless in what she said of others. Tsa'ts'i's reputation for witchcraft was enough to make my old lady informant warn her own daughter never to let Tsa'ts'i hold the baby. But reputation did not preclude Tsa'ts'i from having, by virtue of her position as senior woman in the Badger clan, a distinctive position in the *k'atsina* cult.—Such evidence of indifference to personal repute in ceremonial position is characteristic of Pueblo Indian society. Tsa'ts'i's fate was characteristic, too, of the lack of immunity ceremonial position brings. Tsa'ts'i is said to have been shot as a witch by the war captain. The specific charge was brought by a man from Powati who one day in 1906 entered Tsa'ts'i's house (House 24) from the rear to see hanging over a beam in the dark rear room a wolfskin, the paws arranged as moccasins with tie



Mask guardianship has fallen to the Badger clan i.e., to We'd'yumă, who is commonly referred to as Badger clan (*dyup hano*)<sup>1</sup> as if he were the whole clan as a result of ceremonial disintegration<sup>2</sup>—a result of the extinction of the *shahaiye* and Flint *cheani*. Formerly the *gumeyoish hocheni* (chief) belonged to the *shahaiye cheani*,<sup>3</sup> and formerly impersonators were from the Parrot clan. New *gumeyoish* masks<sup>4</sup> are made by the Parrot clan.<sup>5</sup> Formerly the *ts'itsinuts* masks were kept in House 26, a Parrot clan house. Tsashume, a man out of this house, habitually impersonates *ts'itsinuts*. In "making new *k'atsina*" i.e., in initiations<sup>6</sup> the *ts'itsinuts* mask was worn by the Flint *cheani*.<sup>7</sup> In *k'atsina* initiations two *gumeyoish* came first and then *ts'itsinuts*. Today *gumeyoish* appear "four" days in advance of the *k'atsina* to announce them. This is also Hopi practice.

Formerly, according to one informant, *k'atsina* masks were made by the Giant (*shkuyu*) *cheani*;<sup>8</sup> nowadays, the right to make masks vests in the Badger and Antelope clans, but who actually makes the masks I do not know. Masks, as at Zuñi, are either group or personal property. A personal mask is inherited by the owner's son. If there is no qualified, i.e., initiated, son to inherit, the mask is buried in the river. When a man wants a personal mask, he applies to the *k'atsina hocheni*, and he is called upon to supply a feast to all members of the *k'atsina*

strings in front. The visitor was frightened, he went out and reentered by the front door, proceeding, after his visit, to report to the war captains. My informant got the story from the wife of the accuser—after Tsa'tsi'i's death, of course. "Until a witch is dead you must never talk about him for he will bewitch you." It may not be irrelevant to note that my informant had a ceremonial, if not a personal, grievance against the Badger people, encroachers through the *k'atsina* upon the privileges of the *shikani cheani* (Parsons, (f), 208, n. 1). Besides both Tsa'tsi'i and her husband, the one of Zuñi, the other of Acoma, descent, may have been thought of as foreigners; but this is mere surmise.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Kroeber, 133-4.

<sup>1</sup>Also as *dyup hashtji*, Badger old man.

<sup>2</sup>And, according to one informant, of the extinction of the Wheat clan, formerly guardians of the *gumeyoish* masks.

<sup>3</sup>This connection is suggested also by the fact that the *gumeyoish*, like the *cheani*, are possessed of a specific medicine, *gumeyoish wawa*.

<sup>4</sup>Worn-out masks are put into the river "because the *gumeyoish* live under water."

<sup>5</sup>See p. 278 to learn how in 1920 the *gumeyoish* and *ts'itsinuts* masks came to be removed to a Parrot house.

<sup>6</sup>At other times, others wore the four *ts'itsinuts* masks. The habitual impersonators were (i. e., just happened to be, I think,) Badger, Bear, Corn, Turkey, and in that order they would stand. All these men are dead.

<sup>7</sup>The snake on the kilt of *ts'itsinuts*, the whipper *k'atsina* to be equated with the *saylia* of Zuñi, represents lightning, and lightning was associated with the Flint *cheani*. One of his prayer-sticks was a lightning stick.

<sup>8</sup>I have been told that the giants came from Mexico. On the other hand, there is an origin tale of the Giant *cheani* which points to native origin. The daughter of the chief (*hocheni*) spent the night with a witch who put medicine on her to turn her into a giantess. Then the *hainaiya cheani* made a ball of corn pollen and put it into a bowl and covered it with buckskin. After a while the ball of pollen became a *wapaasht* (a big fly) and began to buzz. The fly flew out and asked them: "What do you want me for?" "We want to know if she is really a giantess or if she is bewitched?" The fly went out and flew under her clothes and learned that she was not really a giantess. The *cheani* were inside three days, on the fourth night they were to have the ceremonial. Then the head *cheani* went out and caught the giantess. He took a flint knife and running from the north he slashed at the clothes of the giantess. Then he slashed at the clothes, running from the west, then from the south, then from the east. Then the clothes fell off like a skin, and sitting there was Yellow Woman (*kochinninaku*). Yellow Woman said to them, "Since you have saved my life, change your name to Giant *cheani*."



organization.<sup>1</sup> Group masks are or were in the trusteeship of *cheani* or of *k'atsina* officials. The mask of *shonata* appears to be thought of as clan property and was associated with the stock house of the Corn clan.

We'd'yumă is very old, and blind, and Ts'iwairo is being urged, several tell me, to take his place. There is no adult Badger male. At any rate there seems to be an opinion that the Antelope clan had an original precedence over the Badger clan in the *k'atsina* cult. Before We'd'yumă became head, leadership was vested in Dyaiyu of the Antelope clan.<sup>2</sup>

Since *k'atsina* dances<sup>3</sup> are given not alone at Laguna, but in the outlying settlements,<sup>4</sup> it is important or, at any rate, convenient, to have local leaders. Now, as no Badger or Antelope clansmen are to be had, other clansmen, as already noted, are "made Antelope clan." At Mesita, Guwai', Parrot clansman, was "made Antelope clan" and, since his death, Keasiro, Bear clansman, one of the two *kashare cheani* of Mesita.

One of the *nawish* impersonations is mentioned as belonging to the Antelope clan, i.e., the impersonator has to be from the Antelope clan. The mask of this *kürts hano nawish*<sup>5</sup> is parti-colored, yellow and blue, and spotted like corn. The *nawish*<sup>6</sup> figure in the *yakahano* or corn dance. Formerly there was a mask called *tsaaidyiutsēshe* (leader?) *k'atsina* who had strings of corn around his body and who belonged to the Corn clan.

The *chonata* impersonation belongs to the Corn clan. The same Corn clansman would always impersonate. Were he absent or sick, another Corn clansman would volunteer. *Shonata*'s mask and body are black, spotted white. He wears a kilt of buckskin, a cowhide belt, parrot feathers in his hair, and goes barefoot. He carries a firedrill.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>At Zuñi the applicant is also whipped, by the Badger clan members of his *kiva*, a pretty conclusive indication of the association at Zuñi between the Badger clan and the mask supernaturals.

<sup>2</sup>Badger is the animal associated with the south at Zuñi and among the Keresans. Antelope, I note, is also, after Cushing, associated with the south. (Cushing, (b), 22, 23, 24).

<sup>3</sup>The solstice ceremonials are also repeated—at Powati and Mesita at intervals of four days. See p. 275.

<sup>4</sup>The Mesita solstice ceremonial of June 18, 1919, was attended by Tsasji (House 4), the *k'atsina hocheni*, and his wife, I was told, but by nobody else from Laguna.

<sup>5</sup>This is Zuñi practice too; but the *koko* dances in the Zuñi colonies are, as might be expected from the comparatively greater importance of the mother town, more infrequent than in the Laguna colonies.

<sup>6</sup>According to another informant there are two *kürts hano nawish* who are leaders (*tsaiyatshur-sayanishe*) of all the *nawish*. They do not belong to the Antelope clan; they were merely chosen by all the *k'atsina* as leaders.

<sup>7</sup>*Nawish* figure in the *shturuka* myth, and the *shturuka* dance or ceremony is associated by some with the Corn clan, as is the identical ceremony, the *ky'anakwe*, at Zuñi. The fact that a man in Mesita was reviving the *shturuka* when there was nobody left who had a right to it, created considerable excitement in Laguna in 1918. Unfortunately, I did not get the name of the revivalist at the time. I have since wondered if it could have been Käiyäid'yai' of Mesita. (See p. 255.) It is plain, however, that the *shturuka* was thought of as a clan ceremony or rather as a ceremony belonging to a particular family connection within the clan, just like some of the Hopi ceremonies.

<sup>8</sup>He is to be equated with *shulawitsi* of Zuñi. There is at Laguna another spotted mask, *shuraidja* (*shoradja*), perhaps as the name suggests, a direct imitation of the Zuñi mask. In the *yakahano* dance *shuraidja* comes first followed by *shonata*, both figures are accounted *shonata* . . . *Shōnata*, in Hopi, means the dots in the squares of the corn symbol, "the living germ in the heart of the kernel". (Fewkes and Stephen, 240, n. 2).

*Shonata*'s mask was said to be like that pictured in Stevenson, (a), Pl. XXXI, A.

At corn (harvest) time, *shonata* comes first in the dance line. Formerly, given a midsummer drought, *shonata* would be summoned out by the Antelope and Badger clans, i.e., leaders, to perform a bonfire lighting ceremonial. He would set fire to twelve piles of wood laid at intervals south of the town, and he would run fast from pile to pile, running from southwest to southeast. The fire for *shonata*'s brand would be kindled with a drill kept or once kept in House 120. It is or was there that *shonata*'s mask is or was kept and fed. Possibly, since the people of House 120 have become progressive (see p. 247), drill and mask have been moved to the house (House 97) of Tsita who appears to be thought of as a Corn clansman of distinction, although of a junior branch of the Corn clan family coming out of House 120. Tsita is in charge of the choir of Corn clansmen and others who sing for the *yakahano* dance, and ceremonial<sup>1</sup> performances of this dance are held in his house if not in the house of a war captain. House 95 which formerly belonged to Tsita was called *chupakwi* (*chupak*<sup>1</sup>, *chupakũ*),<sup>2</sup> and in it *k'atsina* and *cheani* dances were once held. It is said that only the Corn clan has dance songs.

Impersonation of a few *k'atsina*, comparatively very few, is vested in certain clans, as at Zuñi, and leadership of the *k'atsina* is vested in the Badger and, theoretically or potentially, in the Antelope clan;<sup>3</sup> but, again as at Zuñi, there is also *k'atsina* organization in which clanship does not figure. There are, we should note, three<sup>4</sup> *k'atsina* organizations or sub-groups in Laguna today, each with its own head or chief, its *hochen*i—(1) *chakwena* (to which *maasewi* belongs or rather which belong to *maasewi* and which is more or less identified as a war cult group<sup>5</sup>); (2) *waiyush* (duck) or *chupakwe* (esoteric term, i.e., the Zuñi kiva which presents this dance at Zuñi); (3) *gwapeuts*<sup>6</sup> or *haimatatsime* (esoteric term), they also dance *hemish*<sup>6</sup> with female impersonations

<sup>1</sup>*Yakahano* is secularized, i.e., it is danced without masks, in any house, large enough, at any season. For example, it was danced June 18, 1919 in House 90, and again on June 24 in House 4. As a ceremonial, it is danced only in the autumn, when anyone may request a performance.

<sup>2</sup>*Chupa* is the name of the Zuñi kiva that is associated with the Corn clan.

<sup>3</sup>The *komosona* (*k'atsina hochen*i) of Zuñi, the head of the kiva organization, must belong to the Antelope clan; and the next in position, the *kopekwin*, to the Badger clan. To what extent the Laguna *k'atsina* organization is modeled on the Zuñi system or imported from Zuñi is an interesting question. Some will tell you at Laguna that "the people of Zuñi found the *k'atsina*" or that "Laguna people learned about the *k'atsina* from Zuñi people."

The Badger clan is associated by the Hopi with the *kachina*. (Voth, (c), 119 ft.).

<sup>4</sup>Exclusive of these three is a special group of which Uwaitiyina, the father of Gen. III, 37 is head—the *kohashtoch*'. Their dance opens the fall hunting season. It is the *ololowishkya* of Zuñi with *ololowishkya* dropped out. (Parsons, (g), 195-9). In the ceremony there are thirty or more *kohashtoch*' whosing grinding songs (*k'atsina k'aiakaiatyia*, cp. p. 216) as men would sing for women to grind in the *hochenits'a*. And there are two *payatyamu*, flutists wearing a mask like that of *kuchinninaku* (Yellow woman, the *k'atsina* girl), two *nawish* to carry the grindstones and the buckskins to set them on, and four *kuchinninaku*, two to grind, two to dance, the two sets alternating. The dancing girls give two balls of *hati* mixed with water (*hoshumeni*) to each onlooker.

<sup>5</sup>For example, it is said that *shuts maasewi cheani* help the *chakwena*, although just who are meant is obscure.

<sup>6</sup>According to one informant, *hemish* used to belong to *haimatatsime*; but nowadays the *shuts k'atsina cheani* may help. The meaning of this term is still obscure, although I incline to think it is applied to anyone who has been initiated as a *k'atsina*.



(*kuchinnaku*), and *kaiyaa'*. The *chakwena* group has a kind of priority from the fact that if a man has been initiated into the *chakwena* group he may dance with the other groups without special initiation, but initiation into one of the other groups does not entitle him to dance with the *chakwena* group. Over all these groups there is one head, the *k'atsina hocheni*,<sup>1</sup> and each group has its own head.<sup>2</sup> Now, in these offices or organizations, clanship, I believe, does not intrude, just as at Zuñi, into the corresponding kiva groups it does not intrude.

Besides general statements to this effect I have in evidence a list of the *chakwena hocheni* within the memory of an elderly informant. K'ausiro, Eagle (Gen. I, 55) of Zuñi, the father of We'd'yumă, Badger (Gen. I, 56), and of Ka'yo', was the first *chakwena hocheni* my informant could cite. K'ausiro's successors were: Shawityi, Parrot; Tsaikyo, Turkey; Tsa'sdya, Sun (Gen. III, 69); Yuk'aidyo, Badger (Gen. I, 58, Ka'yo')<sup>3</sup> and the brother of We'd'yumă; and the present incumbent, K'awimaisewa, Chaparral Cock. K'awimaisewa's assistant, chosen by himself, is Hiai'ai (Gen. III, 39), son of Gen. III, 69, and in due course Hiai'ai will succeed K'awimaisewa, just as, presumedly, Sha'shk<sup>a</sup>, (Gen. III, 117), Hiai'ai's son-in-law who cuts prayersticks for Hiai'ai when he is away, will succeed.<sup>4</sup> It appears that the office holding pattern here is head and assistant who succeeds,<sup>5</sup> a pattern familiar at Sia and Cochiti, no doubt a characteristically Keresan if not Pueblo Indian establishment.

That the father and brother of We'd'yumă should have held the office, and that now the son-in-law of Hiai'ai should be in training for it, Hiai'ai himself the son of a former incumbent, indicate that a man is likely, as we should expect, to choose his assistant from his household. It is a fact analogous to the distribution of society membership at Zuñi based on household or family associations.<sup>6</sup> Developed further among the Hopi this distribution results in a partial identification of clan and society.

<sup>1</sup>Tsasji, Bear, holds the office at Laguna (see p. 275); Uwaityima, Oak, at Powati, K'awimaisewa Chaparral Cock, at Encinal.

<sup>2</sup>But the same man may head more than one group. Tsasji is not only *k'atsina hocheni*, but *hemish* (i. e., *gwapeuts'*) *hocheni*. (He also belongs to the *chakwena*). K'awimaisewa is both *k'atsina hocheni* at Encinal and, at large, *chakwena hocheni*.

<sup>3</sup>Ka'yo's son, Yu'si (Gen. I, 8), is a *chakwena*.

<sup>4</sup>Here I may append a list of the twenty *chakwena* members: At Encinal, K'awimaisewa, (House 115); at Laguna, Hiai'ai (Houses 38, 103; Gen. III, 39), Tsasji (House 4), Dyaiwi (Dyai'yuwe) (House 47; Gen. II, 43), Tsiwaimai (House 51), Wik'ai (House 123), Auudyai (?Gen. III, 250; House 108), Tsiwishpirė (Gen. I, 79, Gen. III, 243; House 22), Gaishdyia (House 19); at Tsiama, Tsiwaisia, Tsairi, Matoyė; at Paraje, Wakori, Yaimi, Wiridye, Waita'; at Powati, Tsiw'iyai (Gen. III, 30), Mūnish, Dyawaisiro (Houses 9, 12), Hishdyia.

Of these men eight had served as war captains—K'awimaisewa, Hiai'ai, Tsasji, Wi'kai, Tsairi, Wakori, Yaimi, Tsiw'iyai.

<sup>5</sup>The second in office is called *wikoli*, as is second in office among *cheani*. According to one informant there used to be four officers in the *chakwena* organization, but two died and their places were not filled.

<sup>6</sup>Parsons, (i), 329.



## SALT-GATHERING AND THE PARROT CLAN.

Salt Place (the Zuñi Salt Lake) belongs to the Parrot clan. This proprietorship is explained in a tale<sup>1</sup> about the wanderings of Salt Woman and the War Gods. These supernaturals were once entertained hospitably by a family of the Parrot clan when all the other households denied them. As a punishment the children of that place were turned to birds and the adults to stone. Only the Parrot people were spared. This affair happened while *Dzi'd'sho'ts'a*, Salt Woman, was looking for a place to settle. She had thought of settling at Casa Blanca, but, said she, "My body would spoil. There are too many people. They would make dirt upon it." And so she moved on south. On her way she met some Zuñi people who were also Parrot people. These people carried prayer-sticks and beads and birds' down. The tale concludes with Salt Woman giving "her house" to the Zuñi Parrot people.

However, Laguna informants state that neither the Hopi nor the people of Zuñi knew how to get out the salt until Laguna people showed them how, showed them the proper observances.<sup>2</sup> The collector has to offer his prayer-sticks and pray. Before putting the sticks and cigarettes and shell-meal down in the water he must rub on some salt. He has taken off his clothes and stands in the water. He feels for the salt with his feet and treads it out, carrying it in his hands, using neither pick nor shovel. And he must be careful to make "no dirt" round about.

The salt collector may get omens at Salt Place. If you are going to have good harvests of wheat, watermelon, etc., or if you are going to kill deer, you will see in the water wheat, watermelon,<sup>3</sup> deer. If you are going to die, you will see yourself lying dead. Medicine water is brought back from Salt Place.

There also are the houses of *gumeyoish*,<sup>4</sup> of *ts'i'dzanüts* (*ts'itsinuts*), of the *shturuka*, and of *maasewi*.

The journey to Salt Place is or was made in September. It was made in company with Acoma collectors, a rare instance of inter-pueblo co-operation. Parrot men went in the lead, and during the expedition Parrot people at home were praying in their house. On the return journey, one day before arrival, the war captain accompanying the ex-

<sup>1</sup>Collected by Dr. Boas.

<sup>2</sup>An amusing tribal conceit. The Hopi visit the Grand Canyon also to collect salt. Here they offer prayer-sticks to Salt Woman and the war god. (Fewkes, (c), 352-3).

<sup>3</sup>Similarly at *kotuwela* lake, west of Zuñi, where the dead go, there are to be seen omens (*teluuna*) of good crops, i. e., growing wheat and corn. Also the tracks of the lately deceased.

<sup>4</sup>The association of the *gumeyoish* with the Parrot clan (see p. 221) may be thus explained. At Zuñi, their homologues, the *koyemshi*, live not at Salt Lake, but at a lake farther to the west, as do the *saiyalia*, the homologues of *ts'i'dzanüts*. Whereas the *ky'anakwe* (*shturuka*) and the war gods do live at Salt Lake or in that direction. My Laguna informant may have just been confusing the two lakes.

pedition would send on a messenger to go to the house of the Parrot people and get from them two donkeys. All the Parrot clanswomen together with the *kurena cheani* came out to meet the returning expedition. They all sang for the Salt Woman. The Salt Woman of the Parrot clan [Senior Parrot clanswoman representing Salt Woman ?] carried salt on her back. The salt was subsequently distributed by the women. "Our aunts (father's sisters) carry salt and corn on their backs to our houses. Then we [the collectors] go to our aunt's house where our heads and bodies are washed. They give us balls of clay and of corn. They blow on us."

If an individual wants to go salt collecting on his own account, he will go to the Parrot clansman salt manager (*minatyika*, salt, *koatseshè*, manager, *shawiti*, parrot, *hano*, people, clan) to ask him to make prayer-sticks for him. If your salt gives out, you may go and ask the Parrot clan mother to give you some. (Inferably the same woman who was referred to as Salt Woman of the Parrot clan).

K'ai'sh'dōwă' (Gen. II, 14) was in his day Parrot clan Salt Manager. Until his death<sup>1</sup> in 1918 K'awimaisewa, of the Parrot clan was Salt Manager. It is said that the son of K'awimaisewa is to succeed him.

#### ZUÑI CLAN HEADS AND FETISHES

From the foregoing data it appears that ceremonial, juridical, and economic functions attach to the Keresan clan. Our account of salt-collecting illustrates in particular how knit together these functions are. In the Southwest, ceremonialism is ever a system of economic instrumentalism, and attempts to differentiate nicely between the ceremonial and the economic are apt to be merely attempts to read distinctions of our own culture into that of the Pueblo Indians. "Zuñi Kin and Clan" is open to this criticism, and, in supporting his thesis that the clan was a ceremonial and not an economic unit, Dr. Kroeber not only over-emphasized a somewhat misleading distinction, but he failed to probe into the meaning of certain facts of the ceremonial organization. I refer in particular to his discussion of clan heads,<sup>2</sup> and his explanation of the fact that certain households were accounted as "name having" merely because of the Zuñi tendency to avoid personal names.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In driving a wagon across the railroad tracks he was run over by the train. They tell you that for two or three months afterwards, at night, people heard horses galloping at that place, coming to a standstill, and some one getting out of the wagon and crying.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 133-4.

<sup>3</sup>I have been told definitely at Zuñi that the "name having" houses were the houses occupied when the people first came up i.e., they are the oldest houses or rather families, since after people remove from their old house they are still "name having".



As Dr. Kroeber is himself careful to note, these distinctive households or clan-named houses are, in five instances, the same houses in which are kept the respective clan fetishes or *ettowe*. For two of the clan-named houses facts are lacking bearing on the identification; the other six houses do not correspond to the houses of the respective clan fetishes. Unfortunately, except in one case, the matter of this non-correspondence was not followed up to see if the clan fetishes involved had been subject to removal<sup>1</sup> at some time, or if persons in the clan-named houses had "come out of" or were connected with the fetish-holding houses. In the one exception of the Bear clan it seems that the fetish guardians came out of the same house that the clan-named people came out of. There are some significant facts in connection with House 369 of the Coyote "name having" people and House 373, formerly a Coyote house. It is stated<sup>2</sup> that after the rest of the household moved out of House 373 one old woman remained behind, remained obviously enough, to care for the Coyote clan fetish which was in her house.<sup>3</sup> At her death, her house was sold and, for some obscure reason, no doubt of family connection, the fetish was moved to a Sun house instead of to the house next door, House 373, with whose inmates, I have no doubt, the old woman was connected. The clan fetish was removed, but the old house connection is still remembered and the people of House 373 are still referred to as Coyote "name having". Again it is significant that in the case of the Chaparral Cock clan whose fetish had been buried i.e., definitely disposed of, no clan-named house was mentioned.

Now the clan-named people of Zuñi are to be equated, I believe, with the Laguna clan elders, while the Zuñi houses containing clan fetishes may be compared, if not equated, with the Laguna houses containing *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>. Part of the feeling about the *ettone*—*iyatik*<sup>u</sup> type of fetish is extreme reluctance to disturb it, to remove it;<sup>4</sup> so that as long as there is a woman who can be trusted to safeguard the fetish properly in its house i.e., to feed it and to preclude intrusion, the fetish will be left in the house it is associated with. On the other hand, men rather than women are supposed to know the songs and prayers associated with the fetish. Now men marry out from the house. It comes about, therefore, that the men who know the fetish ritual may be only indirectly associated with the house of the fetish. At times, as in several cases of *shiwanni* organization at Zuñi, the association between the fetish house

<sup>1</sup>For example, there are now two fetishes in the Badger house 387; one is as listed no. 3, the other, suspect, may have been removed from House 247.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 107.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Dumarest, 189.



and the fetish priest is quite indirect—if the women of the house have no brothers or sons to qualify, the son of a brother or even a more distant relative will have to be chosen. I believe that this twofold theory of house custody and priestcraft will suffice, as it comes to be followed up in individual cases, to explain the ambiguous and baffling facts of clan *ashiwanni* and clan *nawai'* at Zuñi and at Laguna.

As for the paramount Zuñi *ashiwanni*, the *ashiwanni* sets of the six directions, that hierarchic organization was an outcome of the house fetish complex of the clan and the weather control and curing organization of the society or fraternity; but how the development came about, or how the weather control and curing functions of the society of the Keresan type became differentiated at Zuñi<sup>1</sup> are subjects that must be considered elsewhere.

#### DUAL DIVISION

At Laguna as elsewhere among the Pueblo Indians, there has been a tendency towards dual division in the ceremonial life. The moieties among the Isletans are known as the Black Eyes and the Red Eyes; among the eastern Keresans they are known as the Squash people and the Turquoise; among the Tewa, as the Winter people and the Summer people; and among the Hopi and at Zuñi the ceremonial moieties also exist, although in the exuberance of the ceremonial life they have been more or less overlooked by observers. In a footnote to a Hopi *powamu* song Voth writes:

From January, when the Flute priests make *bahos* especially to the sun, until the summer solstice, when they do so again, it is their business to see that the sun receives his proper prayer offerings; while from the summer to the winter solstice the sun is under the "care" of the Soyal priest, who also controls the Soyal ceremony by which the sun is supposed to be induced to return from his southward course.<sup>1</sup>

At Zuñi the winter is in general appropriated to the curing societies, and particularly to the *tewekwe* society,<sup>2</sup> and the summer to the *ashiwanni* or rain priests; and the seasonal distinction between the *koyemshi* and the *ne'wekwe*, the two sets of sacred clowns, appears in the rule that although the *koyemshi* or their understudies may come out to play at any time, the appointed *koyemshi* must come out at the summer series of rain

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Parsons, (i), 333-5.

<sup>2</sup>Voth, (c), 152 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup>The Knife-Ice society. The Winter people of the Tewa of San Ildefonso are called the Ice people (Stevenson, (c), 13). The cacique or winter cacique of certain Keresan towns is or was the head of the Knife or Flint society. At San Ildefonso there are but two "rain priests"—the head of the Sun people (compare the *pekwin* of Zuñi) and the head of the Ice people. At Taos there is a society, the Hail people, in charge of a winter period. Their chief is also chief of the three kivas of the North side of town, chief of the council, and crier of the winter solstice. The chief of the three kivas of the South side is crier of the summer solstice and is referred to as cacique.

dances, and in the practice of the *ne'wekwe* coming out in winter rather than in summer. There is little doubt in my mind that the double ceremonial system is to be seen also in the two offices of the *kyakweamosi*, rain priest of the North (winter cacique), and of the *pekwin*, Speaker i.e., to the Sun (summer cacique). As for the set of six kivas of Zuñi, we find them grouped in two opposing or alternating sets in the ceremonials of the war cult and the *santu*. Ordinarily they are classified in sets of two as older and younger brothers to each other, the three resulting sets corresponding perhaps to the three sets of *k'atsina* we noted at Laguna.<sup>1</sup> Primacy among the kivas is given to *he'iwa*, the kiva of the North.

At Laguna the *chakwena* group is assigned to the cloud spirits of the North (*sha'k'ak shiwanna*), identified with winter, and we noted the peculiar position of the *chakwena* initiate who does not have to be initiated into the other groups, whereas other initiates have to be taken into the *chakwena*.<sup>2</sup> The *hemish* group is assigned to the cloud spirits of the South (*maiychü'nä shiwanna*), identified with summer. All the other *k'atsina*<sup>3</sup> belong to all the other *shiwanna*.<sup>4</sup> In the war and *santu* dances at Laguna the alignment is not by *k'atsina* sets, as at Zuñi, but by clan, the clans being divided into an East group (*hanityumě*) and a West group (*pünityumě*) according to their assignment to buildings on the east and west sides of the plaza (*kakati*). See p. 253. In the East group are Sun, Corn, Turkey, Water, Turquoise; in the West group, Bear, Parrot, Coyote, Chaparral Cock, Oak.<sup>5</sup> A man may have the right to dance in both groups, *if his father's clan happens to be in the opposite group to his mother's*. Here are two implications of considerable interest—first the grouping is understood as ceremonial merely, in no way indicating any exogamous attitude; second it appears that at Laguna, as in other pueblos, a person may get ceremonial right or status through his father as well as through his mother.

Elsewhere<sup>6</sup> I have discussed the associations of the *tiamoni hocheni* or cacique with the Flint *cheani* and the *kashare*, and the somewhat

<sup>1</sup>See p. 223.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 224.

<sup>3</sup>This accounts for the *kaiya* or mixed set corresponding to the *wotempla* (all kinds of *wo'we* i.e., servants, i.e., *koko*) of Zuñi.

<sup>4</sup>*Mashtjitchue* (*mastrucoi*) belongs with the *chakwena*. He may be equated with *tomtsinapa* among the Zuñi *koko*.

<sup>5</sup>This alignment as far as it goes, corresponds with two exceptions to the Summer-Winter alignment Cushing gives for Zuñi (Cushing, (a), 386). There are several correspondences with the alignments recorded for Sant' Ana and for Isleta and there are several differentiations (Parsons, (h), 56-7, 64). I infer that there is a considerable degree of sameness in the conceptual principles of classification in the different pueblos, but no fixed moiety alignment *per se*.

<sup>6</sup>Parsons, (h), 57 n. 2.

TABLE 10: LAGUNA MARRIAGES.

	Water	Parrot	Turkey	Sun	Bear	Lizard	Chaparral Cock	Badger	Eagle	Corn	Oak	Locust	Antelope	Turquoise
Water	1	4	4	8	4	7	2	4	3	9	1	1	0	1
Parrot		↗	3	6	4	3	3	1	2	5	3	0	2	0
Turkey			↗	5	3	1	1	2	2	3	3	0	0	2
Sun			↗	3	7	4	4	0	3	12	4	1	0	0
Bear					↗	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Lizard						↗	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	0
Chaparral Cock							↗	4	0	2	1	0	0	0
Badger								↗	2	2	0	0	0	0
Eagle									↗	3	0	0	0	0
Corn										↗	5	0	1	1
Oak											↗	0	1	1
Locust												↗	0	0
Antelope													↗	0
Turquoise														0

TABLE 11: SISTER-BROTHER MARRIAGES INTO SAME CLAN.

I, 7, 11	Sun sister and brother marry	Water
I, 58, 62, 64,	Badger brother and two sisters marry	Water <sup>1</sup>
I, 66, 68	Eagle sisters	" Turkey <sup>2</sup>
I, 76, 77	Badger sisters	" Turkey <sup>2</sup>
II, 26, 33	Water brother and sister	" Bear
II, 38, 42	Water brother and sister	" Parrot
II, 156, 158	Parrot brothers	" Sun
II, 54, 235	Sun brothers	" Water
III, 9, 19	Corn brothers	" Lizard <sup>3</sup>
III, 27, 32	Corn brothers	" Water
III, 56, 58, 62	Badger brother and sisters	" Chaparral Cock
III, 162, 166	Lizard sisters	" Water
IV, 10, 15	Sun brothers	" Chaparral Cock

<sup>1</sup>Same Water man becomes husband of the two Badger sisters.<sup>2</sup>Same as Two Turkey men; and Eagle women are first cousins of Badger women.<sup>3</sup>Two sisters.



dubious relationship of the *shikani-kurena cheani*<sup>1</sup> to the cacique.<sup>2</sup> Was the latter the summer cacique and the former, the winter cacique, or was the *shikani-kurena cheani*, as at Cochiti, one of the two assistants of the single cacique; in other words, did the Cochiti and Sia and San Felipe system, apparently the normal Keresan system, prevail, or the double headed, Tewa-Taos system?<sup>3</sup>

The existence of this ceremonial moiety organization among the Pueblo Indians has led students to query whether or not the moiety or phratry system was a factor in marriage. There is no evidence of the kind in any Pueblo Indian group, and at Laguna, as we noted incidentally in connection with the alternating dance pattern, there is certainly no feeling that, outside of the usual clan exogamy, one clan more than another should be preferred or precluded in marrying. Nevertheless I have drawn up a table of marriages (Table 10) similar to that compiled by Dr. Kroeber for Zuñi. The marriages are those recorded in the genealogies and in the List of Houses. It is evident from this table that no moiety alignment occurs in marriage choices, since there are inter-marriages between all the clans, except where the numerical representation of a clan is small.

There appears to be a tendency for sisters and brothers to marry into the same clan. (See Table 11.) In a few cases the facts are obviously explicable on the basis of household intimacies; and it is probable that the other facts might be explained on the same basis had we fuller knowledge of the household relations involved. In other words, the tendency is analogous to that noted at Zuñi in joining fraternities where two or more members of a household join the same fraternity—the affiliation is a family or household, not a clan arrangement.

#### LINKED CLANS

This term has been applied in what I cannot but consider a loose way by observers at Zuñi and among the Hopi and Tewa. Among the

<sup>1</sup>This group has been equated with the *ashiwanni* of the East, from whom the *pekwin* is nominally selected, and the *shi'wannakwe* society. (Parsons, (i), 333-4).

<sup>2</sup>According to one Laguna informant there was a group of four *hachamunvi kayukai* "remembering prayer-sticks," men, not *cheani*, from whom the *tiamoni hocheni* was chosen. The group assisted him. This is practically the Zuñi and the Hopi system.

<sup>3</sup>Since writing the above, information from Jemez and, through Dr. Boas, from Laguna inclines me strongly to the theory that Laguna organization was not an exception to the Keresan norm of single headship with the moiety principle expressed through the clown societies. Such organization is found also at Jemez where the Ice society of *ts'unta tabösh* are to be equated with the *shikani-kurena* of Laguna, and the *tabösh*, with the *kashare*. At Laguna, Dr. Boas learns, the singing of *kashare* (*k'asha'li*) songs begins with the winter solstice (when the sun turns back to summer), from the harvest to the winter solstice *ku'raina* songs are sung.

In the days of a *tiamuni hocheni* the people husked corn for him, the corn carried from his field on donkey back, with the *ku'raina* singing in the lead. They sang: "Let us two go to the north outside. Let us two go to the field. Let us go for the yellow corn. There inside Laguna let us put it there forever. Lake."

In the *u'pi* dance the *kashare* were in charge of the East kiva, the *ku'raina* of the West kiva.

Keresans, at any rate, there is nothing to justify the idea of particular intimacy between two or more clans. I have heard of but one exception; according to one Laguna informant the Sun clanspeople think of the Eagle clanspeople as in some way related, calling them their elders, *nawai'*. This notion, whatever it amounts to, does not preclude inter-clan marriage. (See Table 10.)

#### CLAN MOVEMENTS AND MYTHS

Four clans, cited in my list of Laguna clans, are referred to by Laguna informants as extinct—the Snake, Deer, Pumpkin, and Wheat clans. None of these clans figures in the genealogies or in the list of house proprietors; and their sometime existence remains, I think, more or less hypothetical. Of the sometime existence of one other extinct clan, the Coyote, the house map supplies evidence, and it is also stated that there are Coyote clanspeople living today at Paraje. There are five Locust clanspeople recorded in the genealogies, mother and four children, two of whom are girls, and they form the one Locust clan household in Laguna. Of the four recorded Turquoise clanspeople three are males and there is no Turquoise clan household in Laguna. But one Antelope is recorded in the genealogies and at Laguna the clan is not represented. The Locust, Turquoise, and Antelope clans may be near extinction.

The extinction of clans is a fact familiar elsewhere, and the process of extinction is plain enough. The founding of a new clan is more obscure. How does it come about? Assuming the sometime existence of a Wheat clan at Laguna, how did the clan originate? Given the introduction of Wheat by the Spaniards, the Wheat clan was a comparatively modern clan. Was it an old clan renamed, or a certain family connection within an old clan, perhaps the Corn clan? There is an alternate hypothesis for the founding of a new clan; a clan might originate through the adoption into the tribe of a clanless female, although this hypothesis is not always tenable, since it is more than likely that such a girl or woman would take the clan of the household in which she lived,—unless as an adult she married into the tribe from a people without clans, like the Mexican.<sup>1</sup>

Again new clans may be introduced by women from tribes, Pueblo Indian or other, with a clan organization, but whose clans cannot be identified with those of the adoptive group. There is a conspicuous case at Laguna. All the Badger clanspeople now at Laguna are descendants

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<sup>1</sup>*Kastila* is one of the names taken on by the Bear clan of the Tewa among the Hopi.



of Chuetsa (Gen. I, 54) who came from Zuñi three or four generations ago. Before her arrival, it is said, there were no Badger clanspeople at Laguna.<sup>1</sup> I heard of Badger clanspeople at Powati, but they, too, were said to have come from Zuñi and, although the genealogical records fail to indicate it, from other reference I surmise that they are direct or collateral descendants of Chuetsa.

A Mohave woman and her offspring by a Laguna man figure in the genealogical tables (Gen. II, 243, 268, 269). The children are referred to merely as the Mohave's children. They live at present in California. Were they to come to Laguna to live there permanently, it would be of interest to know how they would be grouped by clan.

In the genealogical records there are several cases of other alien women immigrants to Laguna, but they belong to clans already in existence at Laguna. In a few cases descendants are definitely referred to as, for example, of the Hopi Bear clan or of the Navajo Sun clan. The Sun clan is indeed more or less definitely partitioned according to the provenience of its families, or rather, ancestresses. There are said to be four Sun clan subgroups: Zuñi, Muki (Hopi), Jemez, Navajo. Gawiretsa of House 92 told me she belonged to the Muki subgroup; the Navajo subgroup figures in two of the genealogies; one old woman was pointed out to me as a member of the Jemez Sun clan; no Zuñi representative came under my observation, but I note that the Sun clansman of House 73 bears a Zuñi name, also that another Zuñi named man (Gen. III, 154) is the child of a Sun clansman. Aisiye and her sister (House 16) were referred to as descendants of a Muki Bear clanswoman,—I will presently recite the legend. At Powati live Lopez (Gen. III, 31) and her family, of the Eagle clan. The mother of Lopez was from Zuñi.<sup>2</sup> The father of Go'ty'ia'i' (Gen. III, 32) was an Acoma man. It follows that several Parrot people cited in the table and elsewhere are of Acoma descent.

In the Oak clan there are descendants of Acoma women. Tsiwema, Oak, told me that his mother was from Acoma. The mother of Shawi' (Gen. III, 28) was an Acoma woman. Shawi's father, Kainari, Lizard, was, I infer, a Laguna man. He was mentioned, by the way, as the last *u'pi* or war priest.<sup>3</sup> I learned of the Acoma blood of Shawi' and her

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<sup>1</sup>According to Hodge, of the five Keresan pueblos listed only Laguna and Sia had a Badger clan (Hodge, (a), Pl. VII). Stevenson does not list a Badger clan for Sia. (Stevenson, (a), 19.) There is no Badger clan in Santo Domingo.

<sup>2</sup>It was interesting to find Zuñi traditions in the family. There were pictures of the *koko awia* ceremonial of Zuñi on the walls, and the daughter of Lopez, a frank and charming young woman, told me that her mother had always told her not to be "stingy" about describing the dances of Laguna. Laguna people were "stingy," but Zuñi people were not "stingy."—A daughter in this family (Gen. III, 99) had recently died, and her face had been "painted" yellow with corn pollen, "as they do at Zuñi."

<sup>3</sup>Parsons, (f), 122.



daughter Nămăi' (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89) casually, not in course of genealogical work, and although several foreign marriages are recorded in the genealogies, there are cases, I surmise, where the fact of intermarriage was not disclosed.

Intermarriage between the different Pueblo Indian peoples or between Pueblo Indian and Navajo is a familiar fact, and that a particularly large amount of immigration has occurred at Laguna has always been taken for granted. In our close examination of these facts it becomes plain that memory of intermarriage or of foreign origin is maintained through the clanship system, and that when clan migrations are referred to natives have in mind merely the migration of individuals or families of the given clan, i.e., immigrant or emigrant individuals or families are referred to in clan terms. For example, when you are told at Laguna that the Chaparral Cock clan came from Zuñi, or the Oak clan from Acoma, or the Turkey or Snake<sup>1</sup> clans from San Felipe or that the Lizard, Sun, Eagle and Chaparral Cock clans went at the time of the Religious Split to Isleta,<sup>2</sup> all it means, as you learn by further questioning, is that an individual or a family or two, probably blood relatives, were concerned, and that their descendants have multiplied, preserving the memory of the ancestral migration for a few generations. Before the immigration or after the emigration there were other people of the same clan resident at Laguna.

There were other Chaparral Cock people in Laguna before certain Chaparral Cock people arrived from Zuñi, just as there were other Bear people in Laguna before the Hopi Bear clan girl escaped there from her Ute captors. The legend goes that as her captors were passing by Laguna at night she lingered behind on the pretext of relieving herself and then hid under squash leaves. In the morning she came up to Laguna.

The general tradition that the Water clan came from the North, from Cochiti or Sia,<sup>3</sup> and the Coyote clan from Zuñi<sup>4</sup> is incorporated in the following myth told by Dzai'ity'i or Tsinadyuwi, Water clanswoman (Gen. II, 19, House 40, pp. 269-70).

All the clans were led out from *sh'ipap'p'* by the Water Clan.<sup>5</sup> The *gamaitsai-shumě*, ruins, are where the ancestors lived after coming out from *sh'ipap'p'*. . . . There was a great flood, the survivors were the ancestors of people today. . . . To

<sup>1</sup>Hodge, (b), 134, 135 ft. heard of a Hopi origin for the Snake clan. His informant was probably thinking of one Snake family, mine, of another.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (f), 109 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup>By one informant I was told that the only people from Sia belonged to the Oak clan and the Corn clan.

<sup>4</sup>Cp. Hodge, (b), 135 ft.

<sup>5</sup>*Koi'ch'inā* is the name of a spring where the Lizard clan turned back, inferably in connection with the emergence. See p. 186.

*okatsaani* or *kuateshshkütisho* or *k'onataiyuma* (see map) came a Water clansman from Sia and a Coyote clanswoman from Zuñi. They met there and sat down. The Coyote clansman asked, "What are you doing here?"—"I am looking for land for my people. See that beautiful water [meaning the old lake to the west]. I will settle my people here at *k'shtitigauwaik* (Laguna)."—"That is why I am here, too," the other said. They stood up. "Well, let us look about," they said. They went to the middle of *kakati*. From there they went down to the East. The Water clansman said, "If our people lived here they might be careless and dirty this lake." The Coyote clansman said, "Well, let us go back to the first place we thought of, to *kakati*." They went back. "Well, we shall build this side," said the Water clansman. "And we shall build this side," said the Coyote clansman. They began to build. After that men came hunting down from Acoma and chased them back to the mesa, to *natitishunotso*<sup>1</sup> where they had been living after they came down from *sh'ipa'p'*. They said to each other, "If other people come from other towns, we will not chase them away." . . . *Akome'* men chased them away again. They said, "Well, we cannot live here because of the *akome'*; let us go to *sodjamuni* (where the Zuñi live). They will help us." . . . At *sodjamuni* they first saw a priest (*tutachu*). He had been at Acoma and they chased him away. They threw him over the cliff, but he came down straight and he was not killed. The people of this priest heard where he was. They came to look for him. *Sodjamuni*<sup>2</sup> was a high place like Acoma. They called up and asked if the priest was still up there. "Yes, he is up here. Come up!"—"No, we are afraid."—"Do not be afraid. We are not like the others." They cut off a piece of buckskin, and he wrote on it and threw it down, and they believed he was there. . . . The people from here said, "Let us talk to the priest. Let us ask him how we can be good people, and how we can pray, and how we can have a church." And they talked to him. "All right," said the priest, "You can have a church and San José. Go back and build a little house. Wait about a year for me, and then start from your home. I will start from my home and we shall meet at *hanichiniyiani* (Isleta)."

### III. THE TOWN.

#### LIST OF HOUSES.<sup>3</sup>

- House 1. Occupied by tenant. Owner, F., Sh'awi', Corn. Lives at El Rito. Rents to Edith Pisano, Turkey, daughter of William Pisano (House 33). Edith Pisano (aged 30) keeps store here and lives here with her little girl, returning frequently to her family at Casa Blanca.
- House 2. Vacant. Owner, F., Haityië, Corn. Lives at Paraje. As "cousin" she brought up the owner of House 3.
- House 3. Vacant. Owner M., Tshuwai, Oak. Lives at Powati, but keeps the house in repair to stay in when he comes to town for ceremonials or to loan for ceremonials. This was one of the two houses in which was celebrated the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919. The father of

<sup>1</sup>To the north of Laguna.

<sup>2</sup>Apparently the mesa *towa yallene* is referred to, but the term may be related to that for the place of Emergence (see p. 191).

<sup>3</sup>A cluster of contiguous rooms under the same proprietorship is counted with a few exceptions as one house; where the rooms are separated they are counted as separate units.



Tshuwai lived here. He was the brother of the mother of the owner of House 1. Tshuwai had one brother and no sisters. The two boys were brought up by the owner of House 2. Houses 1, 2, 3, appear to have belonged to one kinship group of Corn clanspeople.<sup>1</sup>

- House 4. Occupied. Owner, M., Nautyië or Tsasji (Lizard, his *k'atsina* name), Bear. He is about sixty-eight years old. He got the house from his mother, his sister Bora having gone to live in her husband's house (House 21). He lives here with his wife, Chaparral Cock, twin daughters, Tsaiyuna married to a Sant' Ana man, Tsiwiye married to a Turkey clansman, and four sons, three (Shiashka, Tsiwaigye, Aiyu) unmarried, and one (Shawi) separated from his wife. The son of this couple lives in this house. Tsaiyuna and her family were living temporarily in one of the railway cabins at New Laguna, her husband being a railroad employee. Tsasji is the *k'atsina hochenî*. He is a *chakwena*, and presumably keeps his *chakwena* mask<sup>2</sup> in this house. In 1918 he was war captain.<sup>3</sup> He assisted as *shuts k'atsina cheani* at the summer solstice ceremonial, 1919, in House 47. See p. 264.
- House 5. Vacant. Owner, F., K'ăshië'nă, Parrot (Gen. III, 40; p. 277). Her first husband, from whom she separated, was Wawakuri, Corn clan. On marrying Hiai'ai (George Pino), K'ăshië'nă went to live with him in the house of his deceased first wife. (House 38).
- House 6. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsasji, Bear. (House 4). Used to store hay.
- House 7. Occupied. Owner, M., Dzirai'ity'i, Sun. (Gen. I, 22, II, 172). He got the house from his mother (Gen. I, 9). He lives here with his children and mother-in-law, Bora of the Bear clan. (But see House 21).
- House 8. Vacant. Owner, F., Tsiyets'a, Lizard. Mother of Gen. II, 23. She lives in Mesita.
- House 9. Vacant. Owner, M., G'awai', Sun. He lives at Powati, where he is married to a Sun clanswoman. He got the house from his father Dyawais'iro, Oak (House 12), who is still living.
- House 10. Occupied. Owners, F., Ais, Sun, F., K'ă'wină, Sun. (Gen. I, 14, 15). They got the house from their mother or mother's sister, the sometime owner of House 7. It looks as if there had been here a kinship group of the Sun clan; but the genealogies contain no explanation of how the intervening house, Houses 8 and 9 passed out of the group. Ais and K'ă'wină live here with their father, Yu'si' (Gen. I, 8), and their deceased elder sister's daughter, Go'isdyuits'ă (Gen. I, 28). There is or was in 1918, before the death of the girls' aunt, an *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup> in this house. (See p. 255). Yu'si' has three masks, *hemish*, *kohashtoch'*, and *chakwena*. While his mother was alive

<sup>1</sup>From another informant I got a different account. Haityië of House 2 was said to be an Oak clanswoman, the mother's sister of Tshuwai of House 3. Tshuwai got the house from his mother, who died after he was grown up, and Tshuwai's younger brother Kaaiwüre, was to have got House 2; but Haityië wanted it and made a fuss. "Let her have it," said Kaaiwüre.

<sup>2</sup>See Parsons, (f), Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920 he was head war captain. See p. 275.



Kowăush'dyiwă (Gen. I, 18; House 69) kept his *hemish* mask<sup>1</sup> here, and *talawaiye* head tablets<sup>2</sup> were kept here.

- House 11. Vacant. Owner, M., Hiedyedye (Hi't'id<sup>y</sup>äi) (Pedro Martin'), Bear, child of Sun. He stores hay here and lives in Houses 29 and 31. He got the house from his mother (?who was born in it). She was the sister of the mother of Tsiwaitina (House 63). She moved to Isleta.
- House 12. Occupied. F., Tsiwi'dyië, Parrot and M., Shawai', Sun, son of Kwisiro of House 95, live here, owning jointly the house which they bought from Dyawais'iro of House 9. Dyawais'iro had rebuilt this house. Tsiwi'dyië was brought up in House 62 by K'aisdyia, her deceased mother's sister. Hiwais, another maternal aunt, lives with Tsiwidyie; likewise a child Tsiwi'dyië gave birth to before she married.
- House 13. Occupied. Owner, M., Tsiwema, Oak. *Shiwanna cheani*, and sexton of the Catholic Church. He bought the house when on his third marriage he returned from Powati. Widowed, he lives here alone. Dyawais'iro of Houses 9, 12 is his brother. Two altars are kept in this house (see p. 255), likewise two *iyatik'*<sup>3</sup>.
- House 13a. Ruin. Said to be the oldest house of the Coyote clan.
- House 14. Ruin. Formerly a communal building, *k'a'ch*, or kiva. It was the west side kiva from which in dances of alternating groups like the *santu* and the war dances the west side group came out. It is also referred to as a *shakaiya* i.e., *cheani* house, and as the house which the *shaiyaik cheani* or hunter *cheani* used.
- House 15. Vacant. Owner, F., K'ă'wină, Water. She lives at Encinal. The house formerly belonged to the mother of Yu'si', Water (Gen. I, 8). Yu'si' was born in it, but as he subsequently lived in the houses of his two wives, and now lives with the daughters of his first wife, and as there was none of his family to use the house (Go'w'aid'yuits'a (Gen. I, 88), the only surviving daughter of Yu'si''s sister, has been at Miss Dissett's school at Santa Fé), the house passed into the possession of K'ă'wină, said to be merely a clanswoman. The statement is probably correct since Yu'si''s mother was a Navajo. I note that Yu'si''s third daughter (Gen. I, 15) bears the same name—K'ă'wină. The name is said to have been given her, however, by Yu'si''s sister.
- House 16. Vacant. Owners, Aisiye (Mrs. Pradt) and her sister, Bear. Major Pradt came to Laguna as a surveyor in the early seventies. He first lived in this house with his wife. Now he and his wife and children live in a house near the old railway station, on the northeast outskirts of town, House 60.
- House 17. Vacant. Formerly belonged to M.-F., Dyamu, Chaparral Cock. With his mother, Dyamu, a man-woman (*kokwimu*), once lived here. They moved to Paraje.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (f), Figs. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup>While the Pradts were still living next door, Major Pradt one night found his wife in intense excitement and fear because she had seen a black dog near the house and she believed it was Dyamu, then dead. (Cp. Dumarest, 151).

- House 18. Vacant. Owner, M., K'akire, Eagle. Lives at Mesita, stores hay in this house. (House 121). If this house was formerly part of House 120-121, it was Corn a clan house.
- House 19. Occupied. Owner, F., Lit' (Sp. Rita) (Juanita), Turkey. Lit' is over seventy. A married daughter, Kaaïhië, and an unmarried, Torai, together with their children and the husband of Kaaïhië, Gaishdyia, Water, live with Lit'.  
Gaishdyia, said to be a "brother" (of Yu'si' (Gen. I, 8), but unrecorded in the genealogical table, is a *chakwena* and probably keeps his mask in this house.
- House 20. Vacant. Belonged to M., Dyawaisi, Water. The children of his deceased sister at Flower Mountain are heirs.
- House 21. Occupied. Owner, F., Bora, Bear. She got the house from her deceased husband, Dziwaishshudyuwa, Corn. Her widowed son-in-law, Dzirai'ity'i (Gen. I, 22; II, 172; House 7), and her grandchildren live here with her when in town. For the time they all live at the section house of the railway at New Laguna where Dzirai'ity'i works.
- House 22. Occupied. Owner, F., Shumai', Badger. (Gen. I, 97, Gen. III, 153). She was born here, and got the house from her mother. With her live he sister, Dzaisdyuwe, her father, Dziwishpiräi' (Gen. III, 243), her second husband and children. All sometimes occupy this house, sometimes House 112. With Dzi'wid'yäi (Gen. I, 76, House 110) Shumai' washes the heads of *k'atsina* initiates. In this house is probably kept the mask of *shalolopia* or the *tsatio chakwena hocheni* whom Dziwishpiräi' personates.
- House 23. Vacant. Belonged to F., Kaiasi, Parrot. Her two unfathered daughters are in Miss Dissett's school.
- House 24. Vacant. Owner, F., Kuyu'd'yuwe (Juanita), Eagle. (Gen. I, 68; Houses 30, 33, 118). She got it from her father. He is still alive.
- House 25. Occupied. Owner, M., Koi's, Bear. (Gen. III, 49). This house was built for his sister, Kio'ty'iaï, by her father, when she married. Subsequently she traded it for House 49 where her brother Koi's had been living. In this house live Koi's, his wife, Dyuwi, Chaparral Cock, and children, and his mother, İya'si, and brother, Kaiyasiwa.
- House 26. Occupied. Formerly occupied by F., Minni, Lizard (Gen. II, 27, III, 162) and M., Dzai'siyäi', Water (Gen. II, 26, III, 163), and their children; now, since Minni's death, by Dzai'siyäi', and his second wife.<sup>1</sup>
- House 27. Vacant. Owner, F., Tsiurimait's, Corn. Her parents and brothers and sisters are dead, and she lived here unmarried. She had three children who died from the influenza of 1918. Her mother's

<sup>1</sup>From another informant I got an entirely different account of this house. It belongs to M. G'awagaiya, Oak (Gen. III, 124) who got it from his mother's father, Atsaiye, Corn (Gen. III, 14). For three or four years G'awagaiya and his wife Dzirai left the house vacant to live with Dzirai's mother, Lilly (Gen. III, 72). There is probability in this account, since it was Atsaiye who built the house next door (House 25) for one of his daughters. On the other hand the same informant told me, in 1919, that Dzai'siyäi's second wife was a Bear clanswoman and, in 1920, that she was a Parrot clanswoman called Dzaitšina.



brother would not help her, because she would not live as he wished. She has left town to work for a White woman.

- House 28. Formerly the east side *k'a'ch* from which east side dancers came out, corresponding to House 14.
- House 29. Occupied. Rented by M., Hiedyedye, Bear (House 11), from F., Shayaaië, Sun (Gen. I, 21; II, 171, Gen. III, 74). Shayaaië was born in this house. With her husband, K'u'n'ash<sup>u</sup>, she now lives in House 58.
- House 30. Occupied. Owner, M., Wiyäi'd'yuä, Turkey (Gen. I, 70; Houses 33, 48). He bought this house from William Pisano.
- House 31. Occupied. Owner, M., Hiedyedye, Bear. (Houses 11 and 29). He bought this house from William Pisano. His wife, Alice, Turkey, child of Bear, lived formerly near Casa Blanca. They have no children. House 29 they use as a kitchen and House 31 as a bedroom.
- House 32. Occupied. Owners, F., Dzaid'yuwi', Water (Gen. II, 122) and her husband, I'g'ugäi, Sun (Gen. II, 123; IV, 17). After her marriage, Dzaid'yuwi' continued to live with her mother and stepfather (House 41), but owing to incompatibility between her husband and stepfather she decided to move out. Her mother's father (Gen. II, 14) who lived with her mother bought for her the back room of House 32. He bought it from William Pisano. Subsequently, with money earned by I'g'ugäi by work in the Irrigation Service, and with money from sheep given Dzaid'yuwi' by her mother's father, the two front rooms were bought in turn from William Pisano.<sup>1</sup>
- House 33. Occupied. Owner, M., Wiyäi'd'yuä, Turkey. (Gen. I, 70; Houses 33, 48). This house formerly belonged to the grandmother of William Pisano, Water, and then to his mother. Pisano got it from her and he built, as noted, Houses 30, 31, 32. Pisano moved to Casa Blanca. This house he sold to F., İya's'ı' Bear (Gen. III, 16). İya'si subsequently exchanged the house for House 34 owned by Wiyäi'd'yuä. Wiyäi'd'yuä lives here with his wife Kuyu'd'yuwe (Houses 24, 118). With them live their own children, the children of each by a former marriage, the children of a deceased sister of Kuyu'd'yuwe, and the father of Kuyu'd'yuwe, We'diumă, head of the Badger clan, and ceremonially an important person. The *gumeyoish* and the *ts'its'inuts* masks are (or were, see p. 000) kept in this house<sup>2</sup>. In 1916 or before Wiyäi'd'yuä was war captain.
- House 34. Occupied. Owner, F., İya's'ı' (Juanita), Bear. (House 25).
- House 35. Occupied. Owner, F., Tsiwaküri, Chaparral Cock. She and her husband G'auutye, Corn, are working temporarily at Isleta.<sup>3</sup> Tsiwaküri bought the house from İya's'ı'. The family of Tsiwaküri had gone to live at Powati.

<sup>1</sup>In this house Dr. Boas and I lived while he was at work on the language and I in getting the data for this study.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (f), Figs. 10, 15.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920, having settled at Isleta, Tsiwaküri sold the house to Go'ty'iai' (Gen. III, 32, House 41) to use as a storehouse, for \$30 and a Navajo blanket worth \$20.00.



- House 36. Vacant. Owner, F., Pě'sě'ti, Oak. She lives with her sister's daughter in House 56.
- House 37. A long Spanish built house with a crenellated roof. It was formerly the Catholic Mission schoolhouse. It now serves as a meeting house for the officers and others (*aiwatyami*, gather together).
- House 38. Occupied. Owner, M., Witěiě, Sun. (Gen. III, 114). He got it from his mother, Dziomăi'ts'ă. Witěiě lives with his wife (House 74) in California. His father, Hiai'ai or George Pino (Gen. III, 39, House 103), Corn, brought his second wife, Kăshiě'nă, Parrot (House 5), to live in this house. Their two daughters, one unmarried and one married, but separated, live here. Hiai'ai and Kashiě'nă are living for the time in Gallup.  
Hiai'ai is assistant (*wikoli*, the officiator is called) of the chief of the *chakwena* dance group. When he fails to return to Laguna to officiate for the *chakwena*, specifically to make prayer-sticks, his son-in-law Sha'shk<sup>a</sup> takes his place. In 1912 or before Hiai'ai was a war captain.
- House 39. Vacant. Belonged to mother of M., K'aityima, Oak. (Gen. IV, 14; House 66).
- House 40. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzai'ity'i (Juana), Water. (Gen. II, 19, p. 269). With her live her second husband, and her children.
- House 41. Occupied. Owner, F., Kawi'ts'irăi', Water. (Gen. II, 53, Gen. III, 33). With her live Go'ty'iai', her second husband, one of her married daughters (Gen. II, 125), her son-in-law and grandchildren, her unmarried son, and, when not in Gallup, her widowed brother (Gen. II, 51) and his children, including a married daughter and her family.  
In this house is a *iyatik*<sup>ũ</sup> which has come down to Kawi'ts'i from her mother's "uncle" who was a *shuts cheani*. But this information was given uncertainly by Kawi'ts'i's daughter who appeared to be more ignorant than reticent. This *iyatik*<sup>ũ</sup> was taken over to House 47 for the summer solstice ceremonial.  
The day after the summer solstice ceremony (June 17) in 1922 Dr. Boas saw this fetish, he described it as follows: An ear of corn wrapped at the bottom with cotton. Tied to it are a parrot feather, small eagle feathers, turkey feathers and tail feathers of the chaparral cock. The butt is covered with deerskin. Strings of glass beads, mixed with abalone, turquoise and white stone and shell are attached. The last *cheani* to whom this fetish belonged was a deceased blood brother of Kawi'ts'irăi', a *kuraina cheani*. On another occasion (see p. 254) the *cheani* kinsman was referred to as a *shiwanna cheani*; but *kuraina* and *shiwanna cheani* were associated in ritual.
- House 42. Vacant. Owner, M., I'g'ugăi, Sun. (Gen. IV, 17; House 32). He bought this ruined room from Tsijai (Mary Kai), Sun (Gen. II, 240). Her parents lived here. I'g'ugăi uses the room for storage.
- House 43. Vacant. Owner, M., Charley Kai, Sun. (Gen. II, 235). Charley Kai lives in Houses 54, 55.

- House 44. Vacant. Owner, F., Shiai (Shiye'), Sun, child of Corn. She and her husband, Muni, Sun, child of Corn, live at New Laguna. Shiai's mother was born in House 45. Shiai was given this house when she married.
- House 45. Vacant. Owner, M., K'awaityi, Corn. He built or rebuilt the house on his marriage. He is the father of Shiai (House 44).<sup>1</sup> Subsequently the family moved to Encinal.
- House 46. This ruin is said by one informant to have been a *hochenits'a*, a place where the *hochen*i (cacique) lived, an Eagle clansman.
- House 47. Occupied. Owner, F., Goyai'd'yuwě', Water. (Gen. II, 11). She got it from her mother. With her live an unmarried and a married daughter, and a son who has never married, Dzira'ai. This house is regarded as the source or stock house of a group of Water clan houses (Houses 32, 40, 41, 49). In 1915 or before Dzira'ai was war captain. He has been called clan elder (*nawai'*), and is reputed to "know a lot."  
The *he'a* mask which belonged to the deceased husband of Goyai'd'yuwě' is kept here, and perhaps the *chakwena* mask of a son-in-law (Gen. II, 43) likewise. In this house, as usual, the *kashare* of Mesita performed the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919. Their masks are kept here. Their altar, the White altar, is kept in this house. It is also called the *ma'sewi* altar. On it stand fetish stones, five inches long, a face on top like a person's. They are called *tsaikoye'* and *iyaisdyuwě*. The *u'pi* altar had been in this house, but it was removed to Isleta.
- House 48. Vacant. Owner, M., Wiyăi'd'yuă, Turkey (Gen. I, 70; Houses 30, 33). He got this house through his mother. His father bought it on marrying.
- House 49. Occupied. Owner, F., Kio'ty'iăi, Bear. (Gen. III, 51; House 25). This was the house she exchanged with her brother for House 25. This house formerly belonged to M., Ishür, Water. He went to Powati to live and sold the house to M., A'ts'ădë, Corn, the father of Kio'ty'iăi.
- House 50. Vacant.<sup>3</sup> Owner, M., Shawiri, Corn, child of Sun. His mother was G'awamai. Shawire lives in Gallup. See House 124.
- House 51. Occupied. Owner, F., Tsaishdyië, Turkey. The house belonged to her mother. It was enlarged by her father, Tsioro, Corn. He left her mother and went to marry at Tsiamā. There he became the father of M., Gai's'iwă, Sun (Gen. III, 179) and Muni (House 44). Tsaishdyië lives here with her husband, Tsiwaimi, Oak, and their children. Tsiwaimi is a *chakwena* and probably keeps his mask here.
- House 52. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsaisiro, Corn. He is the son of Tsioro's sister, and the house presumably came to him directly or through his mother from his uncle. He is married to Hanai', Turkey, and they live at New Laguna.

<sup>1</sup>According to one informant the house belonged to the parents of Shiai's mother, and now belongs to Shiai.

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (j), 260 n. 5.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920 the house was bought by Tsiwaimi of House 51.



- House 53. Vacant. Owner, M., Id'yim'ë, Water (Gen. III, 91). He got it from his father (Gen. III, 27) who built it. Id'yim'ë lives in Powati in the household of his wife, his father's brother's daughter. His mother-in-law—aunt-by-marriage and his father-in-law-uncle rented the house to us as a study. The business was negotiated with the man, but in receiving the money he handed it to his wife.
- House 54. Occupied. Owner, F., Kaweishdyiür, Water. (Gen. II, 236). She was born here. Lives here with her second husband, Charley Kai (she had been widowed, a fact not indicated in the genealogical table), and her children.
- House 55. Occupied. Owner, M., Charley Kai, Sun. Bought by him. (Gen. II, 235, Houses 42, 43).
- House 56. Occupied. Not on the map; 300–400 yards northeast of town, near the Northeast reservoir (*tvd'viahannür k'awayänishau*). Owner, F., Nämäi', (Juanita, Mrs. John Reilly), Oak. (Gen. I, 17, Gen. II, 167, Gen. III, 89). Occupied by her and her husband and children and by her mother's sister who brought her up. (See House 36). It was the husband of this aunt who built the house for Nämäi'. He gave an adjoining room to Nämäi''s married daughter whose Sant' Ana husband now and again visits her.
- House 57. Vacant. Not on the map. 300–400 yards northeast of House 56. Owner, F., Hiwai', Corn (Gen. II, 37). She lives at Isleta.
- House 58. Occupied. Not on the map. About  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile north of town. Owner, M., K'una'shü, Sun (Gen. I, 20; Gen. II, 170). He lives here with his wife (House 29) and children. This frame, tin-roofed house, was built for him by all the men, who also furnished all the materials. It was built by them in return for K'una'shü's services. For seven months he had taken care of the town corral of horses and donkeys. Ordinarily the men take turns by the day. They take turns according to residence, each man after his service notifying his next neighbor, e.g., Go'ty'iäi (Gen. II, 55, Gen. III, 32) in House 41 would notify Dyai'yuwe (Gen. II, 43) in House 47, the next occupied house. "Why not Dzira'ai, the eldest son of the house, instead of Dyai'yuwe, a son-in-law?" I asked. "Because Dyai'yuwe stays home and Dzira'ai is always away herding."
- House 58. Occupied. Not on the map. About  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a mile northeast of town. Owner, Robert S. Marmon, Sun. He is the son of William G. Marmon, a White. Mrs. W. G. Marmon lived in part of this house until her death in 1918. She was born in House 92. Mrs. Robert O. Marmon (Hawais) is Turkey clan. Her father is Dziu'neë', Water.
- House 60. Occupied. Not on the map. Next to House 59. Owner, Major Pradt, a White man. He is married to Aisiye, Bear. (House 16). They have nine children.
- House 61. Occupied. Not on the map. Frame, tin-roofed house, about  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a mile northeast of town. Owner, Robert G. Marmon, a White man who came to Laguna in 1872. He is married to a Laguna woman, and they have one daughter and five sons.



- House 62. Vacant. Belonged to F., K'aisdyia, Parrot, who died in 1918. *Ts'its'inuts* masks were kept formerly in this house.
- House 63. Occupied. Owner, F., Tsiwaitina, Bear. (Gen. IV, 6). She got it from her mother. This house is thought of as the stock or mother house of the Bear clan. S'dyuesiwa, Bear clan elder (*nawai'*) used to live here (Table 9). Today Tsiwaitina lives here with her husband Tsa'sh'umäi', Parrot, son of K'aisdyia of House 62. They keep K'aisdyia's *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>. In 1914 or before Tsa'sh'umai' was war captain. He is commonly the impersonator of *ts'its'inuts*.
- House 64. Occupied. Formerly belonged to F. Shawaik'yetsa, Parrot, deceased. Her husband, Nurai, Corn, holds the house in trust for their children. The family live at Casa Blanca. House rented by Tsiwaitina and Tsa'sh'umäi' of House 63.
- House 65. Vacant. Here M., Dorawyipa, Lizard, a *sayap cheani*, once lived.
- House 66. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzamai', Sun. (Gen. IV, 13). She got the house from her mother. She lives here with her husband K'aityima (House 39) and children. Her brother (Gen. IV, 15) has been the "head war captain," 1918-1919. He lives at Powati. It was in this house that the war captains made their prayer-sticks for the summer solstice of 1919, and in this house three of Dzamai's brothers keep their masks, Tsi'raäi, his *k'ainani* mask, Yaai's'dyiwä', his *dyenye* (Navajo) *k'atsina* mask, and I'g'ugäi his own mask which he got as a child and has now outgrown and the *nawish* mask<sup>1</sup> which he inherited from his father. There are two *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> here, one descending through the people of the house, one from Dzamai's mother's father, Kiwi, Turkey.
- House 67. Vacant. Owner or trustee, F., Tsiwaitina, Bear. This house belonged to M., Naiupon (Gen. IV, 5), first husband of Tsiwaitina. It will go to their two children. Used for storage.
- House 68. Vacant. Owners, F., K'awaity'id'yuwë', Lizard (Gen. II, 119) and F., Gu'miyäi', Lizard (Gen. II, 121). They got it from their mother, Gau's'in'äi'. Go'ty'iäi', their uncle by marriage (House 41; Gen. II, 55, Gen. III, 32), stores his hay in it.
- House 69. Occupied. Owner, F., Hai'ty'imäi, Parrot. (Gen. I, 19, Gen. II, 169). She got the house from her mother. She lives here with her husband and children and married brother and his wife (Gen. II, 184, 185).
- House 70. Owner, F., Hai'ty'imäi, Parrot. This is a grinding room, containing two rows of *metates*, four in a row.
- House 71. Occupied. Owner, M., Ma'ran'i, Sun. (Gen. II, 54). He bought it from M., Mushaitsh (Buffalo), Sun, who went to live at Encinal. Occupied by Ma'ran'i and his second wife, Go'yai', Eagle, and their children.
- House 72. Occupied. Owner, M., Ma'ran'i, Sun. He bought it from F., Tsiutyië, Corn, wife of Kauushiwimi, Water, brother of William Pisano (House 33). This house was formerly a Flint Society house.

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<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 11.

- House 73. Vacant. Owner, M., Awiloya (Zuñi name) Sun. He built this house. He lives at Powati.
- House 74. Vacant. Owner, F., Annie, Water. (Gen. III, 115). She got it from her father,<sup>1</sup> Tsione, Parrot. He got it from his father Tsiwishpire, Eagle, who built it.
- House 75. Occupied. Owner F., Lilly, Lizard. (Gen. III, 72). She got the house from her father who bought it from F., Dziwitira, Sun, owner of House 76. Lilly lives here with her unmarried and married daughters. Lilly's mother lived on here with her, or rather, Lilly lived on with her mother.
- House 76. Vacant. Owner, F., Dziwitira, Sun. She lives in Mesita. She is the daughter of the last "cacique" or *tiamoni hochení* of Laguna. He was named Taiowityuě or Meyu' (Lizard) and he was a Lizard clansman. Before becoming *tiamoni* he was, as a boy, a Flint *cheani* and later an *op'i* (warrior) *cheani*. This house was called a *hochenits'a*, because it was the dwelling house of the *hochení*. Taiowityuě was born in this house and after he became *hochení* the house was rebuilt for him by the people.  
Dziwitira is the mother of Gen. IV, 66. See p. 270ff.
- House 77. Vacant. Owner, F., Shuwakaí, Sun, sister of owner of House 76. She lives at Isleta. She was a *kurena cheani*.
- House 78. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzitsdziro, Chaparral Cock (Gen. III, 220). She is the son's daughter of the owner of House 93 to whose household she is actually attached, and the great-niece of Lilly of House 74.
- House 79. Vacant. Stable. Formerly belonged to Coyote clanspeople. They moved to Isleta.
- House 80. Ruin. Formerly belonged to Coyote clanspeople. They moved to Paraje.
- House 81. Ruin. Formerly belonged to Parrot clanspeople. They moved to Powati.
- House 82. Occupied. Owner, M., Yuriwa (Martin Luther), Water. He got the house from his mother. He lives at Paraje. See p. 276. The house is used by Lilly of House 75.
- House 83. Vacant. Owner, M., Yakchoyě (Butterfly), Oak. He lives at Mesita.
- House 84. Vacant. Belonged to the sister of Yakchoyě, Oak. She is dead.
- House 85. Vacant. Owner, M., Gai's'iwă (Bert Wetmore), Sun. (Gen. III, 179; of the same connection as Sun people of Houses 92, 93, 94, 99-100). He got the house from his mother. Uses it for storage. He lives in House 97. In 1919 he was one of the two "lieutenant governors" (*tyinyiinti*).
- House 86. Vacant. Owner, F., Lucia, Bear. She got the house from her parents. She lives at Casa Blanca.
- House 87. Ruin. Belonged to F., Tsioditsa, Parrot. She was the wife of Dyaiyu, the Antelope clansman who officiated as "father" for the *k'atsina*. (House 102). Tsioditsa was born and grew up in House 62. From

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<sup>1</sup>According to another informant Annie got the house from her mother, Guwadyume.



House 87 she moved to Paraje. The brother of Tsioditsa, Tsiwai-gamai (Tsiwak'ama), is the father of Tsiwairu (Rairu) (see p. 222). Ts'wairo grew up in Paraje in Tsioditsa's house.

House 88. Ruin. Belonged to M., Kawaai, Parrot. He was the first husband of Īya'sī. (Gen. III, 16; Houses 25, 34).

House 89. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsinati, Oak. He lives at Powati.

House 90. Occupied. Owner F., Yonimait's'a (Juanita), Parrot. (Gen. III, 240). She lives here with her husband and children.

House 91. Vacant. Owner, F., Yonimait's'a, Parrot (House 90). She got the house from her mother i.e., perhaps through her mother, since her mother was an Acoma woman. Her father was an Oak clansman. The house is used as a storehouse by Me'yu'shk'a of Houses 92, 93.

House 92. Occupied. Owner, F., Me'yu'shk'a, Lizard. (Gen. III, 68). She bought the house from F. Gawiretsa (Morning Star, Mrs. William G. Marmon), Sun, and her brother, Giwire, head of the *shikani-kurena cheani*. Giwire had been snake-bitten and so was qualified to be a *shruie* or snake *cheani*. He was once summoned to *kaiashats* (see p. 181) for the soré navel of his sister's daughter's child; but he was never referred to as a *shruie cheani*.

After Gawiretsa moved to House 59, Giwire lived with her. When he died in 1919, he was living with another sister, Kisuwets'a, at Encinal.

In House 92 had lived also the parents of these sisters, of another sister, Kashe of Houses 99-100, and of Giwire—Salawina (Sp. name) and Kwime', Eagle clansman, likewise *shikani-kurena cheani*. "His son took his place." Here initiations took place at the time of the Great Split. Kwime' and Giwire sided, I must infer, with the American "progressive party" who had made W. G. Marmon *tapup* (governor), with the *kayomasho* (pull light) as they were called as against the *kapats* (pull) or conservatives.<sup>1</sup>

House 93. Occupied. Owner, F., Me'yu'shk'a (Juanita), Lizard (Gen. III, 68). She got it from her husband, Tsa'sdiyě, Sun, son of a sister of Salawina of House 92. Tsa'sdiyě was a *shikani-kurena cheani*.

House 94. Vacant. Owner, F., Guakami, Sun. She is the first cousin of Gawiretsa and Kisuwets'a of House 92 and of Kashe of Houses 99-100. Guakami lives at Encinal.

House 95. Occupied. Owner, M., Kwisiro, Corn. (House 98). He bought it from M., Tsita, Corn. (Houses 95 and 96). He lives here with his wife, a Sun clanswoman of sixty-five, and their children.

Formerly this house was a place for meetings to prepare for the Christmas dance. (The *kashare* appoint the Christmas dancers). The house was called *chupakŭi* or *chupakŭ*. Since this house was well built against intrusion from Mexicans, being two-storied and without windows, *k'atsina* and *cheani* dances were performed in it.

House 96. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsita, Corn. (Gen. III, 80). He got the house from his mother. Uses it for storage.

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<sup>1</sup>Minoye' was the name of the first White man who "came and told them not to dance."



- House 97. Owner, M., Tsita, Corn. He built this house. He lives here with his wife, a Parrot clanswoman, and his mother's sister's son's children and grand-children. (Gen. III, 178-180, 224-226). Tsita is said to sing for the *yakahano* (Corn clan) dance i.e., he is in charge of the choir. *Yakahano* is danced in this house and I have heard of *talawaiye*, a Christmas time dance, (see House 95), being practised here. In this house Gai's'iwā (Gen. III, 179; House 85) keeps two masks, *nawish* and *hemish*.
- House 98. Occupied. Owner, M., Kwisiro, Corn. He got this house from his mother and enlarged it.
- House 99. Vacant. Owner, F., Kashe, Sun. She got it from her husband, Chaparral Cock clansman. She lives at Encinal. (See House 93).
- House 100. Vacant. Owner, F., Kashe, Sun. Formerly owned by M. Kaioti, Lizard. He went to Isleta.
- House 101. Ruin. Belonged to Turquoise clanswomen.
- House 102. Ruin. Belonged to Antelope clanswomen, the mother of Dyaiyu (House 87) and her sisters.
- House 103. Ruin. Belonged to Corn clanswomen, the mother of Hiai'ai (House 38) and her sister.
- House 104. Ruin of which traces only are left since the road cuts through. Belonged to sister of mother of M., G'awaiti, Sun. (See House 105).
- House 105. Vacant. Owner, M., G'awaiti, Sun. He got the house from his mother. He lives at Encinal.
- House 106. Occupied. Owner, M., Shi'ye, Oak. Gen. III, 30 was his father, but the marriage is not recorded in the table. Shi'ye got the house from his mother. His mother's mother, Gowaimă, lives with him. His wife is Lizzie Yuina (Juanita), Chaparral Cock. Shi'ye keeps the mask of K'ok'aikaiya.<sup>1</sup> K'ok'aikaiya belongs to the *kaiyaa'*.
- House 107. Vacant. Owner, M., Tsiutiai (?Stauutiye, Gen. I, 72), Lizard. He lives at Tsiamā.
- House 108. Occupied. Owners, F., Kyiai'sdyuwits'ă, Parrot (Gen. III, 249) and her husband A'ud'yăi', Bear. Bought from F., Dziwi's'dy'uwi, Chaparral Cock (Gen. II, 239). She lives at New Laguna. Presumably a *chakwena* mask is kept here.
- House 108a. Vacant. Owner, F., Dziwi's'dy'uwi, Chaparral Cock.
- House 109. Occupied. Owner, F., Dzi'wai'sh'u, Locust (Gen. IV, 9). She got the house from her mother. She lives here with her husband and children and her brother, Kyiyuna.
- House 110. Occupied. Owner, F., Dziwi'd'yăi, Badger. (Gen. I, 77, II, 62). She got the house from her mother. As the senior woman in the Badger clan she serves the *k'atsina*.
- House 111. Vacant. Owner, F., Jessie, Lizard. She got the house from her mother. Her father was Uwasdyě, Parrot. She lives at Tsiamā.
- House 112. Occupied. Owner, F., Shumai', Badger. (See House 22). She got the house from her father. She lives here more constantly, especially in winter, than in House 22.

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<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 5.

- House 113. Occupied. Owner, F., Kiwaidyi, Turquoise. She lives at Mesita; but stays in this house when she comes to Laguna. Kiwaidyi keeps a *shturuka* mask of which there are many at Mesita.<sup>1</sup> This house is occupied by her brother (Gen. II, 59) and his wife and wife's father, Dzǎ'yu (see House 114). Of both Houses 113 and 114 Dzǎ'yu is thought of as the head. House 113 was formerly a *kash-are cheani* house.
- House 114. Occupied. Owner, M., Dzǎ'yu, Water. He got the house from his father, according to one informant; according to another, the house belonged to his wife. He lives here with his married daughter K'oyo's'ǎi, Turkey, her husband and children (House 113).
- House 115. Vacant. Owner, M., G'awimaisiwa, Corn(?). He lives at Encinal. (See p. 224.)
- House 116. Ruin. Belonged to F., Tsaiaitya, Turkey, the mother of Frank Pisano, in 1919 governor of Laguna. He lives in Powati.
- House 117. Formerly a *k'apina cheani* house. (Turkey clan ?).
- House 118. Vacant. Owner, F., Kuyu'd'yuwe, Eagle. (Houses 24, 30, 33). She got the house from her mother. Used as a storehouse.
- House 119. Occupied. Owner, F., Gwi'shkaiě or Katie Day, Sun (Gen. III, 76; House 120). Bought from F., Hi'tyi, Water (Gen. III, 178; House 97) who got the house from her father, Waiyaisiro, Corn, who got it, inferably, from his mother, descendant in a junior line from the Corn people of House 120.
- House 120. Occupied. Owner, F., Gwi'shkaiě, Sun. She got the house from her father, A'ushuyǎi, Corn (Gen. III, 19). The house would have gone to Natsiwa, son of A'ushuyǎi's sister, but Natsiwa's wife did not want the house. This is the mother house of the Corn people of Genealogy III. The mask of *shonata*, a *k'atsina* belonging to the Corn clan, is or was kept in this house, likewise his fire-drill. The dance songs of the Corn clan were formerly practised in this house, and according to one informant, this house was that "the *k'atsina* came out of" before they came out from We'd'yumǎ's house. A'ushuyǎi appears to have put an end to all this, however, since he was a progressive and "tried to make the people burn up their masks and altars."  
Gwi'shkaiě is the younger sister of Shayaaie (Gen. I, 21, Gen. II, 171, Gen. III, 74) and was born in House 29.
- House 121. Vacant. Formerly part of House 120. Bought by M., K'a'kire, Eagle (House 18), who lives at Mesita, but likes to have a house to stay in when he comes to Laguna.
- House 122. Vacant. Owner, F., Hiwai, Corn. She got the house from her mother. She lives at Tsiamā. (Same as owner of House 57?).
- House 123. Occupied. Owner, M., Wik'ai', Oak, aged 60. Bought from Awaiye, Lizard, who lives at Mesita. Wik'ai''s wife, Tsiwakwitsa, Corn, died 1917. Her brother Hemish lives with Wik'ai', also Wik'ai''s daughter Annie (Juanita). Hemish is a hunchback. He was

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<sup>1</sup>Parsons, (f), Fig. 6.



treated by the *saiyap cheani* who lived in House 65, but, unlike the cripple who lives at Powati, he was not initiated. Wik'ai' is a *chakwena* and his mask is probably kept in this house. He was "war captain," *tsatiohocheni aikatyanotseshe* (see p. 139, n. 3), in 1919.

House 124. Vacant. Owner, F., Tsitshaai, Parrot. She got the house from her mother. She lives at Gallup with her husband, Shawire (House 50).

#### HOUSE PROPRIETORSHIP: BY SEX, CLAN, FAMILY.

At Zuñi the house belongs to the women, not so much to individual women, but to the women of the family, descending from generation to generation in the maternal line. At Laguna, on the other hand, male proprietorship in houses is common enough—of the 109 houses for which the sex of the proprietor<sup>1</sup> or proprietors was ascertained 44 belong to men as against 62 (including one to a man-woman) to women, 3 houses belonging jointly to a man and woman; but it is probable that a woman has priority over a man in inheriting the house both grew up in, and, if a daughter were still living at home at the time of the inheritance, she would certainly not be dispossessed in favor of a son. The existence of the western Pueblo system of householding by women is marked, overgrown though it be with modern innovation.

As between daughters the principle of seniority is probably observed if the oldest daughter is still living at home;<sup>2</sup> but if the elder daughter is established elsewhere the younger daughter inherits. In other words, the house is likely to be inherited by those who are in it. We have a good illustration of this principle in the case of the Lizard family of Gen. III, 20, 68, etc., 72 etc., and of Houses 27, 75, 93. Lilly (Gen. III, 72), the youngest daughter, inherited the house from her father because she was still part of the household at her father's death, whereas Me'yu'shk'ă, the eldest daughter, had gone to live in her husband's establishment. Now Lilly's eldest daughter (Gen. III, 162) also went to live in what was presumedly a marital house, so that presumedly one of the younger daughters will in turn inherit Lilly's house. So much is the theory of undisturbed possession held to, that if a married son and his family happened to be living with the man's mother at the time of her death, whereas a daughter was married out, I doubt if the son would be dispossessed in

<sup>1</sup>In the case of several vacant houses the last proprietor known, even when deceased, was included in the list of proprietors.

I may say that my chief and on the whole most reliable informant about house proprietorship had a noticeable tendency to impute proprietorship to men.

<sup>2</sup>Take, for example, the house history of the two sisters Shaya'ai and Gwi'shkaië of the Suñ clan (Gen. III, 74, 76; Houses 29, 120). The older sister stayed on in her mother's house until she moved into the house of her husband, a house built by the men of the town in return for service at the town corral. Meanwhile the younger sister had settled down into a house she got through her father's people. The mother house is therefore thought of as belonging to the older sister who rents it out of the family.



favor of the daughter. Of course the contingency is unlikely, for a girl would not leave her mother's house at marriage if she were the only girl.

But there may be no daughter at all to inherit. In this case the house descends to sons,<sup>1</sup> not to female collaterals, much less to mere clanswomen i.e., the house is thought of as strictly family property. In giving me the history of House 120, the house he was born in, Go'ty'iäi' made this point of view particularly plain. This house is now owned by Gwi'shkaië of the Sun clan, she getting it through her father, a Corn clansman and a younger brother of the last woman owner. To this woman's oldest son, Natsiwa, the house would have gone—the woman had no daughters and no sisters—but it happened that Natsiwa's wife did not want the house. Thanks to analogous circumstances Natsiwa's younger brothers appear also to have been passed by.

In native theory a parent has the right to name the heir or heirs to his or her house or other property, and a parent is likely to name the child who "has been taking care of him best" i.e., living at home. According to this view, questions of seniority or of sex are merely incidental. I incline to think that the principle of inheritance in return for service may be, if not applied to houses, then to other property, an underlying and ancient Pueblo principle.

After all family claims have been met, clanspeople—I infer only from one case (House 15) together with the discussion involved—clanspeople may fall heir; although even in these circumstances it is impossible to be sure that the inheritor is not thought of by somebody involved as kin, distant kin, rather than clan member. The reference of disputes over houses to the clan elder for settlement appears to imply a conceptual association between the house and the clan.

Men may acquire houses, not only as noted, by inheritance, but by purchase or by building. Of the 44 houses under male proprietorship 18 were inherited, 11 were purchased, and 4 were built by the owner, the history of the remaining 11 being unknown. Of the 18 inherited houses, 13 were inherited from the mother, and 5 from the father and of those 5, 2 appear to have come down in the maternal line. It is a notable fact that in several instances women who have available houses of their own are living in their husband's house. For example, K'ashië'nă lives not in House 5, her own house, but in House 38, her husband's. Kuyu'd'yuwe has two houses, one from her mother, one from her father (Houses 118, 24), but she, too, lives in her husband's house (Houses 30, 33). Shaya'ai has left her own house (House 29) for her husband's American built house (House 58).

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<sup>1</sup>Kroeber notes such a case at Züñi, 127.

Male proprietorship would very quickly break down any grouping of houses by family or by clan, did such grouping ever exist. In many instances grouping by family appears to have existed, in fact still exists. Of grouping by clan there is no evidence, but given the factors of male proprietorship and of house purchase, no evidence is to be expected, even if once upon a time, generations ago, clan grouping did exist.

Houses are thought of as property, they are traded and sold<sup>1</sup> and they may even be rented. (See Houses 1, 29, 64). Nevertheless we should not read into the Laguna householding system our own strictly proprietary attitude. The Laguna spirit about householding is in large part, let me reiterate, the spirit that you are entitled to go on living where you have been accustomed to live; the right of proprietorship is rather a right of preëmption.

The desertion of Laguna for outlying settlements encourages loose conditions of proprietorship; there is comparatively little economic pressure to define proprietorship. Several persons own more than one house, and change from one to the other according to fancy. Nor is the history of Houses 5 and 38 exceptional. Here a second wife and her married children are living in the house of the deceased first wife, rather than in their own house, because the only heir of the deceased woman lives in California.

There are approximately 51 occupied houses to 63 vacant houses.<sup>2</sup> Several of the latter are ruins or near ruins and several, 7 at least and probably more, are used as storerooms for hay<sup>3</sup> or other goods.

Of absentee owners, living and dead, the dispersal, according to data in the List of Houses, is as follows:—

Powati	9: 2 Sun, 2 Oak, 2 Water, 1 Turkey, 1 Parrot, 1 Chaparral Cock.
Encinal	7: 4 Sun, 2 Corn, 1 Water.
Mesita	6: 2 Lizard, 1 Eagle, 1 Oak, 1 Sun, 1 Turquoise.
Isleta	6: 1 Corn, 1 Sun, 1 Coyote, 1 Lizard, 1 Bear, 1 Chaparral Cock.
Paraje	5: 1 Corn, 1 Chaparral Cock, 1 Coyote, 1 Water, 1 Parrot.
New Laguna	4: 2 Corn, 1 Sun, 1 Chaparral Cock.
Casa Blanca	4: 1 Water, 1 Parrot, 1 Corn, 1 Bear.
Tsiamia	3: 2 Lizard, 1 Corn.
Gallup	2: 1 Corn, 1 Parrot.
El Rito	1: 1 Corn.
California	1: 1 Sun.

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Kroeber, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>In several cases I have counted vacant rooms listed as separate houses as part of an occupied unit, and occupied rooms also listed as separate houses as part of a larger occupied unit.

<sup>3</sup>Incidentally I note that hay which is provender for stock is associated with the men; so that the use of houses as storerooms for hay (likewise for harness and wagon equipments) is a new factor for male proprietorship.

According to house proprietorship the clan distribution in Laguna has been approximately as follows:

Clan of House Proprietor	Houses
Sun	21
Corn	12
Water	12
Parrot	12
Bear	11
Oak	10
Lizard	7
Turkey	4
Chaparral Cock	4
Eagle	2
Badger	2
Coyote	3
Turquoise	3
Antelope	1
Locust	1

As vacant houses are considered in the above reckoning, as well as the factor of male proprietorship, an estimate of the actual clan distribution is not conveyed. This may be arrived at or more nearly arrived at by considering only the houses occupied and the clan of the woman head of the house.

Clan of Woman Head of House	Houses
Parrot	6
Turkey	6
Sun	5
Bear	5
Water	5
Chaparral Cock	5
Eagle	2
Lizard	2
Badger	2
Corn	1
Oak	1
Locust	1

As I have said already, there appears to be no evidence in the Laguna house distribution for grouping by clan. In several instances there is grouping by family. Corn clan families live or lived in Houses 1, 2, 3; in Houses 95-8, 103; in Houses 119-122, and houses adjacent since torn down. Houses 7, 9, 10, perhaps in the same family connection Houses 11, 29; Houses 92-4, 99-100, and Houses 42-44 are or were associated with Sun clan families; Parrot clan families are associated with Houses 87, 88, 90, 91; and Water clan families with Houses 30-33, 40; 41, 47,



49, 53, 54. I have little doubt that a more intimate knowledge of the histories of the houses would reveal similar grouping for other houses.<sup>1</sup>

It is plain how this family grouping comes about. It may occur in two ways. The parental house may be subdivided in inheritance, two or more sisters (Houses 16, 76 and 77, 104 and 105) or even a sister and brother (See Houses 1 and 3; 83 and 84) getting different rooms of the house, or a girl at marriage or afterwards may have a room built or bought for her next to or near the parental house. At first it seems hardly necessary to consider this room a separate establishment, but as the woman's family grows other rooms may be added and a distinct unit is formed. Houses 56 and 32 are cases in point. When Shăaity'id'yuwe' of House 56 (Gen. III, 190) was formally married to her visiting Sânt' Ana husband, her great uncle built her a room next to her mother's house, just as he had originally built the house for her mother. As far as I could see Shăaity'id'yuwe' enters into the household life of her mother in much the same way as the unmarried children. In course of time, however, some differentiation of interests is likely to arise and one may predict the addition of more rooms or even quasi detached houses for Shăaity'id'yuwe''s growing and marrying children, as well as for the prospective families of Shăaity'id'yuwe''s younger sisters. As there is plenty of space about this outlying house, it is safe to foresee, say fifty years hence, a row of Oak clan houses quite similar to the present row of Water clan houses to the south, a row which our Genealogy II proves to have developed years ago by the method of accretion which I have described.

House 32 in this group of Water clan houses is another recent instance of growth by accretion. Tsaid'yuwi' went on living in her mother's house for some years after her marriage. Then, as already recited,<sup>2</sup> because of incompatibility between her husband and her stepfather, she decided to leave or rather to provide for some degree of privacy for her family. Her grandfather bought a room for her "across the street," so to speak, from her mother. That room has been added to by further purchases, so that now, economically, Tsaid'yuwi''s establishment is quite separate from her mother's, although she still spends more than half her time in her mother's house.

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<sup>1</sup>Such data cannot be obtained, however, by direct questioning, as it is certain that informants do not think of clanspeople as inclined to live together and, as any such idea is novel to informants, they do not readily recall houses grouped by clan. On putting such a query to Hiedyedye, for example, he could mention first only a group of Chaparral Cock houses in the South Prairie block. In the List of Houses only House 78 is at present, at any rate, a Chaparral Cock house. (Here is an instance, by the way, of where a daughter by a second marriage inherits the house in preference to a son by a first marriage. He lives in the house of his wife's mother). When I pushed the enquiry, Hiedyedye named Houses 42-44 as Sun clan houses, but he was far from meaning that originally all the Sun clanspeople lived in this section.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 239.

Now what will happen when Tsaid'yuwi's daughters grow up and one of them wishes for a separate house? Since Tsaid'yuwi's younger sister remained at home, she and her daughters will have a claim on the maternal house. Tsaid'yuwi's daughter will have to be independently provided for. Perhaps her father will build her a house, as near her mother's or grandmother's as possible—not contiguous, there is no unoccupied space—perhaps he will buy an old house for her nearby or in another part of town, perhaps her husband will own a house she can move into, or her husband may himself buy or build. In several of the latter contingencies what may be predicted to become the stock house of a new group of Water clan houses may be founded, situated in another part of town from the old Water clan houses on the north side.<sup>1</sup> To build this house permission will have to be had from the governor and council. When building contiguously no permission is necessary.

In short, clan grouping appears to be very much like clan migration, it is not grouping or migration by clan at all, it is grouping or migration by families. This conclusion from Laguna data is the same as that arrived at from Zuñi data by Dr. Kroeber.<sup>2</sup>

#### CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATION WITH HOUSES.

Information about ceremonial rooms or houses is hard to get since such places have long since, perhaps at the time of the Great Split, fallen into disuse. The house where the *hochen*i or cacique lived was called *hochenits'a*, and the *hochenits'a* of Taiowityuě, of the Lizard Clan, the last cacique, was indicated. Another even more ruined house was indicated as a *hochenits'a*, the cacique being an Eagle clansman. Other ruins, to the east and to the west of the plaza were said to have been *k'a'ach* or kivas.<sup>3</sup> These two buildings were used by all the ceremonial groups, including the clan heads. Information here is uncertain, the only clear fact being that in dances of the alternating group pattern, like the war and saint dances, the two groups came out from these two buildings. I incline to think that these buildings corresponded to the double kiva system of the Eastern Keresans and of Jemez. According to one informant, the *k'atsina* dancers had formerly five or six rooms at their service,

<sup>1</sup>A Water clan house has already been founded on the South side—House 74, a house acquired apparently, through paternal inheritance.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, 103.

<sup>3</sup>According to Robert G. Marmon there were never any kivas at Laguna. No doubt he has in mind separate buildings. Go'ty'iäi' thinks there were three square "*k'a'ach* where they made *hadjamuni* prayer-sticks)." *K'a'ach* is merely a generic term for building. Since writing the foregoing Robert S. Marmon tells me that there *were* two kivas at Laguna; and Dr. Boas was told that as elsewhere among the Keres a man's children belonged to his kiva and a woman at marriage joined her husband's kiva.



each group having no doubt its own room. These "*k'atsina kiva*"<sup>1</sup> were called *koch'pishuma*.<sup>2</sup> The "*cheani kiva*" were called *shakaiya*. These were special rooms, the walls decorated. There were six or seven of these rooms i.e., each *cheani* group<sup>3</sup> had its own room. The *shakaiya* indicated were:—

<i>shikani-kurena</i>	House 92
Flint	House 72 <sup>4</sup>
<i>shaiyaik</i>	House 14
<i>kashare</i>	House 47
<i>sayap</i>	South <sup>5</sup>
<i>k'apina</i>	House 117

According to one informant, there are in town in different houses eight or ten *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, the cotton wrapped corn ear representations of the Earth supernatural called *mi'we* at Zuñi and *tiponi* by the Hopi. The *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> in House 10 I was once shown.<sup>6</sup> Wrapped up in a piece of buckskin it was kept in a wall niche in the rear storeroom. This *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> is loaned to the *shiwanna cheani*. Another *iyatik*<sup>u</sup><sup>7</sup> is kept in House 41. It, too, is loaned to the *shiwanni cheani*. Another because the "uncle" from whom it was inherited was a *cheani* belonging to that set. The night of the summer solstice ceremonial this *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> was sent by Kawi'ts'iräi', its custodian, to the house where the *shiwanna cheani* was in charge, and a bowl of food was sent too, but neither Kawi'ts'i herself nor any woman in her household felt called upon to attend the ceremonial. Kawi'ts'i's husband, Go'ty'iaï', did attend and assist. He also had helped the *cheani* make prayer-sticks the afternoon before the ceremonial; but this cooperation was not connected in any way, I think, with possession of the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>. Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani*, was in possession of two *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> at his death. The rest of his sacerdotal property he directed to be buried with him,<sup>8</sup> but the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> "belonged to the town" and were not buried. . . . I have been told that "long ago everybody had an *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, then they hid them." Persons who were unwilling "to take their mothers away" still have them. However, Laguna evidence for the most part indicates that the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> were

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 237, 239.

<sup>2</sup>A Masonic hall is called White man's *koch'pishuma*.

<sup>3</sup>Or *chai'ye*, meaning all around, inside, "because they are all together, inside with *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>". According to one informant, *shakaiye* (*shakaiya*) was also a term for the group, not for the building which he always referred to as *k'a'ach*. "My *cheani* society quarters" was translated, "*k'a'ach sochanisho*."

<sup>4</sup>According to other information the Flint society together with the Fire and the *k'apina* societies had the same house, in the northeast corner of the plaza.

<sup>5</sup>Torn down at building of railroad.

<sup>6</sup>See Parsons, (f), 96.

<sup>7</sup>Dr. Boas heard of proper names for *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> *k'a'pok'a*, *wa'amina'k'o*, *ha'shumain'k'o*, *sho'-chumina'k'o*. Cp. name giving by the Hopi to ceremonial pipes (Voth, (a), 73).

<sup>8</sup>But see p. 263.



associated primarily with the *cheani*.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays persons who are possessed of *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> contribute them to the altars erected at the solstice ceremonials, perhaps at other times.<sup>2</sup> The disintegration of the *cheani* system at Laguna makes the allocation of *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> difficult. The *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> I have heard of belong to:—

- Laguna     Tsiwema (House 13). He has two *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, one from his father, Tsiwapoye, Locust clan; one from Gowaimé, his Oak clanswoman, who gave him "their" *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>.  
               Kawi'ts'iräi' (House 41). From an uncle who was a *shuts cheani*.  
               Dzamai' (House 66). She has two *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, one from her own house, one from her mother's father.  
               K'aisdyia, d. (House 62). Her *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> is kept by her son and daughter-in-law of House 63.  
               Dyai'is'its'ä, d. (House 10). Since there are only school girls left in this house, the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> may have been passed on to a son of Dyai'is'its'ä, perhaps to Gyi'mi of House 56.
- Mesita     *kashare cheani*. One of their *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> was given them by the granddaughter of Ka'ch, Turkey clanswoman, who came out of House 116 and lived in House 33, probably the mother-in-law of William Pisano.  
               Käiyäid'yai' (out of House 113) or Tsiwaisie. See Table 9.  
               Shaiusi (out of House 40). He is *shuts skikani cheani* and *shiwanna cheani*, see p. 275.
- Powati     Yuwaai d. (House 13a). He was a *saiyap cheani*. His widow keeps his *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>.
- Isleta     G'onai (out of House 8), see p. 208.

There is more to be learned about the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>; but these facts are plain: these supreme fetishes are in the custody of women who are supposed to feed them daily; as collective rather than personal property *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> are passed on from generation to generation; *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> are loaned out to the *cheani* groups they have always been associated with.

Sacred properties other than *iyatik*<sup>u</sup> are in the care of the women, for example, the *k'atsina* masks. Like the *iyatik*<sup>u</sup>, they are fed daily by the women, and they are kept therefore in the houses of responsible kinswomen. It is thought that the younger women who have been away to school would be irresponsible and "starve them." I'g'ugäi, for example, kept his two masks, both the one he wore as a boy, which is now too small for him, and the one he inherited from his father and now wears, in the house, not of his Americanized wife, but of his conservative older sister (House 66) who is careful to feed them with meal and morsels from all the food she cooks. No doubt I'g'ugäi's masks are likewise kept in the maternal house from association; but obviously the association is not

<sup>1</sup>Cp. Voth, (c), 132.

<sup>2</sup>Among the Hopi, different parts of altar paraphernalia likewise appear to be in the keeping of different individuals.

necessarily with the maternal house, since one of the masks belonged to I'g'ugăi's father. I heard also that the *he'a*<sup>1</sup> mask which belonged to G'ausire (Gen. II, 12) is kept in his widow's house (House 47). It may be that, as at Zuñi, a man keeps his mask in his mother's or sister's house "until he grows old and knows that he is not going to change his wife."

Masks, therefore, are cared for in proper houses, but as the personal property of men they are not identified with the house. The mask of *shonata* appears as an exception. It is associated with the Corn clan, and is kept in a Corn clan house (House 120 or House 97). This corresponds to Hopi<sup>2</sup> and, presumed, Zuñi usage. In general, we may say that among Keresans, Hopi, and Zuñi, fetishes, whether mask or corn, which are associated with a clan, are kept in an old house of the clan.

In Houses 3 and 47 was held the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919. House 3 was loaned for the occasion by the absentee owner who lives in Powati. It may have been loaned before on like occasions, but it is not definitely associated with the holding of the ceremonial, as is House 47. This house is recognized as headquarters for the *kashare*. One of the two altars they are possessed of is kept in this house—the White altar (*chamuche yapaishin*).<sup>3</sup> The other altar, the Blue altar (*kwishk' yapaishin*), is kept by a woman at Powati who brings it over to Laguna, to House 47 when necessary. We saw her and her father, a *kashare*,<sup>4</sup> arrive with the altar the day of the night ceremony; the *kashare* from Mesita arrived on the same day. The *kashare* prepare for the ceremonial at home, not in their ceremonial house at Laguna. . . . Although *kashare* are accounted *cheani*, this ceremonial was called *k'oach'aiyanit'iya*, "they act like *cheani*," not, as was the ceremonial proper in House 3, *koashiwannat'iya*, "they act like *shiwanna*."<sup>5</sup> To my question why the *kashare* masks were kept in House 47 the answer came that the dance must be given by the Water clan—"water is between earth and sky"—a characteristic answer of evasion through rationalization. The *kashare* are associated, to be sure, with water.

According to the same informant, *kurena* masks are kept in a Sun clan house, and *shumaekoli* were kept in an Eagle clan house,<sup>6</sup> and *k'apina* masks in a Turkey clan house.

<sup>1</sup>To be equated, probably, with *heruta* of Cochiti (Dumarest, 177-8) and *he'he'a* and *kiaklo* of Zuñi. The equation with *kiaklo* was suggested by the fact that *kiaklo* was called *haluta* to Dr. Fewkes (Fewkes, (a), 690).

<sup>2</sup>Fewkes, (b), 92, 93, 94, 99; Fewkes, (d), 262.

<sup>3</sup>See Parsons, (h), 57 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup>According to one informant, there are two *kashare* at Powati.

<sup>5</sup>*Soshiwannat'a*, I act like *shiwanna*.

<sup>6</sup>According to Stevenson these masks were taken in 1902 to Zuñi (Stevenson, (b), 547).



House 97, the house of Tsita, Corn clansman, is, I believe, headquarters for the *yakohanna* (*yakohano*? Corn people) dance, at least when it is given in a ceremonial way. House 95 which formerly belonged to Tsita, was a place of meeting to prepare for the Christmas dances, and *k'atsina* and *cheani* dances, too, it is said, were performed in it. It was called *chupakwi* (*chupaki'*, *chupakü*).

In making the rounds of houses on San Juan's day, it was said that they always<sup>1</sup> start at House 56. In 1919 the house-to-house round was not made, and the people in House 56 were informed early in the afternoon, although others in town waited about until sunset and after for the expected celebration. Na'mai, of House 56, is one of the Juanas of the town, and her husband Gyi'mi, also Juan, is sometimes accounted the head of the Sun clan, but whether either of these facts or the fact that the family takes a prominent place in the affairs of the church have any relation to the distinction of the house on San Juan's day, I do not know. I recall that a number of the tablet head pieces formerly worn in the *talawaiye* dance, a Christmastide or church dance,<sup>2</sup> were kept in House 10, the house of Gyi'mi's mother.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

With two exceptions the streets have no names, only the house clusters. The exceptions are West Gap, the exit on the west from the plaza, and East Gap, the exit on the east side.

In the middle of the plaza or *kakati*, there is said to be a crypt where the people came up from *sh'ipa'p*<sup>3</sup>. Prayer-sticks are buried here. In the war dance *masawe* and *uyuyewe* and their sister and *shoti*<sup>4</sup> stand around this place. The place is called *woachamuni hadjamuni* or *wana'chumuni*, and an informant explained the term as meaning "roots of the village" or "propped up strong," (the term for house prop is *gwana-chumuni*). *Wana'chumuni* is "fixed so there will always be people here," to *wana'chumuni* the people are "tied"; in a way informants were unable to explain they felt deeply that they were dependent on the place. In the talk I got an impression curiously similar to what one gets in talk in other circles about the sense of nationality which has a topographic basis.

<sup>1</sup>See p. 279.

<sup>2</sup>See Parsons, (f). Figs. 8, 9. See, too, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup>It corresponds to the *tiwoñapari* (*tü'wanashave*) of the Hopi. (Voth, (e), 250; Voth, (d), 27 n. 3, 157; Voth, (c), 27 n. 3). In 1681 Mendoza comments on a shrine in the middle of the plaza of San Felipe (Bandelier, Pt. IV, 189 n. 2).

<sup>4</sup>*Shoti* are lifelong officials who are named after birds (Cp. Dumarest, 202),—white-breasted brown birds that nest in rocks and whose feathers are used in prayer-sticks,—because they go out early in the morning. During the war dance the *shoti* went about collecting seeds, four seeds from each house, to take to the two *k'a'ach* and subsequently to return them to people to plant, so there would be no witch-sent grasshoppers.



*K'a'ts'ină k'augoyăñ<sup>y</sup>ishau*, *k'a'ts'ină* Sitting Place<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 19) lies about a hundred yards west of the church, below a ledge of rock. Nowadays *k'atsina* prayer-sticks are offered here, stuck into the rock crevices and laid under a cedar bush. Formerly the dancers spent their time here between dances, and food was carried out here to them. Now they stay indoors between dances and eat indoors. On top of the ledge of rock there is a small natural reservoir filled by rain water. The water used by the *k'atsina* impersonators, presumedly for their pigments, must be drawn from this reservoir.

Along the very edge of the low shelf of rock bounding the northern side of *k'atsina* Sitting Place runs a rut of an inch or more in the stone for about fifty feet. In two places a small circular rut breaks the straight line, and formerly, before the stone shelf wore away, there were two other circles, making four. Here, in the days when there were *k'apina cheani* at Laguna, the *cheani* brought his patient, bidding him direct a pebble placed under the sole of his left foot four times along the straight rut, passing in an anti-sunwise circuit around each of the circular ruts as he reached them. If the pebble did not slip from under the patient's foot, he would recover, otherwise he would die.<sup>2</sup>

Similar ruts, five of them, with stepping places alongside, are to be seen in the face of a rather sheer wall of rock in the hilly district about half a mile north of the town proper (See Fig. 20). Nowadays the school children slide down the rock face and the scratches of their tin toboggans are fresh. Years ago little girls would slide down, it was said, with their water jars on their heads. (The entire lack of sherds on the spot rather belies this statement.) But before that the ruts must have served some other purpose, and like the rut near *k'atsina* Sitting Place the purpose was, I have little doubt, ceremonial. If not a *cheani* property, it may have served as a place of omen-getting by stick-racers, like the rut on the mesa north of Zuñi. (See Fig. 21.) Here if the prospective

<sup>1</sup>According to Fewkes, a *kachina* may be called by the Hopi a sitter, possibly a reference, he suggests, to the custom of burying the dead in a sitting posture. (Fewkes, (b), 351 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup>At the risk of irrelevancy, I would like to record here the origin myth, so to speak, of the *k'apina cheani*, heard at the same time.—When the people were moving south a woman left her baby behind. The baby was found by an old woman who chewed up piñon nuts into a food for the baby. When the child grew up, he wanted to follow his people to the south. After four days of preparation, during which he killed game to leave as a supply for the old woman, he looked up into the rafters, and sticking up there he saw an awl. "What is that, grandmother?" An awl for mending moccasins." He took the awl and started to mend. The awl said to him, "Don't push me so hard, I am weak from not eating. "Are you alive?"—"Yes. I can talk like you. I am connected with the *k'apina cheani*, I am a stick swallower."—"All right. I will take you with me." The young man took the awl with him and after he had overtaken his people in the south, he said to them, "You left us behind." The man and the awl became *k'apina cheani*, and the awl is referred to as *heatsi hachtse*, Awl Man. (Cp. the San Felipe story given by Bandelier, Final Report, Pt. II, 188.) Awl Man stayed at *sh'ipa'p'* and he is prayed to for power by all stick swallowing *cheani*, *k'apina*, Fire, *kashale*. The "*sh'ipa'p'*" name of *k'anaishdiashe*, "their late father" *kashale*, one of the two initiators into the *kashale*, is *heatsi hachtse*. (The other initiator is *tsaiachechaku*, *sh'ipa'p'* name, *shinohaiye*). Formerly in coloring moccasins you had first to go to the *k'apina cheani* to have him put on a bit of the color you wanted to use.

racer succeeds in keeping the pebble under his foot, it is an omen (*tehiuna*) of victory, and the omen seeker may bet on his success. This rut was made by the war gods.

The conspicuous large boulder which is variously called *k'onat'a'-yumă* (*k'a'na't'yă'yoma*, cave) *okatsaani*, *kuateshshkūtisho*, in the south-east part of town (Fig. 5) is said to have been the place for taking solar observations.<sup>1</sup> It is a spot where the war captain stands to call out orders. It figures, as we noted (see p. 235), as a meeting place in a tale about the founding of Laguna.

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<sup>1</sup>Sunrise observations for the solstices were taken, according to one informant, at *osha'ch gama*, the sun his house, a little hill about three miles to the east of town, beyond the sand plains. Here the *cheani* took observations in sets of two in turn, Flint and *shikani*, *shayaiye* and Fire, *kurena* and *k'apina* or *kashale* or Giant. (This informant held to a separate organization for the *shahaiye* and Giant societies.)

## V. TOWN GOSSIP: PERSONAL NOTES

Like any other small town, Laguna is rife with gossip, and the character of the gossip is pretty much that of a White townsman alert to the jobs and deals of his acquaintances and relatives and interested in the sicknesses and deaths, the love affairs, the family quarrels, and the goings and comings of his neighbors.

At Zuñi a large part of town gossip is concerned with the public ceremonies—one hears, for example, that if the *komosona* instead of the *kopekwin* had led in the whipper masks come in to whip because a dancer's mask had fallen off in sight of the assembled townspeople, then the whipping would have been less perfunctory; or one hears of a dispute in the ranking priesthood about the date for announcing the winter solstice ceremonial. At Laguna, I have heard exactly the same kind of sacerdotal gossip; but I get the impression that it figures less in the daily life, as is certainly to be expected since ceremonialism itself figures less. However, at Zuñi I have lived in a household in close touch with Zuñi sacerdotalism, whereas at Laguna my hostesses have been too Americanized to preserve any considerable interest in non-economic affairs; moreover, reserve with Whites about the ceremonial life is far greater at Laguna than at Zuñi. People will talk to you, to be sure, about the ceremonial to which you have not been an admitted looker-on, and they will talk about the meaning of ritual more freely, indeed, than at Zuñi; but the fact that you have not witnessed ceremonials precludes many opportunities for gossip about the personnel engaged in them.

In repeating gossip I have been frank in the same way that the native is frank; and prudent, I hope, in the way he would wish. Incriminating evidence about "selling information" about ceremonial particulars I have withheld; and the one witchcraft case I have cited in particular is past history, the principal is dead. Moreover there is hardly a possibility of these records ever falling into the hands of a Laguna townsman, or, if they did, of his ever reading them. At Laguna, as elsewhere, gossip must follow certain lines to be considered interesting, lines which I trust I can be charged with avoiding.

### I

Today Tsiwema of the Oak clan is the outstanding sacerdotal personage of Laguna. He is a *shahaiye cheani* or was, for he referred to the office as if with the organization it were extinct; and he is a *shiwanna* (storm cloud) *cheani*, which means that he is called upon for lightning shock.<sup>1</sup> He is, in fact, called upon as a doctor in other circumstances,

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<sup>1</sup>But not necessarily, see p. 275.



notably in childbirth cases. Once when I showed him a sprained ankle, he examined it with assurance and laid claim to knowledge of treating broken bones;<sup>1</sup> and his practice was superior he said, to that of White doctors, who merely cut off the limb. People also buy medicine from Tsiwema—and complain of the price he asks.

Tsiwema is also called upon at funerals. It is he who makes the four prayer-sticks which are set in a bowl of cornmeal and on the fourth day after death taken up the hill just north of town to be deposited there for the deceased. (Even if the deceased relative has died away from Laguna; even if she be married to a White, the meal will be set out.) Tsiwema sets out the deposit on the hill, leaving his *iyatik'*<sup>2</sup> meanwhile in the house of the deceased, and on his return Tsiwema performs the final rite of exorcism, going around the house with his *hishami* or eagle-wing feathers, and cutting one feather against the other to cut away and discard the machinations of witches.

A *cheani* who is himself a witch—and it is the easiest thing in the world for a *cheani* to become a witch; indeed the first witches were *cheani*, people say, and of a recent years the *cheani* have died out because they were witches—will eat the funerary food instead of breaking the funerary bowl and scattering the food. Therefore the *cheani* will be watched on his funerary journey by the relatives of the deceased, to be shot if caught offending.

I heard of one case where Tsiwema was called in to perform the rite of presenting the infant to the Sun; but how commonly he may officiate at this rite I do not know. The infant, in this case, was said to be his own—by a White man who added, “The old devil! old enough to be the girl’s grandfather!”

To the girl’s house Tsiwema was, to be sure, a frequent visitor; his own house was nearby. Here he lives alone, doing his own housework. I have seen him washing his garments, a strange sight in a town where laundry work, like other housework, is so strictly a woman’s job. Tsiwema was thrice married and widowed. As far as I know he has no children at Laguna with whom to live. He visits a daughter married at Isleta.

Although he speaks no English, and but little Spanish, Tsiwema or José, to change to his Spanish name, is sexton of the Catholic Church or *sextana*, as he is often called. Go’ty’iäi’ acts as his assistant to ring the

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<sup>1</sup>According to Bandelier, the cacique was among the Keresans, the surgeon and nurse, attending to the wounded. (*Final Report*, Pt. I, 281). Such practice, where the cacique has been a Flint *cheani*, is quite in accordance with native point of view—like cures like.

bell when he is away, or open the church. During parts of the service José stands at the right hand of the priest as he faces the congregation with Go'ty'iäi' next to José. On the left of the priest stand two of the secular officers, the two ranking officers who happen to be in town. After the priest leaves the church it is customary for the officers in turn to address the congregation. On one occasion I heard Gai's'iwă (Bert Wetmore) (Gen. III, 179; Houses 85, 97), one of the two lieutenant governors, orate for a quarter of an hour or more, José and Go'ty'iäi' punctuating his speech with exclamations of assent. Such visible participation of native state and church in the Spanish institution at Laguna gives vivid color to the point of view that the governorship of the Pueblo Indians was a Spanish introduction and that much of native ceremonialism—the elaborate altars, the smoking or incensing rite, the water-sprinkling rite, much of the cult of the dead—were deeply affected by Catholic rituals.

A particularly striking example is found at Laguna in certain of its prayer-stick practices. The prayer-sticks deposited by the governor and the officers after their election consist of the pair of sticks peculiar to the Sun and a cross stick, the crosspiece tied with yarn. Similar sticks are made by the officers and by any Catholic so disposed on the seven Fridays after Ash Wednesday. The sticks are made in the house of José and then carried off in the different directions. On deposit the sticks are pointed towards the church and meal is sprinkled towards the church, a road between church and offering, just as when José puts down *tauwaka* or kick-stick offering to the *shiwanna* he sprinkles meal or pollen from above or skyward to below, to the irrigation ditch.

José has been sexton for the past half century, at no time getting any pay, according to his own account; but at times, according to a critical townswoman, charging admission to the church—as much as seventy-five cents—and the critic of such avariciousness added, “That is the reason they put him out as *sextana*, and put Go'ty'iäi' in his place.” She may have meant that Go'ty'iäi' had been given the keys, for the next day at mass José was still in the position of honor at the altar,—a distinguished figure, tall and grave, his thick white hair encircled with a scarlet *banda*.

And as hinted at above, José or Tsiwema is accused of overcharging for his medicines too. Theoretically no charge should be made by a *cheani* for “medicine.” When you go to ask a *cheani* for medicine you take him a native tobacco-filled cane cigarette (*wishpi*) just as you do the supernaturals from whom you ask favors, and the cigarette is the



pay to the *cheani*. To be sure, presents of food after the cure are in order, for we hear of the women relatives of the invalid preparing gifts of food,<sup>1</sup> and we hear, too, that when *cheani* are hungry they will make people sick to get presents of food.

*Sextana*, *shiwanna cheani*, practitioner at large, Tsiwema has also come into some of the functions of the Flint *cheani* who was the cacique, the *tiamoni hocheni* of the people, before the Religious Revolution of the Sixties which ended in the great split to Isleta. This connection of Tsiwema with the office of *tiamoni hocheni* is never formulated—I doubt if it is recognized—and it is ascertainable only by indirect evidence; but little by little this evidence becomes strong. In the first place, Tsiwema uses the same prayer-sticks as the Flint *cheani*—a lightning stick with a button-topped mate.<sup>2</sup> Moreover forked lightning symbols, distinctly Flint *cheani* property, have to be made by Tsiwema, as, for example, the lightning pieces on the *hemish* mask. Arrows and guns are associated with lightning in the war cult, and to Tsiwema in the capacity of surgeon we have already referred. In the second place the performance of the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 was said to be dependent upon the presence of Tsiwema—at the last ceremonial [at the winter solstice?] Giwire, the *shikani-kurena cheani*, had had the ceremonial in charge, and now it was the turn of Tsiwema. Whether or not we have here a reference to the dual division of functions is speculative; it is certain, however, that Giwire, before he became decrepit, and Tsiwema, coöperated in some ways in ceremonials.<sup>3</sup> In this connection it is not insignificant that at the summer solstice ceremonial Tsiwema wore in his hair on the left<sup>4</sup> two sparrow-hawk feathers (*kurena*<sup>5</sup> feathers) and that in his prayer-stick offering for the summer solstice a sparrow-hawk feather was included.

The cacique or caciques have controlling functions among the Eastern Keresans in connection with the *k'atsina* cult. Giwire still laid claim to this control; but, in recent years his claim had been disallowed. Nor does Tsiwema appear to have any special connection with the *k'atsina* organization. In a *chakwena* dance in 1918 I heard of him figuring towards the head of the line, coming after We'd'yumă, "their

<sup>1</sup>See, too, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup>But the crook stick of the Flint *cheani* and of the *shikani cheani* Tsiwema does not use.

<sup>3</sup>In 1920 I heard that Giwire's altar had been entrusted to Tsiwema, so that Tsiwema is now in charge of two altars, both *shikani-kurena* altars, one from Giwire and one from Dzia'yats'a (Gen. II, 13). Tsiwema also has stone fetish animals, *shuhuna*, which, according to one of his assistants, he feeds.

<sup>4</sup>On the right he wore four downy eagle feathers, one white, the others stained green-blue, yellow, red, representing, inferably, the directions. The *shuts cheani* assistants wore no feathers, nor did they go nude.

<sup>5</sup>Among the Keresans. Worn by members of the *mamzrau* society of the Hopi and by members of the *shi'wanakwe* society at Zuñi.



father''; but except for this instance, which is open to other explanation, Tsiwema seems not to have come in for the *k'atsina* functions of the cacique or Flint *cheani*. Unlike the Flint *cheani*, he neither wears nor guards the *ts'itsinuts* mask, the mask of the exorciser who whips at *k'atsina* initiations. . . . It seems likely that after the Religious Revolution and the lapse at Laguna of the office of cacique, the cacique functions or some of them, were undertaken, in course of time, on the one hand by the Zuñi Badger clan and, on the other, by Tsiwema, the ubiquitous sacerdotalist, Tsiwema, with his compelling personality, forceful, unscrupulous and avaricious, and of so vigorous a physique that even now, a man over seventy, he can out-walk in his expeditions to distant shrines men much younger.

## II

Go'ty'iäi' or Go'ty'isiwa of the Corn clan (Gen. III, 32. House 41. Out of House 120), a man about sixty, is assistant sexton, as we have noted, and to Tsiwema likewise assistant in native ceremonial. Go'ty'iäi' is a *shuts k'atsina cheani*. He was "made *k'atsina*" as a boy. His *k'atsina* name is Hoseni, Eagle Father, the name given him by his ceremonial father or introducer into the *k'atsina* organization. This man was an Eagle clansman.<sup>1</sup> Go'ty'iäi''s head was washed by an Antelope clanswoman, the "sister" of Dyayu (Houses 87, 102), and by a Badger clanswoman (Gen. I, 62). Four *k'atsina* brought Go'ty'iäi' fruit, and he was told that if he revealed the secrets to the other children the *k'atsina* would come after him and carry him off to *wenimatse*. The same moral lesson is taught to Zuñi boys by means of a tale where the delinquent's head is cut off and thrown to *kołuwela* (*wenimatse*), and the Tewa boys of Hano are similarly taught.<sup>2</sup>

The Laguna initiation appears to have taken place in two parts, as at Zuñi and among the Hopi; for Go'ty'iäi' related that for the very little boys the whipper *k'atsina* came, *ts'itsinuts*. The initiate was covered over with a cloth. Four days he lived without salt, i.e., on a saltless diet. To the hair of the initiate four turkey feathers were tied. These *wapanyi*<sup>3</sup> were made by the Badger clan (i. e., its representative for the *k'atsina*), and subsequently given to the *kurena cheani* to deposit in

<sup>1</sup>Among the Hopi the introducer may not be of the same clan as the mother or father of the candidate. (Voth, (c), 98).

<sup>2</sup>Parsons, (k), 103.

<sup>3</sup>As feathered strings, whether used as separate offerings or attached to feather-sticks, are called.

The use here of turkey feathers in the hair is probably significant of the death of the initiate. Ordinarily turkey feathers would not be worn in the hair, I have been told at Zuñi, because of the association of the feather with death.

the river. The *kurena cheani* sang. They sang the same songs "as when you are born." New clothes were brought and four ears of corn. They blew on (*shkoaputs*, me, blow) corn and clothes. Girls as well as boys were initiated. After four days the *k'atsina* returned, bringing presents to the initiates—bows and arrows, *k'atsina uwak* (babies i.e., dolls) and cradles.

Go'ty'iäi's assistance at the summer solstice ceremonial became to us a conspicuous fact. Early that afternoon he was working with us as usual when a messenger came to summon him to Tsiwema's house to make prayer-sticks. In course of time he went—after a second summons was delivered. The following afternoon, the day after the all-night ceremonial, Go'ty'iäi' reported for work with his usual fidelity; but he was too sleepy to be of use. He remarked that the cedar purge taken the four mornings before the ceremony (*sauwetstyia*, vomit, *dyanasai*, four days) keeps you from getting tired during the ceremony, but does not preclude subsequent sleepiness.

Go'ty'iäi' went to school at Carlisle for several years. His English is passable, and it gives him satisfaction to speak. As he is the victim of trachoma in an advanced stage, having been infected some years ago, presumably by his wife, whose eyes are badly affected, and as physical labor is irksome to him, he proved a willing and, let me add, conscientious interpreter. The money he made at this was being expended in paying a couple of men to help his son-in-law tear down and rebuild a room of the house they both lived in, a house which belonged to Go'ty'iäi's wife and prospectively to his daughter, wife of the coöperating son-in-law. It is possible that the room was to be considered as belonging to Go'ty'iäi'; nevertheless it was to be a convenience to the whole household and it would be inherited in due course, together with the rest of the house, by Go'ty'iäi's daughter or son.

But this money contribution of Go'ty'iäi's did not excuse him in the eyes of his household, or at least of his stepdaughter, from joining in the labor of building, just as he was never excused from chopping wood. He was near blind and chopping wood must have been far from agreeable, but no allowance was made for him; he was condemned as lazy and the more he applied himself to our work the more irritated became his stepdaughter. She plainly did not like to see him earning money so easily, money that she had equal opportunity to earn, but would not earn because of her preference for housework. It was a truly ludicrous illustration of the contempt of the manual laborer for the intellectual, the overpaid intellectual.



It is likely that failure of eyesight is not the whole explanation of Go'ty'iäi's failure to command the respect not only of his stepdaughter but presumedly of his townspeople. He seems never to have been an officer nor to have been accounted of any importance in the town life, and his attitude toward his neighbors is curiously self-deprecatory. He is obviously aware that he has no social prestige. And yet he is not in the least unsympathetic to the life of his people. His sophistries are native, not the outcome of Carlisle, and he is quite uncritical of native custom or belief. In describing custom and belief he was ever concerned that I should understand in order to appreciate, a concern that was, to be sure, not characteristically Pueblo Indian. And his own appreciation of the æsthetic quality of ceremonial and of orderly living was more vivid, certainly more articulate, than that of any other Pueblo Indian of my acquaintance. "It was very beautiful" was a common formula on his lips, but it was more than a formula; there was no doubt that he felt that it *was* beautiful—when the returning salt-gatherers came singing into town or when *shonata*, his clan *k'atsina*, appeared in the dance.

### III

Go'ty'iäi's stepdaughter, Dzaid'yuwi', of the Water clan (Gen. II, 122; Houses in 32, 41), in whose house we lived, was an indefatigable housekeeper—as far as house cleaning was concerned; but her American stove saw little service, for her culinary efforts were of the slightest. She had no storeroom, kept no food supplies, and she could not cook from either the American or the native point of view. And in her own house I never saw her engaging in any handicraft; her mother's house, in which she spent the larger part of the day, was no doubt the center of her economic activity. She was up early and to bed late in order to provide meals, such as they were, for the husband of whom she was very fond, and as he ate in silence she would sit chattering away to him of all the doings of the day. Between whiles he was at work in the American irrigation service, and she was around the corner in the maternal household or making us uncomfortable by house cleaning or by nagging her unfortunate little boy.

Yayai was a year and a half old, and his mother was still giving him the breast, although she was advanced four months in pregnancy. However, one day she remarked that as soon as we left she and her husband had decided that the boy had better be weaned. She knew that he would cry even more than usual at the time and this she wanted to spare us. The little boy was undernourished, sickly and peevish. He was suckled



for a few minutes whenever he expressed the desire, by whining or motions. Frequently he was first slapped or threatened with *chapio*, the children's bug-a-boo.<sup>1</sup> Yayai and his mother were constantly teasing and tormenting each other; it was of its kind as pitiful a sight as could be found in civilization. "The meanest child I ever saw," his mother described him. "He don't want anybody to eat, he cries when he sees anybody eat"—certainly as abnormal and anti-social a trait in Pueblo Indian eyes as could be.

Yayai had an older sister, a girl of ten, who was more patient with him than his mother and who was made responsible for him, after day-school hours, and, after the school closed for the summer vacation, more or less all day. I remember one morning in particular when I needed a guide in house mapping. Dzaid'yuwi' would not go herself, she never cared to appear to be sponsoring us, but she sent the little girl—with the child on her back. It was fiercely hot, the child kept up an unbroken whine, and not for a moment would he let his sister lead him by the hand instead of carrying him in the blanket on her back. And yet the little girl never lost patience and attended to my questions as closely as circumstances permitted. She was more of a woman than her mother.

Nevertheless her mother would grumble about her and scold her. The child the mother seemed really attached to was the eldest son, a boy who was, during the greater part of our visit, away at school at Santa Fé. The night he returned with the other children, his parents went up to the station to meet him, and his mother, before and after, showed the emotions familiar in the mother of a boy back from boarding-school.

It was for this boy that his father had made the cross that was to be carried on Cross Day to the Church. A like cross of willow and spruce hung over the door of my room. It was carried by the little girl in the procession of the past May. Dzaid'yuwi' told me she had kept the ear of corn laid beside Yayai during her confinement. For six years she had worn in her belt an obsidian arrow-head given to her as a charm by her brother-in-law.<sup>2</sup> And one day from a miscellany of household odds and ends in a paper box under the bedstead she picked out a bit of wood which you would burn in the middle of the room to fumigate against witches.

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<sup>1</sup>Not that getting a child to mind through frightening it is peculiar to Dzaid'yuwi'. Recently in a visit to a very amiable Zuñi house I saw an *atoshle* doll hanging to the door of the closet where the masks were kept. "We told the children he was so small because he was just born," observed my gentle informant, "but in four days he would be grown, and would come and cut off their hands and tongue. . . . Why doesn't he grow up? the children ask us. The children think that when *atoshle* comes (Parsons, (o), 343-5) he is paid bread and meat not to eat them up."

<sup>2</sup>Cp. Bourke, 469; Parsons, (f), 121 n. 2.

Gen. III, 40, also wore an arrow-head in her belt. She showed me how a *cheani* would use the arrow-head to give medicine.

The wood was *kadjürna*, and it had been got from a *cheani*.<sup>1</sup> Dumarest refers to its use as witch prophylaxis at Cochiti,<sup>2</sup> and the bit that Dzaid'yuwi' gave me was identified for me by an Isleta woman as in use against witches in Isleta. In fact the Isleta woman had a piece of it at the very time tied in her belt.

Dzaid'yuwi' was quite credulous of native belief and uncritical of ceremonial, but she was indifferent. It was prudent indeed of her husband to keep his masks in the house of his orthodox sister, for it is not at all improbable that Dzaid'yuwi' would have starved them, as she herself said that girls who had been away to school were suspected of doing. She did not trouble to go to the summer solstice ceremonial in the house of her kinswoman, although she told me that one year she and a neighbor did plan to wake each other up about four in the morning to go and get the medicine (*wawa*) which at that time, at the conclusion of the ceremony, was administered to all present.

It was this woman neighbor that was Dzaid'yuwi''s chief company when she was in her own house, although persons of all ages and of both sexes, connections for the most part by blood or marriage, were always dropping in, on errands or merely for a chat—just as is the case in every Pueblo Indian house. But the neighbor would stay by the half-hour or hour, sometimes helping to wash dishes, and the two women talked and laughed together continually. When the neighbor was there Dzaid'yuwi' would not interpret or work at genealogy. She said her friend would laugh at her English, but more than this she was suspicious of the friend, as the Pueblo Indian always is of persons who are not kin, not that at times he does not mistrust even relatives, since the most serious witchcraft practices are supposed to take place within the family. Dzaid'yuwi' in this case did not of course suspect witchcraft, but spying. "Why does she come round so much?" she said one day, after an amicable call. "Before you came, she never used to come round so much."

Dzaid'yuwi' dressed her hair in native fashion, belted club at the back, and bang drawn across the forehead. She wore the two-fold dress of the Pueblo woman, cotton slip under the blue-black native cloth dress over one shoulder, and square of silk knotted in front and hanging over the shoulders, a decorative piece suspiciously Spanish. She always wore American stockings and shoes; I never saw her barefoot or in moccasins. Her pair of misshapen yellow kid shoes with most of the buttons gone she told me she had inherited from the sister who had died a few

<sup>1</sup>According to one informant *kadjürna* (Sp. *kachana*, Isleta, *bakürli*, is a root, and got from Jemez).

<sup>2</sup>Dumarest, 154.



months past—after the shoes had been in due course fumigated. Badly made and ill kept store-bought shoes, shoes which have displaced the moccasins which were the outcome of native arts of hunting, tanning, sewing, and coloring, shoes which were withal exorcised after the death of their original owner, may not Dzaid'yuwi's pair of shoes be taken as a symbol of how Americanization is proceeding at Laguna, or commercialization indeed the world over?

#### IV

Dzai'ity'i of the Water clan (Gen. II, 19, House 40) is a woman over forty-five, possessed of talent and good looks. A few years ago she took as her second husband a man who was her junior by ten or fifteen years and who was also a clansman. His family disapproved the marriage; and, rather a striking fact, this disapproval was based on the disparity in years rather than on the incest involved, at least so gossip runs. I heard about the affair from a Water clanswoman, whom Dzai'ity'i called on one day to borrow a small sum of money. Dzai'ity'i was refused, she already owed \$1.80 to the family, and when you loaned her money it was "hard to get it back." She was impecunious, although her husband's family was the richest family of Laguna.

Dzai'ity'i is a *shiwanna cheani*. Her *cheani* name is Tsinadyuwi. Tsiwema, whose predecessor as *sextana* was Dzai'ity'i's father, Tsiwema is Dzai'ity'i's or Tsinadyuwi's ceremonial father, "her father." Some years ago he cured her of a grave illness, and she "joined them." The fact is interesting as evidence that initiation of patients after recovery into the curing society whose doctor effected the cure has been a Laguna as well as a Zuñi or Hopi practice. Moreover, the case shows that the *shiwanna cheani* group is or was made up, not merely of the lightning shocked,<sup>1</sup> as you are commonly told. Tsinadyuwi assists or is supposed to assist Tsiwema in his ceremonials. Until a day or two before the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 Tsiwema was away from Laguna, visiting a daughter at Isleta, and it was said that if he returned in time for the ceremonial Tsinadyuwi would take part in it, otherwise she would not. Tsiwema returned, nevertheless Tsinadyuwi did not go to his house the night of the ceremonial, but went as a looker-on, to the house of her clanspeople where the *kashale cheani* were conducting the ceremonial. She was criticised for thus neglecting her own ceremonial duties. She had

<sup>1</sup>Nor are all the lightning-shocked initiated. Kawi'tsi'i (Gen. II, 53, Gen. III, 33) and others were along with Tsiwema when he had his shock experience and the others were also shocked, but Tsiwema alone was initiated,—"it is too hard to be *cheani*" (see p. 275).

After a person is shocked, I was told in connection with this incident, he must be left alone until he comes to, otherwise he will not come to (see p. 275).



been neglectful for some time past.<sup>1</sup> It is also a fact that when her son was shot by accident and badly wounded she summoned, not Tsiwema, but the American doctor and American nurse.

As is noted elsewhere (p. 218), Tsinadyuwi is called upon at funerals, to "paint" the face of the corpse and to sing. In the instance cited, the deceased was a clanswoman, but it is possible that, as assistant to Tsiwema, Tsinadyuwi officiates in some particulars at funerals in other clans. She is called upon at childbirth, but how commonly and in what capacity was somewhat obscure. For one thing she understood how to get the foetus into the proper position for delivery. She also knew of a root (*huwidyamu*) which ground fine and drunk with hot water brought in the milk. In general Tsinadyuwi was well informed on native beliefs and practices in connection with childbirth and with little children, as far as I tested her with data from Zuñi and from other Laguna informants.<sup>2</sup>

Tsinadyuwi was also familiar with some of the longer tales, including the Emergence myth. On one occasion she narrated that myth at some length, but instructed our interpreter, a clanswoman to whom the myth was unfamiliar, not to translate it to me until she got to the latter part of it, in particular to the coming of the White priests. In her mind, this advent was the proper conclusion of the emergence or migration or history tale of her people. The origin myth of Zuñi concludes similarly.

Tsinadyuwi's clanswoman was a poor interpreter, but Tsinadyuwi was too timid to work with any other. She was in particular fearful of our regular interpreter; he was or had been a Fire *cheani*, and, as some of our mutual acquaintances pointed out, one *cheani* does not want another *cheani* to know anything about what he or she does.

## V

Dziwitira of the Sun clan is over seventy years old. I first saw her picking to pieces a quilt on the terrace of Dzaid'yuwi's house. She had come over from Mesita for a few days to stay at the house of Dzaid'-

<sup>1</sup>By the following year she seems to have had a change of heart, for there is a fair amount of evidence that at the summer solstice of 1920 she made some of the prayer-sticks deposited by Tsiwema, her sticks being like his, but all yellow instead of alternating yellow and turquoise.

<sup>2</sup>It seems opportune to record here some of the things Tsinadyuwi told me which are not recorded in "Mothers and Children at Laguna," and "Mothers and Children at Zuñi, New Mexico."—There is a root medicine to determine the sex of the expected child; the roots are small for a boy, large for a girl.—If the expectant mother drinks through reeds (*hishdua*, used for arrows) she will have a boy, and all her future children will be boys. Dark spots on cheeks indicate a boy. (Our interpreter, who was pregnant, was told that she was going to have a boy).—A nap during labor will change the sex of the child.—Deer meat cooked with other meat will cause twins, because deer have twins.—To cause you to have twins, and one of them to die, a witch will hide from you your water jar or dipper, and do something to it. As a prophylactic against twins you eat two peaches grown together or any fruit similarly grown.—If the delivery is retarded, you would hit the woman on the back with a man's moccasin; and you would pray to Badger for help. (You may have put a badger paw in your belt—cp. Parsons, (a), 168 ft.) . . . Badger digs out quickly.—The placenta is buried in the river bank with meal and bread crumbs.

yuwi''s mother. She had always helped the family to make or remake their quilts and so Dzaid'yuwi' had invited her to her house to engage in the same job. Dzaid'yuwi' was going to "pay" her, probably in kind.

At the time I was engaged in genealogical work with Dzaid'yuwi', so, as I had to catch her at odd moments, this time at her own invitation I asked her a question or two about her kin as she sat over the quilt. "Don't speak their names," she warned, "the old woman will think I am selling their names to you; she will talk about it." For a Pueblo Indian that was a natural attitude—distrust of anyone not of the intimate household circle, but, in this case, unwarranted, for the old woman began at once to tell us about her own people, taking the chance, of which she was apparently unaware, of being herself talked about. Not infrequently, at Zuñi as well as at Laguna, I have found that old people of a garrulous disposition will quite naïvely give information that juniors refuse. More than once a young, Americanized interpreter, has even checked, by his own attitude, the communicative spirit of an elder.

Dziwitira was the daughter of Taiowityuë of the Lizard clan, the last cacique or *tiamoni hocheni* of Laguna, and it was about her father she wanted to talk—at a price. Taiowityuë had become in boyhood a Flint *cheani*, and later a member of the warrior group, an *opi'*. He married, and it was then, after his marriage, they began to talk about making him *hocheni*. He had many children, twelve, and I may observe that there was no suggestion that this fulfilment of paternity was out of the way. Unbroken continence in the high priesthood is, I believe, a concept of sanctity which has developed among the Pueblo Indians solely at Zuñi.

As a young girl Dziwitira was preparing to become a Flint *cheani*. With one other girl she cleaned the ceremonial room of the *cheani*, she fetched water, and she took care of the altar paraphernalia. She had carefully to sweep up the chips from making prayer-sticks, as among the Hopi, and I presume elsewhere, a function not negligible, and she had to take the refuse down to the river; her father had even taught her how to make prayer-sticks. He would put a mark on the stick to show where she was to scrape off the bark and to paint. He showed her, too, how to tie on the feathers, but as to whether she actually prepared the whole offering her recital was a little ambiguous. Cornmeal and corn pollen were fed by her daily to the *s'amahiye* and the *iyetik'<sup>u</sup>*. Before ceremonials she, too, practised the four-day purge.

But Dziwitira was never an initiated *cheani*, she was merely a helper; she did not even refer to herself as *shuts* (raw, unripe) *cheani*, as do the



uninitiated men assistants. Several women *cheani*, all now dead, were enumerated by her. One of her sisters had been a *kurena*. The other women she mentioned were:—

<i>shahaiye</i>	Tsiwaiyuna
	Shauti
Fire	Shuitya
	Kaiaidyuits'a
	Saushji
<i>saiyap'</i>	Matonyi or Kauutiduwits'a
	Saiyap'
	Saiyap' (a junior)
<i>kashare</i>	Kauwiesië
	Tsaiityi

At the time I met her, Dziwitira had come in to Laguna with other folk from Mesita for the summer solstice ceremonial; but the day before the ceremonial she was sent for to return home to settle a family row that a troublesome daughter had precipitated. This daughter has had a very unusual history—for a Pueblo Indian women. A few years ago she engaged in the murder of her husband. Her confederates were a lover, the son of Tsiwema (House 9, 13); and the then husband of Kuyu'd'yuwe (Gen. I, 68) and a man-woman who lived in the woman's household. The three were jailed. On their release, the lover and the woman appeared unashamed, and in time married other persons; the man-woman never went out and is said to have died of the disgrace. The father of the woman, Dziwitira's husband, once a war captain, also died of the disgrace. On his return home, after he had first heard the news, he is said to have taken off his belt and with it beaten his daughter who was at the time at home, pretending to be sick.

## VI

Hiedyedye, of the Bear clan (Houses 11, 29, 31), was born about forty years ago in Laguna; but shortly after his birth his parents joined the Laguna colony in Isleta, and Hiedyedye grew up in Isleta. As a boy he herded sheep and from that date are the designs tattooed on him—a small sun on his forehead, on his left wrist and arm a rabbit and the Laguna horse brand. Sheep herders are given to tattooing, pricking ground up charcoal into the skin with a cactus point. In the Laguna-Isleta colony Hiedyedye became a Fire *cheani*, and he married. Gossip goes that his attentions to the other sex were considered excessive and that "the men drove him out of town." At any rate he left Isleta and came to Laguna to live—and remarry. Again he disturbed the com-



munity by his gallantries. He became the reputed father of several children and he figured in the first infanticide case known at Laguna. Infanticide is, as one might expect, an odious offense in Pueblo Indian eyes, and the case came up before the governor and council. The evidence was extremely slight, and the case was dropped. But after Hiedyedye and a girl were found asleep one night in one of the deserted houses—at Laguna as at Zuñi the deserted house appears to be a *rendez-vous* for lovers—Hiedyedye was warned “by the men,” i.e., the governor and council that unless he reformed he would be driven from Laguna. Either he took the warning or with increasing years his gay spirit was sobered, for he is reported as having said lately that he had determined “to be good.”

His wife may be also a factor in sobriety. She has no children and there are no relatives in her household, so that given an impulse to watch over her husband, she is much freer to gratify it than most Pueblo Indian wives would be. And in fact she is a closer conjugal companion than any Pueblo Indian woman I know. She sits out on the terrace with her husband, of an evening, and she works with him in his fields. I have met them driving together in his buggy to or from the fields which lie near New Laguna, and there in June they were seen cultivating the corn, he in one row, she in another. Moody, forbidding, and ungracious, she is a marked contrast to the light-hearted and charming man she safeguards.

Besides his farming, Hiedyedye has a light, but paying job in the stable of the Sanitarium. His wife raises chickens and sells eggs. They are putting by money—in the bank—and they are reported as saying that it is better thus to provide for themselves than to enlarge their household with dependents—it is a departure in the direction of the American single family and as marked an instance of disintegrating native custom as any I have met in the Southwest.

Hiedyedye was the best interpreter we found in Laguna, although his native tongue he spoke, as we say, with a foreign accent. He was interpreter, too, for the Catholic priest. Like José or Tsiwema, he combines Catholic and native sacerdotalism, rather ludicrously, because so cautiously, we thought on one occasion. For the four days before the summer solstice ceremonial he was taking the cedar brew purge of mornings, and I believe that he assisted at the ceremonial conducted by Tsiwema, although he insisted that, tired out that night, he went to bed early, and slept through. He was tired out, he said, because the day before he had been in charge of a Sunday school picnic to Mt. Taylor.

Probably he did make the expedition with the children, but I have little doubt that with the charge he combined a mission of depositing prayer-sticks on this most sacred mountain, *spinna hochenits'a*.

Of his own curing group, the *hakani* or Fire *cheani*, Hiedyedye always assumed ignorance except once when he stated that the *hakani* and *shahaiye cheani* cured snake bite and drove snakes away. When he was a boy he saw a *hakani cheani* remove from the village one of the many rattlesnakes that used to be about the old houses. The *cheani* prayed and sprinkled corn pollen (*hatawe*) on the head of the snake, he chewed medicine and rubbed his hands with it. Then he invited the snake to come into his hands. The snake came and the *cheani* carried him away. The *cheani* would not kill the snake.

Hiedyedye's English was good enough and his mind open enough to discuss with him religious theory, native and Catholic, from a comparative and quasi critical<sup>1</sup> standpoint. He remarked one day that from my Zuñi experience I had learned something, I understood Indian ceremonial up to a certain point; but beyond that I was ignorant, the true inner meanings I did not know. No doubt he was quite right, but of course, for obvious reasons, I had not let him know just what I did know; and in his place I would have made the same criticism. His comment was interesting, however, as showing that to his mind native beliefs were connected in a philosophic system, not on the surface, but esoterically, at least for the White, however enquiring.<sup>2</sup> "Why not let me in on this inner meaning?" I queried. "Do you tell us about your secret beliefs?" he retorted. He had in mind, it seemed, questions he had put the Catholic priest. He had once asked the priest, "How could confession forgive sins?" and "How do you get your power?" The priest had laughed and merely replied, "Are you going to be a priest?"

### 1919-1920

In 1920 the summer solstice ceremonial was to have been performed on June 13. On June 11 there had been a dance, *kawaiyutsjia*, in House 4, on June 12 the men were out rabbit hunting<sup>3</sup> to the south when there

<sup>1</sup>It was Hiedyedye who advanced the comparison between "What you call germs" and the pernicious things sent into a person, into his clothes, mind you, not into his flesh, by witchcraft. (Parsons, (h), 62 n. 3).

<sup>2</sup>Unless the White had been connected in some way with the ceremonial life, when like another he would understand the native philosophy. One of the old time White pioneers resident at Laguna had been so closely associated with the people that at one time there was talk of initiating him into the *chakwena* group. Hiedyedye would therefore not credit me when, after a talk with the said White, I asserted that he understood nothing of Indian religion. Incidentally, I did the white man a good turn, because Hiedyedye at once inferred that the man was but loyally preserving secrecy by his seeming ignorance.

<sup>3</sup>On the ceremonial hunt always held the day before the solstice ceremony. The game is collected the following morning by the war captains to be placed that night on the altars as an offering to *iyatik'ü*



arose a terrific storm and three of the hunters, Tsashji (House 4), this year the "head war captain": Shuwai'iri (Gen. II, 60; House 110), and Dya'gäiyäi (Gen. IV, 8; House 109)<sup>1</sup> were struck by lightning. Dya'gäiyäi was on horseback and he tumbled off the horse and lay face downwards on the ground. They waited "a long time"<sup>2</sup> before picking him up, waiting for a second clap of thunder; but it did not come, and so they knew that he was dead. Besides had he not been seen when he was struck?<sup>3</sup>

There was much general perturbation over this tragedy, and it was decided not to hold the solstice ceremony in Laguna, but in Encinal.

Eight days later when I arrived in Laguna I was told "they had not done anything yet for Shuwai'iri," but that Tsashji had been treated.<sup>4</sup> In the upper story of the vacant house (House 1) next his own, chosen because of its old fashioned fireplace, where medicine could be boiled, Tsashji had gone into a retreat of four days under the direction of Shaiusi (Gen. II, 22) of Mesita, brother of Dzai'ity'i (see p. 269), a graduate of Carlisle and a *shuts shikani cheani*.<sup>5</sup> Doctor and patient had spent the whole period indoors, what food they took was cooked without salt and brought to them by Tsashji's wife. There had been a daily purge. The rest of the treatment I was unable to learn about. At the close, Tsashji's head was washed by Shaiusi's wife and his sister, Dzai'ity'i, in the house of the retreat. Shaiusi's head would be washed by his wife at home. Tsashji had no intention of becoming a *shiwanna cheani*.<sup>6</sup> A large quantity of things, bread, meal, meat, beans, and cloth, "a big load," was given to Shaiusi and this pay was deposited over night by Shaiusi's wife in Dzaid'yuwi's house, a house conveniently near and likewise the house of a kinswoman.

During the year another violent death had occurred, at Paraje. It was a suicide, a rare occurrence. Indeed only one other suicide is remembered in Laguna; it occurred about twenty years ago at Powati.

<sup>1</sup>Within five years all of his people, i.e., his sister's household, were said to have been lightning shocked; but whether or not he was included in the experience I do not know.

<sup>2</sup>At Zuñi they would wait until the rain ceased.

<sup>3</sup>These two beliefs, that in order to recover, a lightning-shocked person should not be seen when he is struck and that there should be a second peal of thunder or flash of lightning, I have found familiar to people of Isleta and Santo Domingo. I infer from remarks made at the time of Giwire's decease that if the storm ceases it is supposed that the deceased has been carried away by the *shiwanna*.

<sup>4</sup>There are probably more reasons than one for the necessity of being treated. How dangerous to a healthy life lightning shock is considered to be, may be inferred from the fact that stomach cramps may be caused by merely "smelling the smoke" of the lightning-struck, you may be so far away from the accident that you are unaware of it. For cramps in the stomach *henadyi wawa*, cloud medicine, is given and if the cramps have indeed been caused thus indirectly by lightning the stomach will swell up.

<sup>5</sup>Bringing with him his *iyatik*<sup>a</sup>, he had officiated in the summer solstice ceremonial of 1919 in House 47. At that time I was told that he was a *shuts shiwanna cheani*. I infer that it was in this capacity that he officiated in the lightning cure.

<sup>6</sup>In Zuñi I had just heard of a similar cure without initiation. Here the patient had been bit by a mad wolf. There was a retreat of four days by patient and doctor.



In both cases the suicide was a man with a jealous wife. Yuriwa (House 82) and his wife had two sons but no daughter, therefore about ten years ago they adopted an eight-year-old girl whose mother had died, and who had no recognized father. The girl, a Lizard clanswoman, was no relation,—Yuriwa is of the Water clan, his wife of the Bear clan. In January the Lizard clan girl had a baby, and Yuriwa's wife believed that he was the child's father. Besides "although Yuriwa was a good worker, his wife was always scolding him." There had been quarreling all night, it was said, and in the morning Yuriwa shot himself with a pistol. "His wife was too mean, he couldn't stand it." . . . The two sons will inherit House 82.

Several other illegitimate births had occurred during the year: Dzaid'yuwi's unmarried cousin (Gen. II, 121) had had a baby in Gallup. Hearing about it, her adoptive family sent for her and the baby. The girl's brother-in-law was believed to be the baby's father. After a while this man became sick and the same family sent to Gallup again to bring him home with his wife and children. The contiguity of sister-in-law and brother-in-law in the same house (House 41) was felt to be awkward, but apparently unavoidable. . . . The unmarried daughter of House 19 had also had a child; but, not repeating the history of Dzaid'yuwi's cousin and of her own mother, not by her brother-in-law. The father was said to be the celibate son of House 47. For several years past this man had been devoted to the woman of Houses 36, 56. The man and woman even went out together and worked in the fields together. The intimacy was said to have killed the woman's husband. During the year the woman had died, and now the celibate was going with the girls.

Prolonged celibacy is unusual, as you would expect, at Laguna. Besides the instance in House 47 and in House 27 I learned of two other instances, in these cases, of celibacy plus a reputation for chastity. The daughter of House 93, Gen. III, 159, died unmarried at the age of forty-five, and Osharani (Gen. III, 180) of House 97 is unmarried. She is about thirty and the handsomest woman in Laguna.

There had been an elopement during the year. Dzaisdyui (Gen. I, 100) who had separated from her Zuñi husband ran away with one of the sons of House 4, to Gallup. The Indian agent was trying to ascertain if her Zuñi husband were still alive. Indian agents, more particularly when they are Catholic, show considerable solicitude now and again over the matrimonial affairs of the Indians. It must take time, and even so, odd mistakes are sometimes made. The people of Zuñi once laughed

a good deal over their agent who, upon interfering in the affairs of two couples, had shut up overnight in the same prison room a man from one couple, and a woman from the other couple, thinking the two were a married couple.

To return to Laguna, to House 19, some time during the winter, Kaaihië, the married daughter of the house, had a dream in which her grandfather appeared to her saying that he wanted her to be made *cheani* as he had been—his *iyatik'*<sup>u</sup> was still in the house. Kaaihië went and told the *tsatio hochen*i and Tsiwema, the *shiwanna cheani*, about her dream, and Tsiwema undertook to initiate her. Meanwhile there were some protests. Several women went to Mrs. Eckerman, the grandniece of Giwire, the last most authentic of the *cheani*, to ask her, as a representative of Giwire, to interfere, since it would be a disgrace for Kaaihië to use Giwire's songs, she was not a fit woman to be *cheani*, not being strict enough in matters of sex. It was even said at the time that one of the two *shiwanna cheani* women had threatened to resign were Kaaihië taken in. Taken in she was, however, for Dzaid'yuwi' says that one day her little girl ran home saying that Kaaihië was sitting with a feather in her hair, and that Tsiwema was there with a rattle. Dzaid'yuwi' went and looked for herself, verifying the news. The ceremonial life at Laguna, compared with the life in other pueblos, is certainly a bit haphazard.

It was K'ashiena (Gen. III, 40; Houses 5, 38) or Shena, as she is often called, who had threatened to withdraw as *shiwanna cheani* were Kaaihië put in. I had heard before of K'ashiena as one who had helped Tsiwema. It is said that she was sickly as a child and therefore was given by her mother to the *cheani* to help them, to sweep the floor for them, to fetch water, etc. Her status as *cheani* is disputed; some say that she has never been initiated, and much of her special information, knowledge of herbs and of midwifery, she appears indeed to have acquired on her own, so to speak, at any rate she does not think of this knowledge as secret to *cheani*. Some of it she got years ago from two old men, Sohwahna, *shiwanna cheani*, and Gaushuro, *shahaiye cheani* (? Gen. I, 55). Her own father was *kurena cheani*.

K'ashiena is a woman about fifty, of a frank and responsive disposition, alert and cheerful. Dzaid'yuwi' says that she always sends for K'ashiena at childbirth and that K'ashiena always knows what to do and helps her through to the very end, cheerfully and ungrudgingly. I can well believe it, and I regret that my acquaintance with K'ashiena began so late in my visit.



It may be remembered that there had been talk of superseding Wed'yumě of the Badger clan, the "father" of the *k'atsina*, with Ts'i-wairo, the Antelope clansman, who had undertaken to become "their father." During the year the change had been made. Ts'i-wairo still lived at Paraje and it was said that the *gumeyoish* masks<sup>1</sup> had been taken to his Paraje house. Ts'i-wairo, Wed'yumě and the head war captain went into retreat for four days, according to one informant, into House 112, the house Wed'yumě came out of, according to another informant into House 108a, a house borrowed by the war captains. Twenty members of the *k'atsina* organization went also into retreat. ("That was only a part of them; there may be as many as one hundred members.") Contenance and a daily purge were observed in the retreat. There were four days more to the ceremony, days of non-retreat; i.e., the whole ceremony lasted eight days. Unfortunately, I could learn little or nothing more of the ceremony except the interesting fact that Ts'i-wairo had to go to Acoma to get the rules of office (*oyuk'aiye*, like the Zuñi term *haitoshnawe*) from the Antelope clansmen there,<sup>2</sup> there being no Antelope clansman at Laguna and the rules of the Badger clan for the *k'atsina* not being the same as those of the Antelope clan.

In discussing this subject it became evident that it made little or no difference whether or not Ts'i-wairo was an Antelope clansman. He was "being pushed into the office" by reason of a vow probably made when he was sick,<sup>3</sup> long ago; and not because he was the only available Antelope clansman. In fact, informants were doubtful as to whether Ts'i-wairo was or was not an Antelope clansman. He was associated with the Parrot people of Houses 62, 87, who had migrated to Paraje, and his father was Tsiwak'ama; of those facts they were certain; but Tsiwak'ama had married three times; and one informant did not know the clans of any of his wives, and another thought that he was the second husband, not the brother, of Tsioditsa, she thus being the mother of Ts'i-wairo. Another informant opined that since her mother, child of the Parrot clan, called Ts'i-wairo, "brother," he too must be child of the Parrot clan. . . . It became fairly certain that Roris, an Antelope clanswoman who had lived much in Jemez, was the mother of Ts'i-wairo, he

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<sup>1</sup>Ts'i-wairo has been one of the regular *gumeyoish* impersonators, I believe. Of the other three, two are Parrot clansmen, and one a Sun clansman.

<sup>2</sup>Were the Antelope clan at Acoma to die out, states an Acoma informant, the Badger clan would take its place in the *k'atsina* leadership—the Laguna practice.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 269. The only time I saw Ts'i-wairo or Antoni Davi, the silversmith of Paraje, was at Powati when he came in to forbid an old blind man to go on telling me stories—Mexican stories at that. As a result of a vow made during sickness a man may volunteer to become *kurts hano* or *k'atsina hocheni* or, if he is a Badger man, *dyup hano*.



being thus indeed an Antelope clansman. But the discussion threw light upon the feeling that to father the *k'atsina* a man could be made Antelope.

The night of San Juan, 1920, *talawaiye* was danced in House 97. This year the circuit to the houses of the saints' godchildren began at House 69 and ended at House 56. A miscellany of things were thrown to the visitors—dry goods, bracelets, money, pottery, a live rabbit, legs and saddles of mutton, and bottles were hung down from the house top. The circuit was made as usual, on foot. Some years ago when they went on horseback, as in other pueblos, there was an accident, and since then horses have been ruled out. This year in the subsequent chicken pull a Navajo got away with the rooster. The townsmen caught the Navajo, stripped off his shirt, and made him leave town. Ever since the people have been afraid that the Navajo would do something to them.

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Fig. 5



Fig 6.

Fig. 5. K'onat'a'yumă. House 1 to the Right. To the Left, parts of East Ledge building and of South Prairie.

Fig. 6. The Southwest End.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

Fig. 7. To the Right of the Water Tank is House 72. Beyond, Ruins 80, 81.

Fig. 8. Houses 71-100. Procession for San José on September 19.





Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. "Middle". To the Right, West Gap, Houses 15, 16, and the Church Belfry. To the Left, Ruin 14, House 12.

Fig. 10. "Middle". House 15 and North-Middle Houses.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

Fig. 11. "Middle", looking Northeast from Ruin 14.  
 Fig. 12. "Middle", North Side.





Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

Fig. 13. House 18, West Side.

Fig. 14. Northeast Houses.





Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

Fig. 15. Houses 41-47.

Fig. 16. West-on-top-of-hill Houses. Photographed from the roof of the church building.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

Fig. 17. West Outside Houses.

Fig. 18. South End from San José River.





Fig. 19. *K'atsina* Sitting-place. The ledge in the middle of the picture and the cedar next to it are where prayer sticks are deposited. West side of church.





Fig. 20. Marked Rock North of Laguna, Photographed by Mr. N. C. Nelson.



Fig. 21.

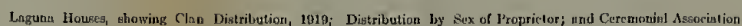


Fig. 22.

Fig. 21. Omen Rock north of Zuñi, at *atsanakwi*.

Fig. 22. Zuñi Man with Omen Pebble under his Foot.







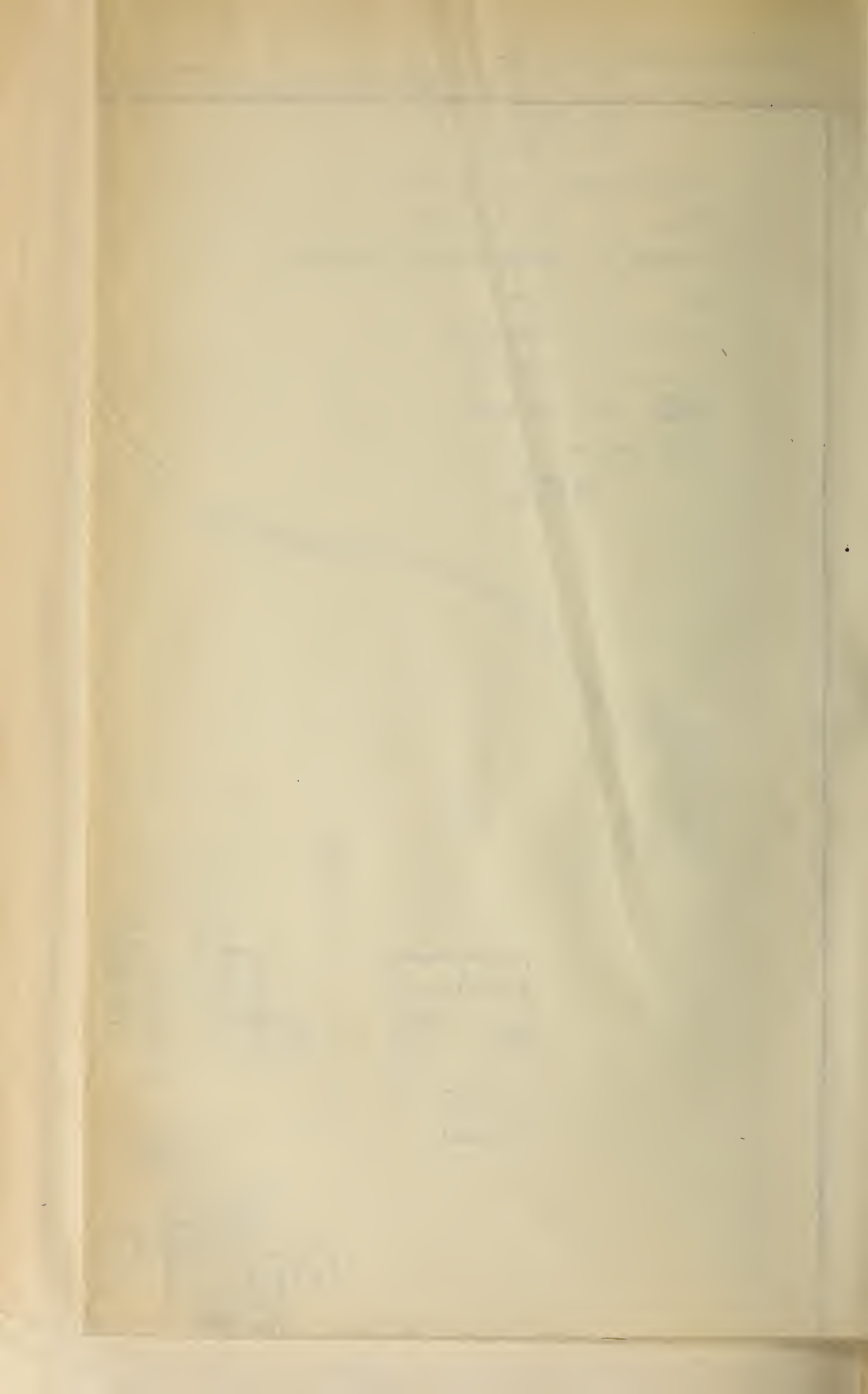
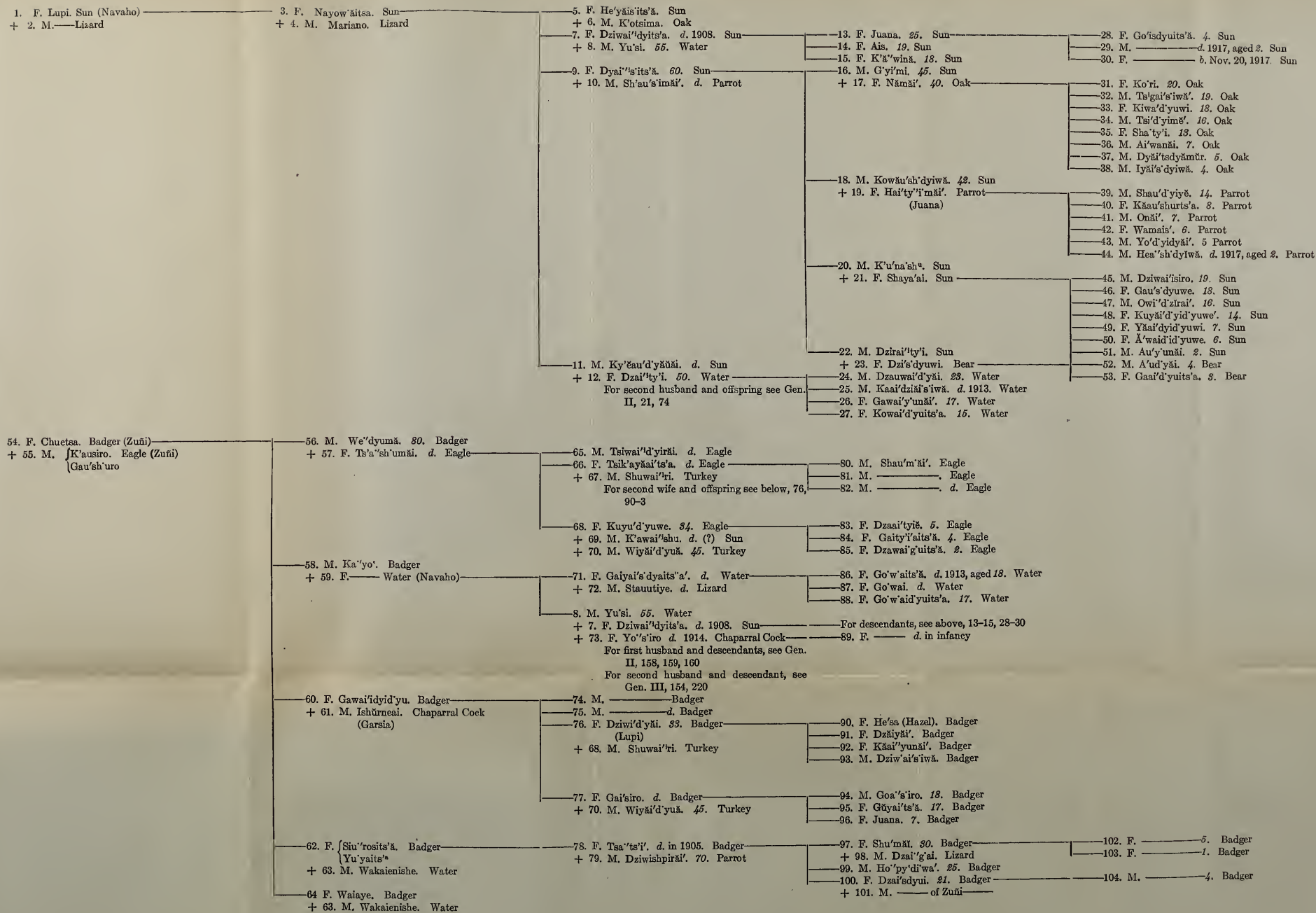


TABLE 1  
GENEALOGY I



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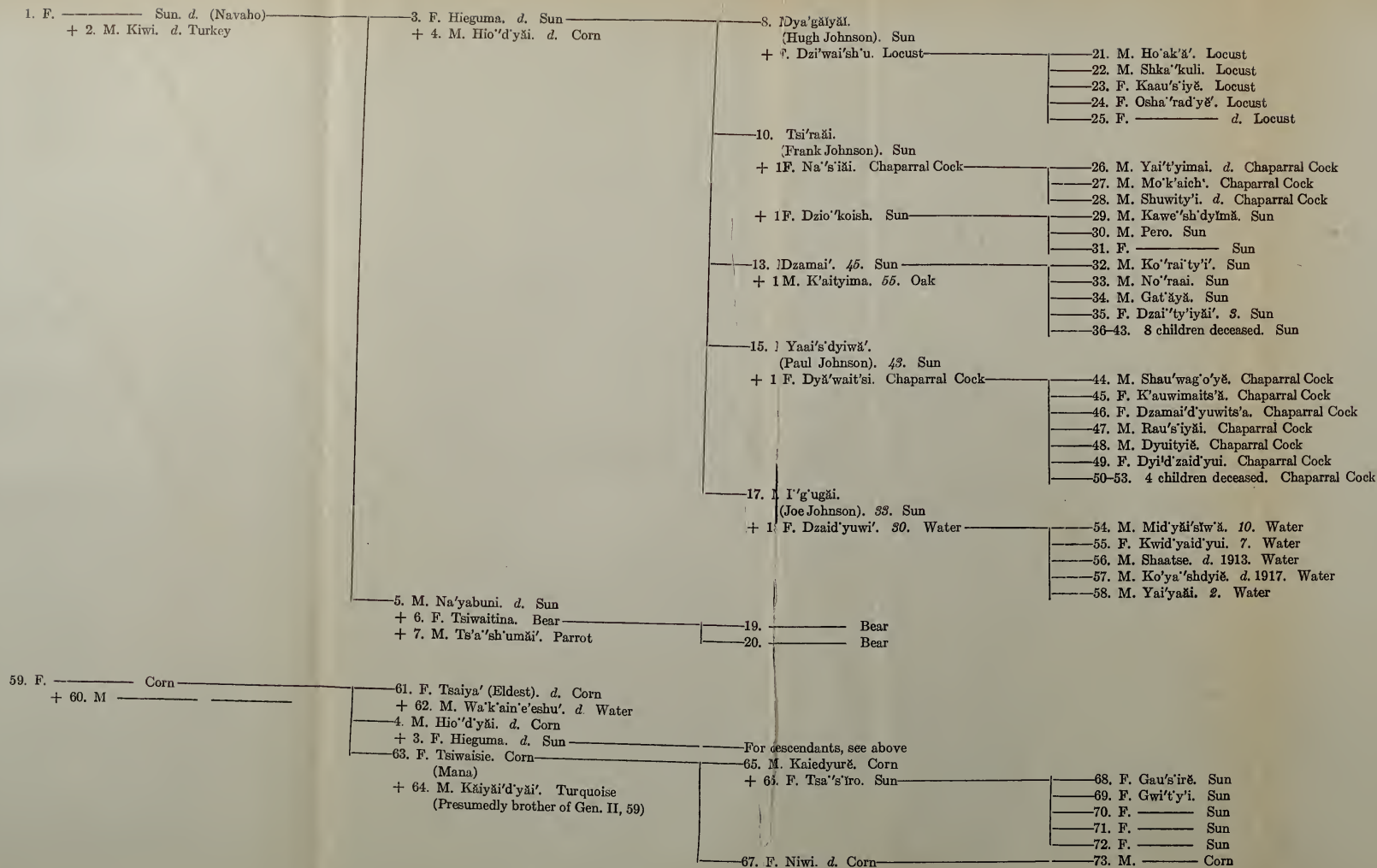








TABLE 4  
GENEALOGY IV



(1916 4)

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(Table 1)

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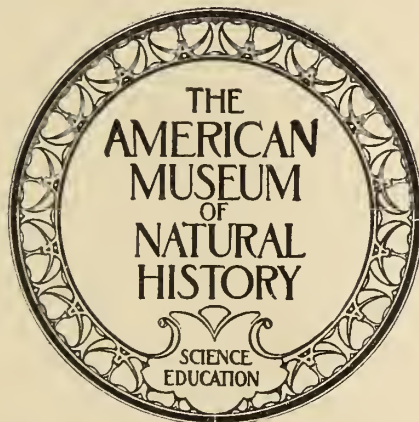
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THE ANTIQUITY OF THE DEPOSITS IN JACOB'S CAVERN

BY

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## INTRODUCTION

The determination of the more or less precise age of a prehistoric cultural deposit has always offered considerable difficulty. The recovery of a prehistoric calendar or chronology greatly simplifies the problem, for the correlation of our historic time-sequence with the prehistoric time record is all that is then required; this may be done by deciphering or translating the ancient language or symbols, by comparison with periodic astronomical phenomena, and by other means. But the difficulties increase and many puzzling angles of the question appear in the absence of such positive, conscious, human records. If, however, a definite age can be determined for a vertical section through any such deposit, the possibilities are good that adjoining deposits may be dated by comparison.

An attempt is made in this paper to approach the problem from two separate viewpoints, each possessed of considerable exactness; the proof of the human origin of the deposit from the chemical and physical analyses of the undisturbed layers; and the assignment of a definite age to these layers through the determination of the age and growth conditions of stalagmites which grew and recorded contemporary events at the same time that the habitation layers were being deposited.





## THE STALAGMITIC RECORD

Previous work upon the growth of stalagmites has indicated the possibility that certain favorably situated, slow-growing stalagmites may record major climatic fluctuations occurring during their lifetime. They are somewhat unique in that they record climatic variations by their external appearance—their shape—and thus yield certain information without necessitating the destruction of the stalagmite. These favorably located stalagmites also, in common with the big trees and the clay varves, add a growth ring or layer, a light band and a dark band, each year.

Several stalagmites in an open cavern<sup>1</sup> in southwestern Missouri were known to have shapes similar to those attributed to variation in climate and through the assistance of the American Association for the Advancement of Science these stalagmites were studied in reference to their natural environment.

There are five factors which influence the deposition of lime from the lime-water, after the solution has reached the cavern<sup>2</sup> interior. These are: rate of drip, humidity of the cavern air, amount of air circulation in the cavern, temperature of the cavern air, and the concentration of lime in the lime-water. When a stalactite is also present, it very largely takes care of the variation in the concentration so that the growth of its corresponding stalagmite is dependent only upon the drip, humidity, air circulation, and temperature.

A fast drip and a high humidity favor an increase in diameter of a stalagmite as do also a small air circulation and a low temperature. A stalagmite showing a sudden increase in diameter indicates that a change has occurred in one or more of the four factors influencing its diameter growth. If this change is very abrupt it further indicates that all four of the factors may have been so affected as to produce an increased diameter; the drip increased, the humidity increased, the air circulation and temperature decreased.

Fig. 1 shows the entrance to Jacob's Cavern, located in Taylor's bluff, on the right bank of the Little Sugar flood-plain, two and one half miles south-east of Pineville, McDonald County, Missouri. This cavern is in the St. Joe limestone, the lowest member of the Mississippian formation. The St. Joe limestone rests upon the Eureka shales<sup>3</sup> which are

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<sup>1</sup>Peabody, Charles and Moorehead, W. K., "The Exploration of Jacob's Cavern," (*Bulletin 1, Department of Archeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., 1904*).

<sup>2</sup>Allison, Vernon C., "The Growth of Stalagmites and Stalactites" (*The Journal of Geology*, vol. 31, No. 2, February-March, 1923).

<sup>3</sup>Peabody and Moorehead, *ibid.*

probably of the Lower Silurian, the deep-well, water-bearing stratum of western Missouri and eastern Kansas and this water-tight stratum is also the level of most of the springs in southwestern Missouri. The Upper Silurian and Devonian are apparently missing. The evenness of the limestone roof layers of the cavern is shown in Fig. 2 which is a view looking outward from the rear of the cavern; this photograph was taken with the camera set at the place later occupied by the rear end of a trench dug for archæological purposes in the fall of 1923.

This cavern was first investigated<sup>1</sup> archæologically in 1903 by Moorehead and Peabody<sup>1</sup> who described several stalagmites with "stools" or enlarged diameters. Gould<sup>2</sup> explained this mushrooming effect by the sponge-like action of the ash layer (the cavern was inhabited by man during the time of the growth of the stalagmites, as is clearly shown by the abundant flints, bones, charcoal, etc., found in the stalagmites) in spreading out the dripping lime water. But, in 1924, when one of the stalagmites was sawed in half vertically it was found that there was a distinct dividing line between a lower, almost white, limestone layer and a dark, upper layer contaminated with the bones, flints, charcoal, etc., and the "mushrooming" had occurred in the lower, uncontaminated, layer.

The enlargement of the diameter of this stalagmite, Fig. 3, was very abrupt and indicates a cool, damp, climatic period.

The plan of the cavern is shown in Fig. 4. The stalagmite which was removed, transported to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, sawed in half vertically, and polished, was No. 3 of this plan. This detailed examination was made possible through the assistance of the American Museum of Natural History. Fig. 3 shows stalagmite No. 3 in position in the cavern (with the black earth layer removed) and Fig. 5 shows the place after its removal. The kneeling man has his hand on the stump of the stalagmite while its place of attachment to the overhang above it is shown by the white patch over the man's head in Fig. 5. A stalagmitic dike, to the right and rear, is plainly shown in this figure while the man in the foreground is standing on the bed rock.

The diagrammatic vertical section of stalagmite No. 3 is shown in Fig. 6. It started growing from a small neck which represents the death of an older, underlying, stalagmite. Section A of this figure was accidentally detached while preparing for shipment. It will be noted that the diameter of this stalagmite increased very abruptly at the start, finally becoming so great that the lime water overflowed the face and formed the

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<sup>1</sup>Peabody and Moorehead, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup>Peabody and Moorehead, *ibid.*



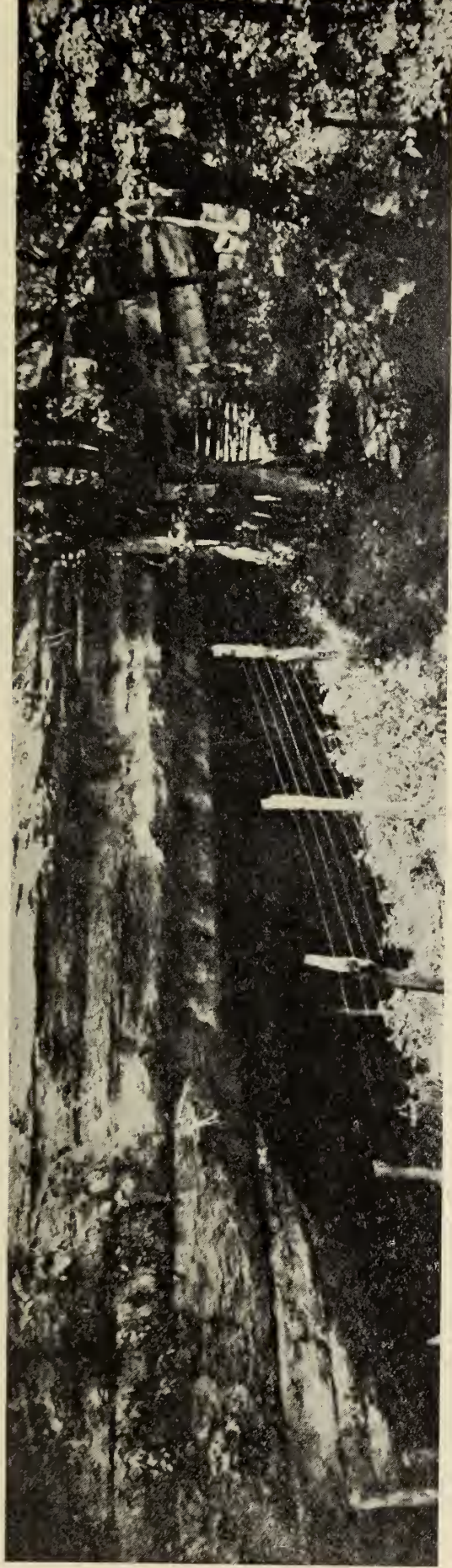


Fig. 1. The Entrance to Jacob's Cavern.





Fig. 2. View looking Outward from the Rear of Jacob's Cavern.

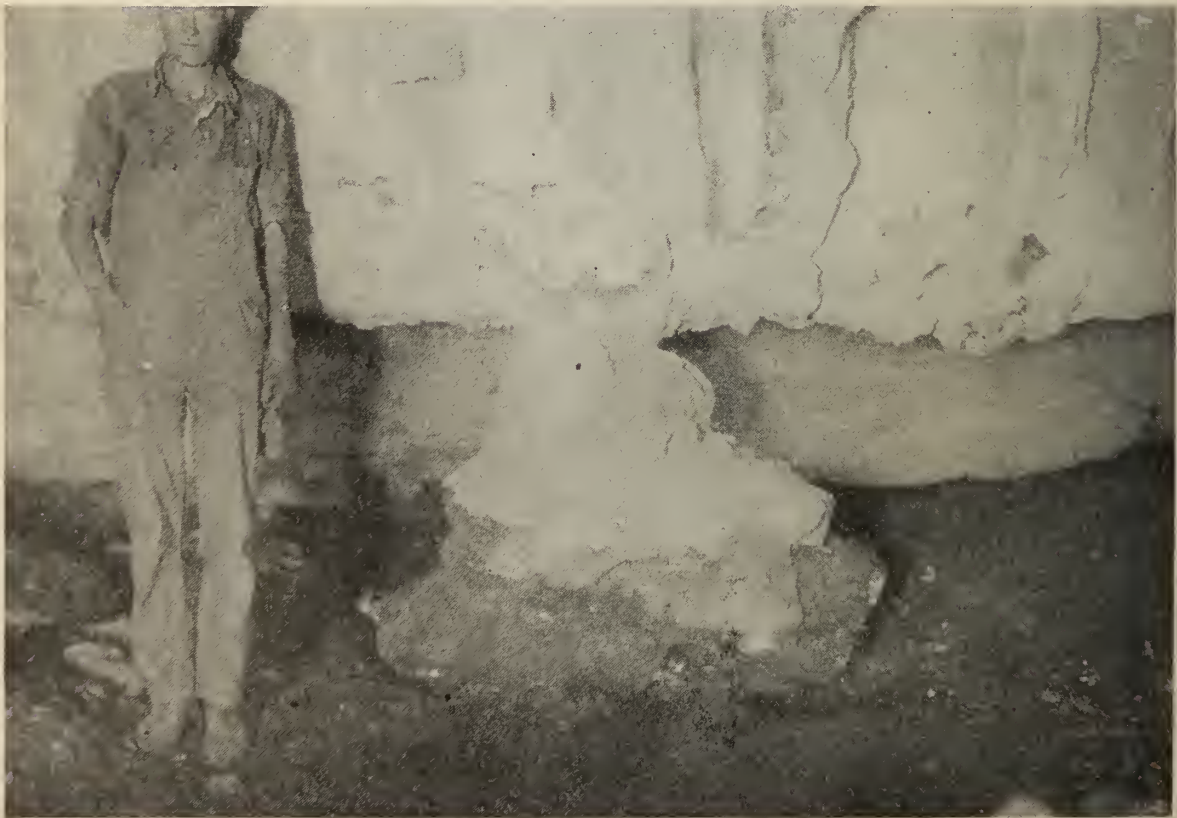


Fig. 3. Stalagmite No. 3, in Position in the Cavern.



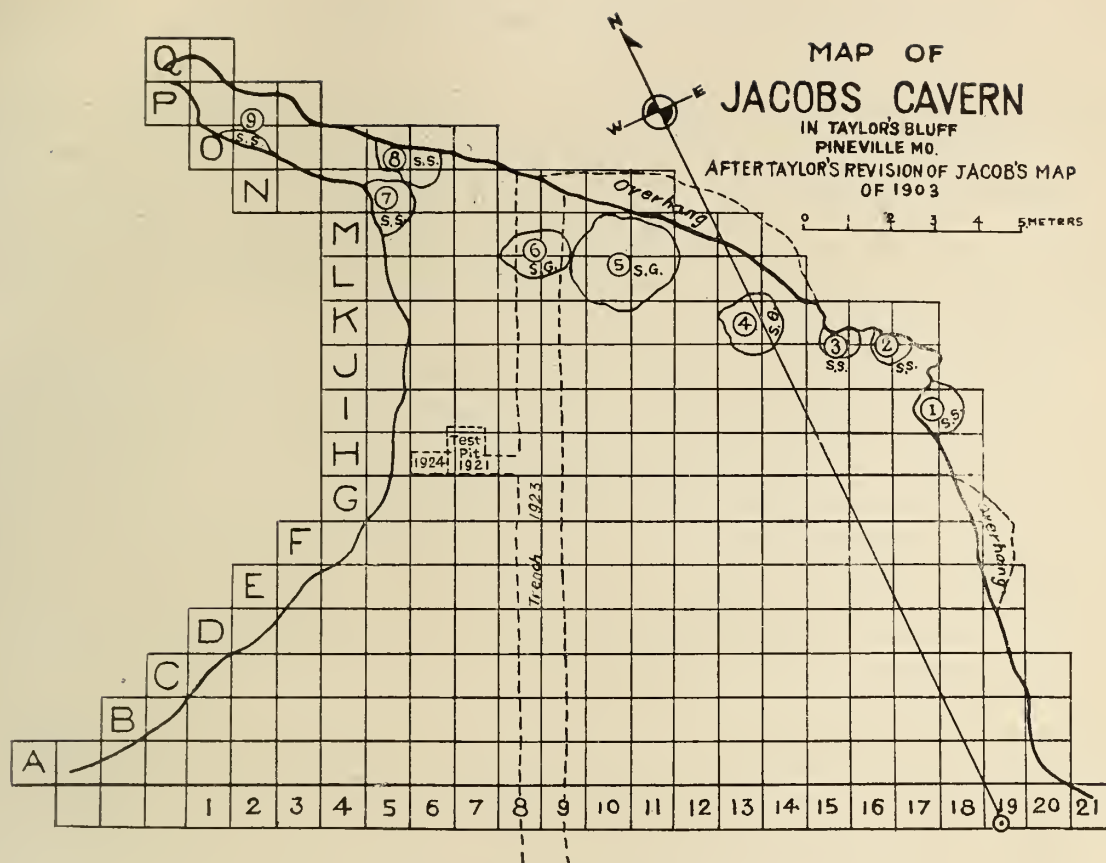


Fig. 4. Plan of Jacob's Cavern.



Fig. 5. The Cavern after the Removal of Stalagmite No. 3.



adjoining stalagmitic dike to the right and rear. The diameter increased to a maximum and then gradually decreased until the stalagmite reached the overhang above it, and continued on up this overhang as a leaf stalactite. This variation in diameter growth suggests a cool, rainy period which came on suddenly and passed away slowly, ending in a much drier period.

There are at least two situations in which a growing stalagmite records the seasonal climatic variation in the form of alternating light and dark bands. One of these situations may occur in a cave where the outside air has difficult access to the stalagmite and where there is soil containing much iron above a limestone cover which is not too thick. The iron in this surface soil above the cave is oxidized to the ferric, or red form, during the dry season and in the following wet season it is taken into more or less true solution as hydrated ferric oxide and accompanies the lime solution down through the limestone cover of the cave where it stains the stalagmite red. There are then, in this class, a red layer representing the wet season and a lighter layer representing the dry season; the sum of the two layers represents the growth during one year. Fig. 7 shows the vertical section of a small stalagmite of this type from Bear's Cave, near Hillside, Pennsylvania. A too-rapidly growing stalagmite of this type might record each succeeding rainstorm of the wet season, as a succession of red bands of decreasing thickness, instead of a single wet season red band. Yet, in this case, the succession of red bands would be of decreasing thickness because each succeeding rainstorm would remove from the surface soil overlying the cave, more and more of the ferric iron, oxidized during the preceding dry season.

The second situation in which a stalagmite may record seasonal climatic changes is when it grows in a location which permits free access of the outside air with its seasonal variation in dust content. The dry, dusty, season records itself as a dark band over the moist upright stalagmite face while the wet season records itself as a lighter band; the sum of one light and one dark band represents one year's growth. Fig. 8 shows such a stalagmite which grew in the Experimental Mine of the United States Bureau of Mines, near Bruceton, Pennsylvania. A too-rapidly growing stalagmite of this type might record each dust storm or each excessively dry period of the dry season. For example, the piece of stone described in the handbook of the British Museum and kept on exhibition in that institution.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of Geology and Palæontology" (*British Museum, Natural History*, 1923), 63.

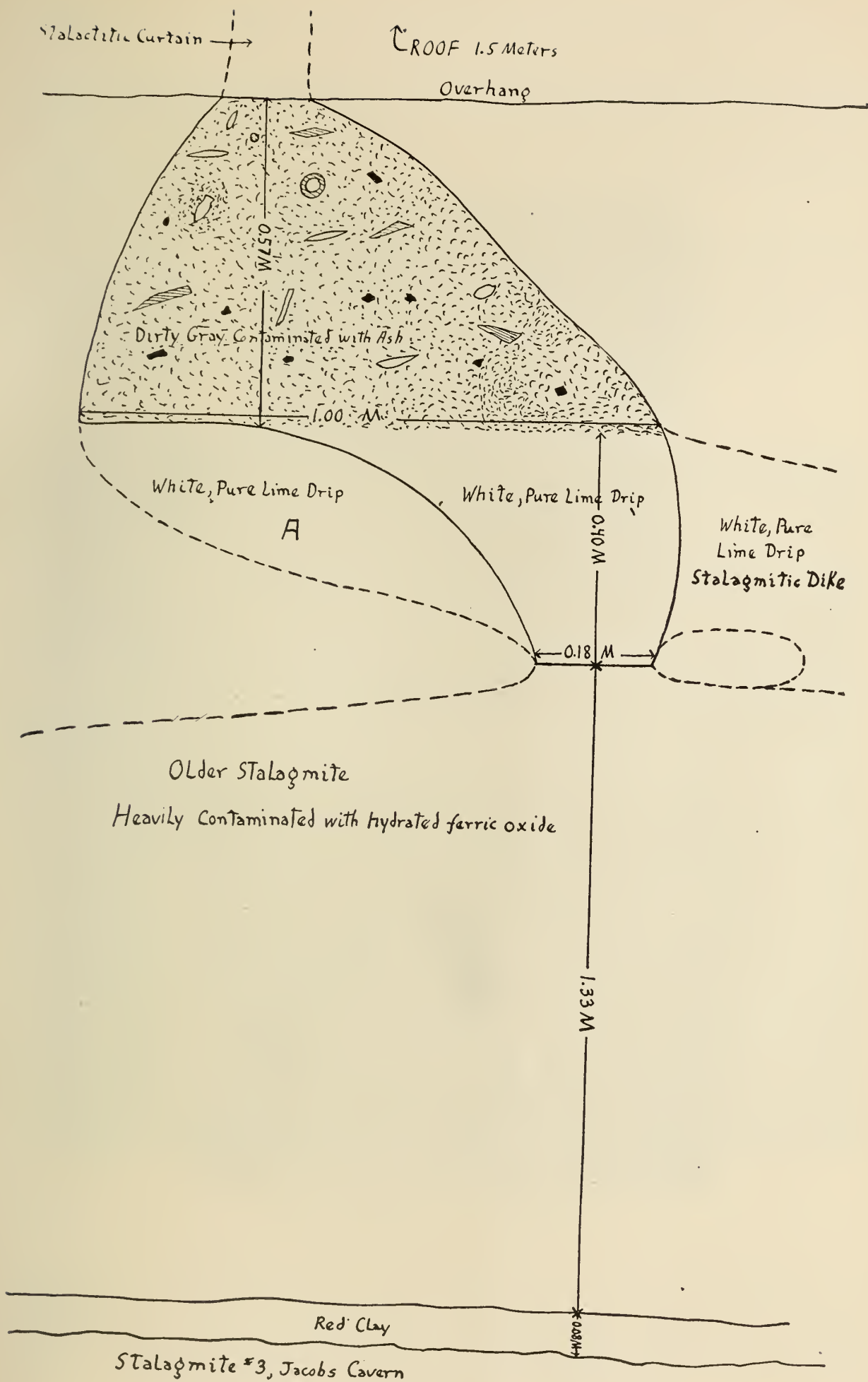


Fig. 6. Diagrammatic Vertical Section of Stalagmite No. 3.

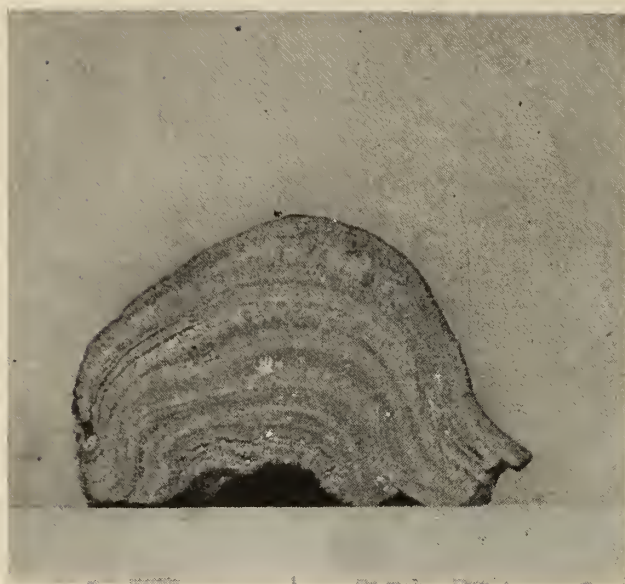


Fig. 7. Vertical Section of Stalagmite from Bear's Cave near Hillside, Pennsylvania.

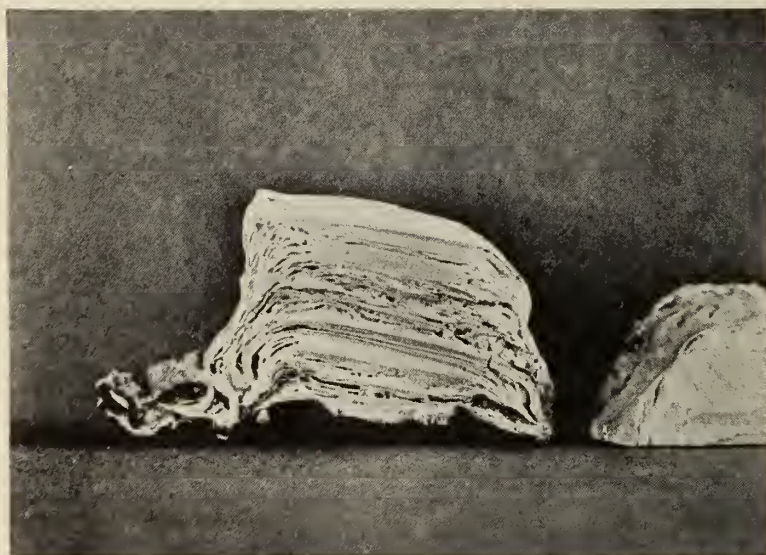


Fig 8. Stalagmite grown at Experimental Mine.



Among the specimens in wall-case 6b, the so-called Sunday-stone deserves notice. This is a limy deposit left in a wooden channel for running water in the grounds of a coal mine. The deposit was blackened by the coal dust in the air, but the nights are marked by clearer bands, and each recurring Sunday produced a broader white band.

It is well, therefore, at the present time, to confine the annual growth layer study to slow-growing stalagmites and to insist upon regularity of the recurring deposit; the seasonal variations are probably the most regular variations affecting stalagmitic vertical growth. A considerable series of such layers is also desirable.



Fig. 9. Jar in which Dust was collected as described in Text.

Some knowledge of the amount of dust annually deposited at the present time in the vicinity of Jacob's Cavern was desired. This cavern contains stalagmites of the second type—the dusty atmosphere recording type. A twelve gallon stone jar was accordingly placed on top of the



hill above the cavern and salt was placed in it to prevent the freezing of the accumulated rain and snow water and the consequent bursting of the jar. This jar, in position, is shown in Fig. 9. It was placed in position by J. L. B. Taylor, December 1, 1922, and was removed by the author, September 7, 1923, thus giving a dust fall record over a period of 0.77 year. The mixture of salt and dust was analysed with the following results:—

A total of 28.88 grams of dust was secured.

2.48 grams of the dust was a mottled white and red sandy material of from 10 to 20 mesh size and a loss on ignition of 6.2 percent.



Fig. 10. The Two Sections of Stalagmite No. 3, when first sawed Apart.

26.4 grams of the dust was of a very fine reddish, ocherish material which was largely colloidal in solution and gave a loss on ignition of 37.5 per cent. Estimated by color, it contained about 5 per cent of iron.

The area of the opening of the jar was 0.106 square meters and 28.88 grams of dust was deposited over this area in 0.77 years; this gives an annual dust deposit, at the present time, of 354 grams per square meter per year in the vicinity of Jacob's Cavern.

Fig. 10 shows the two halves of stalagmite No. 3 with their polished vertical surfaces. Fig. 11 is an enlarged view of the rear half, the one shown diagrammatically in Fig. 6. The upper two thirds is so heavily contaminated with ash, bones, worked flints, flint chips, charcoal, bits of fire-burnt stones, etc., that it would not take a good polish. When the ash-level had reached the face of the growing stalagmite, the area of the cavern floor under the drip was only inhabitable during the dry season.



Fig. 11. Enlarged View of the Rear Half of Stalagmite No. 3.  
The dark upper portion contains ashes, bones, flints, etc.



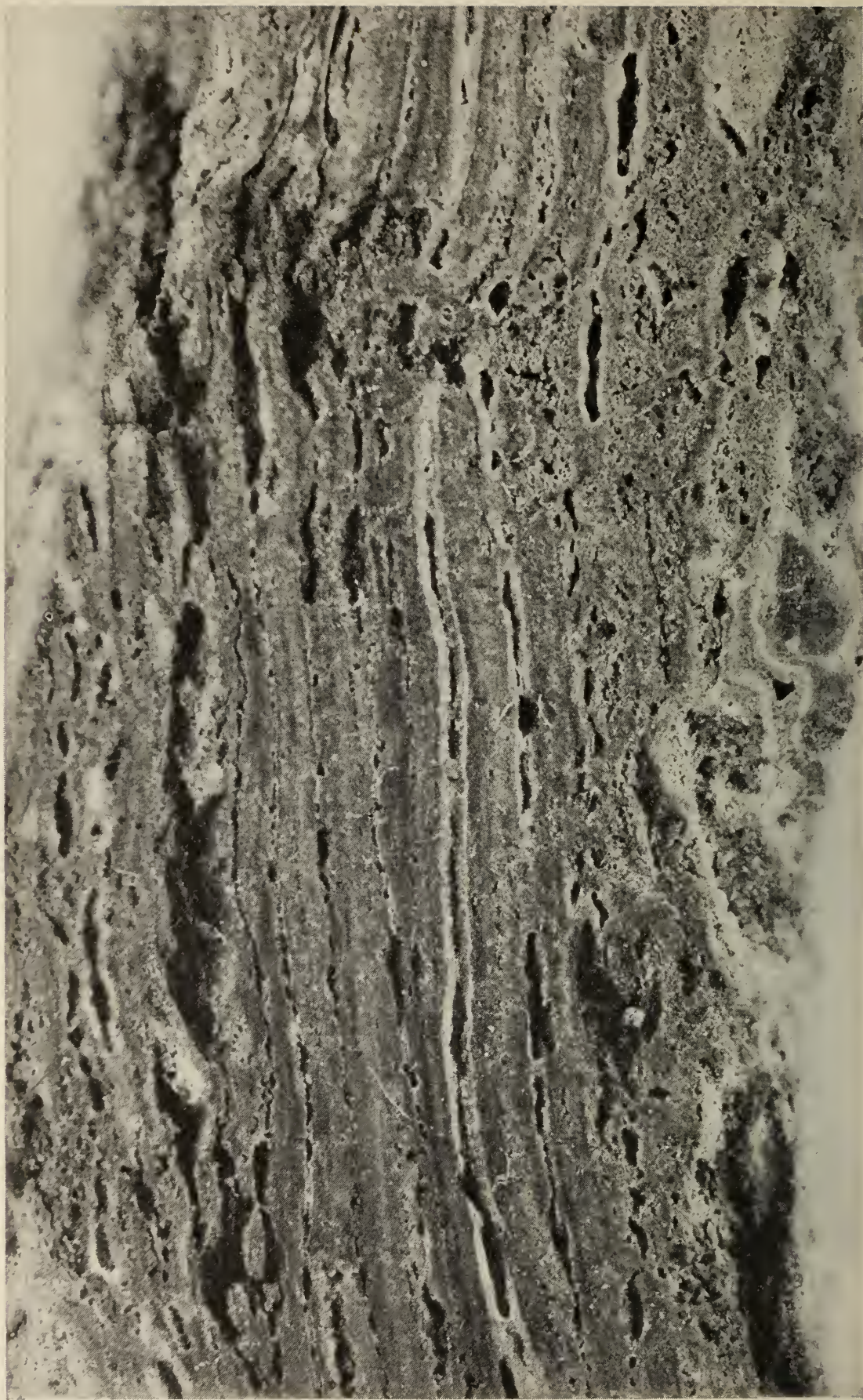


Fig. 12. An Enlarged Section of the Stalagmite showing the Annual Layers.



and a thin layer of ash and debris then accumulated. As the wet season appeared, the increased drip made this floor area too wet for comfort and it was vacated for this period. At the start of the wet season, then, the lime water first wet down and cemented the thin layer of ash and debris which had accumulated during the preceding dry season and then proceeded to deposit the wet season lighter layer. This effect was superimposed upon the effect of the seasonal variation in the dust content of the outside air. The lower third of the stalagmite is almost white and contains no bones, flints, or charcoal, although there is a slight darkening probably due to a small amount of ash and cavern dust. The yearly growth layer does not show very plainly in the white part, because there was very little dust present in the outside air during any season of the years involved in the cool, rainy, period at the time of growth of the stalagmite. This is why the yearly growth layer cannot be followed entirely across the width of the stalagmite in the dirty top part, on account of the great amount of foreign material which it contains. There are at least fifteen places, however, over the vertical face of the stalagmite, where the growth layers can be seen; each of these shows about twelve annual growth layers to one centimeter in height. These layers show up better when wet because the dirty layers absorb more water and darken proportionately much more than the purer part of the stalagmite.

A section of these annual layers, enlarged six diameters, is shown in Fig. 12. When fragments of the top dirty layer of the stalagmite are treated with dilute sulphuric acid the limestone (calcium carbonate,  $\text{CaCO}_3$ ) dissolves and leaves behind (in addition to the fragments of flint, bone, charcoal, etc.) a fine-grained, reddish-brown material very similar in color and appearance to the colloidal part of the atmospheric dust collected from December 1, 1922, until September 7, 1923, on top of the hill above the cavern Fig. 9.

It appears, then, that the annual growth layer is  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm. or about 0.8 mm. The total height of the stalagmite is 970 mm. and it thus required  $970/0.8$  or 1213 years for this stalagmite to grow. This stalagmite also recorded a period of cool, rainy weather, which came on suddenly and changed slowly to a drier climate. The part of this period recorded in the stalagmite is 1213 years in length, but the stalagmite offers no evidence of when this 1213 year period began or ended.

## CORRELATION WITH TREE-RING DATA

Douglass<sup>1</sup> has clearly shown the possibilities of obtaining records of climate from the growth rings of trees. Conifers are the best trees for this purpose because of the wide range of climate in which they grow and the prominence of their growth rings. The growth ring consists of a light colored part, which varies in width with the moisture fall during the wet season, and a red dry-season band, of practically uniform width for each tree. The growth rings are very sensitive to moisture fall variation in trees which grow upon slopes or upon soil overlying limestone—or any place where there are no water-tight underlying strata to hold the excess moisture of an unusually wet season and feed it back to the tree during the following less wet seasons.

Douglass and others have measured more than 75,000 growth rings in trees which grew between 34° N and 68° N latitude in Arizona, California, Oregon, Vermont, England, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, Bavaria, and Czecho-Slovakia, and have established a definite chronology and past climate history between 1308 B.C. and 1915 A.D.

Through the courtesy of Doctor A. E. Douglass, the writer secured the original data on Sequoia D21. This tree grew from 1308 B.C. to 1892 A.D. The width of its growth rings, in millimeters, is plotted against the time, in years, in Fig. 13. The average of twelve year periods was taken to compress the curve into a single sheet. This solid curve shows that D21 started out in 1308 B.C., with the enlarged center growth characteristic of trees, and that this growth steadily decreased with increasing years, as is also usual in trees. The width of the growth rings, as shown on the curve, indicates a sudden increase in the moisture fall, starting in 1226 B.C., coming on suddenly and passing away slowly, reaching a minimum moisture fall, lower than that of today, at about 520 A.D. These more or less actual dates are obtained by plotting the years instead of the average of twelve year periods over the range of time in question. This solid curve is very jagged due to the sun-spot cycles worked out by Douglass, the 5 to 6 year, the 10 to 13 year, the 21 to 24 year, the 32 to 35 year, and the 100 to 105 year sun-spot cycles. The jagged effect is also increased by the compression of the curve along the time axis.

The dotted line in Fig. 13 represents the diameter of stalagmite No. 3, in meters, plotted against the time in years.

The coincidence between the cool, rainy period shown by the increased diameter of stalagmite No. 3 from southwestern Missouri and

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<sup>1</sup>Douglass, A. E., "Climatic Cycles and Tree Growth" (*Carnegie Institution of Washington*, 1919.)



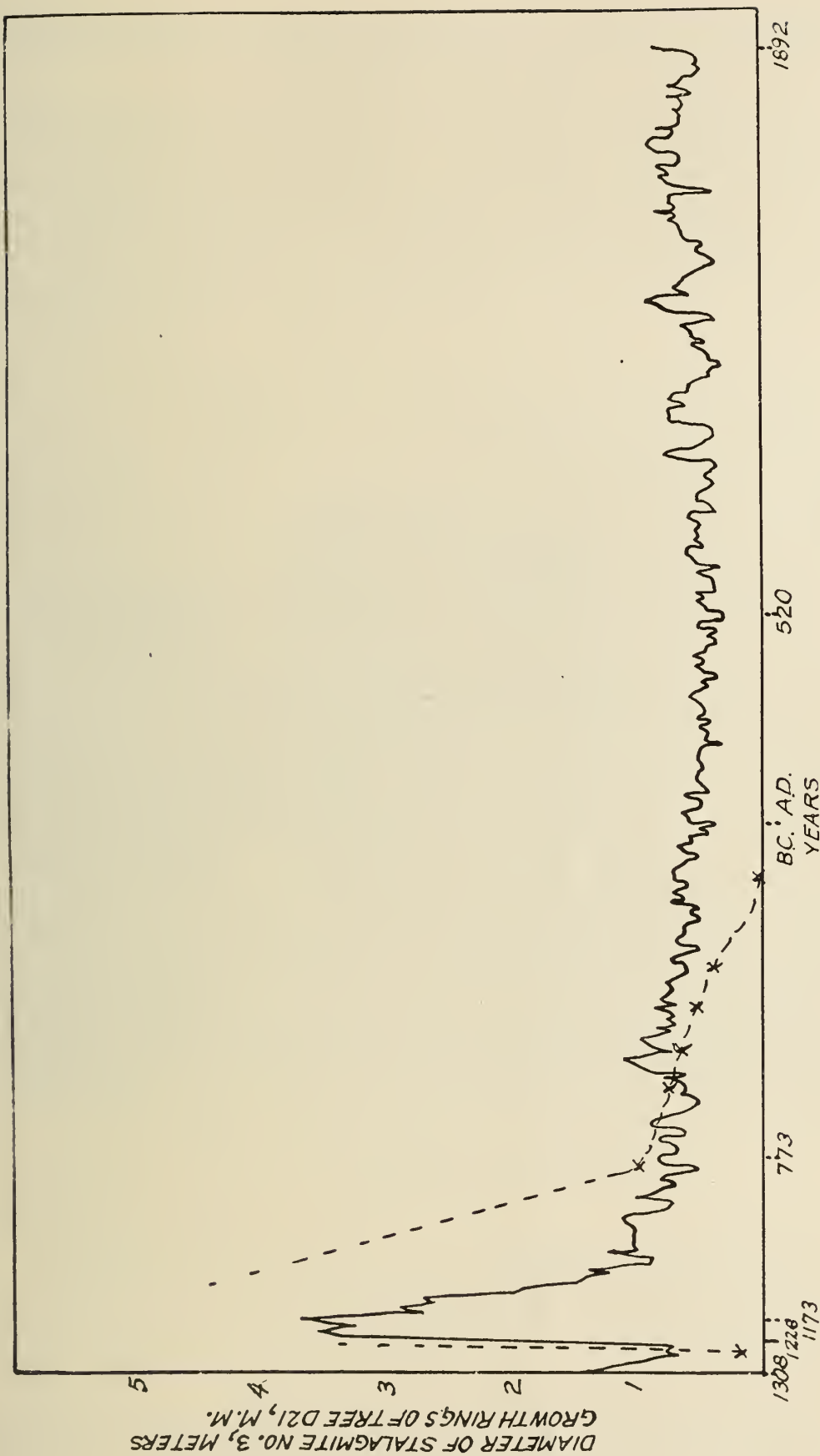


Fig. 13. Comparison of Growth of Curves of Sequoia D21 and Stalagmite No. 3.  
Solid curve. Average of each successive 12 years tree growth rings, in millimeters, of Sequoia D21.  
Broken curve. Diameter of Stalagmite No. 3 each successive 100 years, in meters.

the rainy period shown by the increased width of the growth rings of Sequoia D21 from California is very significant.

Antevs and Reeds<sup>1</sup> state that the fossil fauna and flora of Sweden record a cool moist period at about this same time. Dachnowski<sup>2</sup> correlates the Buhl, Gschnitz, and Daun Ice Advances in the Alps with the Dani-, Goti-, and Fini-Glacial of Scandinavia and with the Valparaiso-Kalamazoo, Lake Border, and Port Huron Ice Advances in the United States. There was then, a cool rainy period which occurred simultaneously in Sweden, the Alps, and the United States. This indicates that the period was at least general over the northern hemisphere and accordingly would have left its impress upon any stalagmite growing in an exposed place in southern Missouri.

Further, the growth ring-time curve of Sequoia D21 in Fig. 13 shows that no such general cool rainy period has occurred since 1226 B.C. Therefore, the cool rainy period recorded by stalagmite No. 3 in Jacob's Cavern is unhesitatingly assigned to its chronological position as shown in Fig. 13, the 1213 year interval between 1226 B.C. and 13 B.C.

The lower third of the stalagmite is almost pure limestone, but there is a slight grayish cast, probably due to the presence of a small quantity of ash and dust. The absence of flints, bones, charcoal, etc., from this part indicates that the ash-level was not yet as high as the face of the growing stalagmite. The slight darkening of this lower part, however, does show that the cavern was inhabited by man during this time; a small amount of ash and dust entered the stalagmite from the cavern atmosphere. The stalagmite was growing upon a center mound of wet sticky clay and the cavern was inhabited at this time only around the edges. The level of the accumulating ash slowly rose until it reached the level of the growing stalagmite and from then on the stalagmite contains all the debris of an occupied cavern floor. The rising ash-level reached the level of the growing stalagmite about 730 B.C.

The chemical analysis of the upper dirty part of stalagmite No. 3 is:

Silica (SiO <sub>2</sub> ).....	7.22
Calcium carbonate (CaCO <sub>3</sub> ).....	88.63
Magnesium carbonate (MgCO <sub>3</sub> ).....	0.74
Alumina (Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> ).....	2.43
Iron oxide (Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> ).....	1.03

<sup>1</sup>Osborn, Henry Fairfield, and Reeds, Chester A., "Old and New Standards of Pleistocene Division in Relation to the Prehistory of Man in Europe" (*Bulletin, Geological Society of America*, vol. 33, July 3, 1922), 443.

<sup>2</sup>Dachnowski, Alfred P., "The Correlation of Time Units and Climatic Changes in the Peat Deposits of the United States and Europe" (*Proceedings, National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 8, No. 7, Washington, 1922), 225.

This sample excluded the flint, bone, and charcoal fragments and shows the dust contamination of the top part of the stalagmite during the dry season of the years in which it grew.

Fig. 14 shows the upper part of a flint arrow or spear head which came from the dark area shown at the right side of the stalagmite and about half way down from the top in the dirty part (Fig. 11). This was a small pocket of ash and charcoal with much less limestone impregnation than the remainder of the stalagmite. This flint point dates from about 400 B.C.



Fig. 14. Part of a Chipped Object from the Face of Stalagmite No. 3, F(ig. 11).  
Approximate date, 400 B. C.

The stalagmite reached the overhang above it in 13 B.C. and Fig. 11 shows that the ash-level rose with it. Moorehead and Peabody<sup>1</sup> however, found 40 cm. of stalagmite No. 3 above the ash-level in 1903 A.D. The ash-level had settled 40 cm., in the 1916 year interval between 13 B.C. (or, possibly, some time later) and 1903 A.D.

It is evident from Jacob's map<sup>2</sup> that Moorehead and Peabody con-

<sup>1</sup>Peabody and Moorehead, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup>Peabody and Moorehead, *ibid.*



sidered the rear wall of the stalactite crevice as the rear wall of the cavern. Taylor's revision of this map (Fig. 4) shows, however, that this wall is an overhang and that there is a limited cavern area back of and beneath the rear wall of the stalactite crevice.

The ash level which was touching the overhang in 13 B.C. slowly settled until it was 40 cm. below the overhang in 1903 A.D. Even 40 cm. is too little to permit of human occupation; any sign, therefore, that the cavern area behind and beneath the overhanging rear wall of the stalactite crevice could have been occupied by man dates from before 13 B.C. Any artifacts of a later date from this part of the cavern would suggest the later use of this area as a storeroom, burial place, or cache of some kind.

The rapid drip which formed the increased diameter part of stalagmite No. 3 dissolved and removed the limestone to such an extent that relatively large channels were formed in the rock cover of the cavern. Later, when the stalagmite reached the overhang and continued up the overhanging wall as a leaf stalactite, the deposited limestone blocked the channels at their lower end so that the drip, then much diminished, was forced elsewhere.

When the stalagmite was removed in the fall of 1923 these large channels were again opened so that an intermittent drip now occurs in the wet season at the point where the stalagmite formerly existed. The drip starts very soon after a rainstorm, rapidly increases to its greatest flow, and then rapidly decreases after the rainstorm has ceased. This indicates the large size of the drip channels and their direct connection with the surface. The small time interval that this water spends in the limestone during its descent from the surface to the cavern interior, together with the present scarcity of surface soil above the cavern (presumably this soil was washed away in the rainy period starting in 1226 B.C.) explains the small amount of lime in the present drip and why there is so little stalactitic or stalagmitic deposition going on now. A thick soil above the cavern would grow a large amount of vegetation and retain the decayed vegetation. This would furnish carbonic acid to water percolating through it and thus confer upon this water the power to dissolve limestone and carry it down to the cavern interior where it would be deposited as stalactite or stalagmite. A limestone solution, containing all the limestone it can dissolve, carries 9.2 parts of limestone per 10,000 parts of water. A sample of the drip over the place formerly occupied by stalagmite No. 3, taken in the spring of 1924, imme-

diately after a rainstorm, by Vance Randolph, contained 1.25 parts of limestone in each 10,000 parts of water (analysis by L. R. Carl).

Hence, according to the stalagmite record, the human habitation of Jacob's Cavern started at the same time as the cool rainy period, about 1226 B.C., and continued for an indefinite period; at least somewhat later than 13 B.C. So, the upper, black earth layer, removed by Moorehead and Peabody<sup>1</sup> in 1903, was formed from 1226 B.C. up to and beyond 13 B.C. One may suspect then that the inhabitants of the locality entered the cavern to secure shelter from the cold and wet.

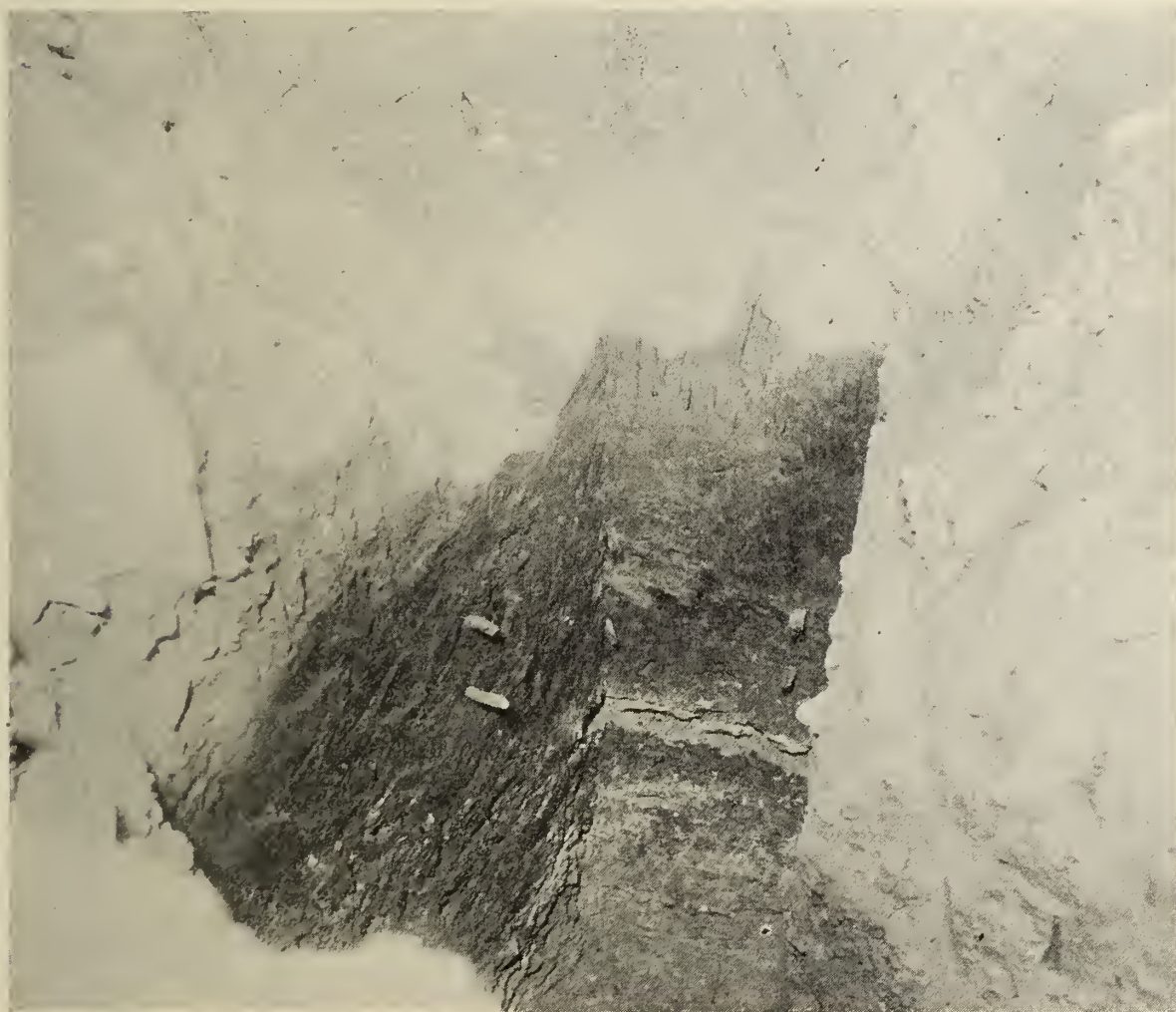


Fig. 15. Cedar Pegs delineating Layer 3 in the 1921-1923 Test Pit.

### COMPOSITION AND AGE OF THE CAVE EARTH

In 1921 a test pit was sunk in the Cavern floor by Dr. Clark Wissler, Mr. J. L. B. Taylor, Mr. Vance Randolph, and the author. Indications of a second darker layer in the red clay, underlying the upper black layer,

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<sup>1</sup>Peabody and Moorehead, *ibid.*



were found and samples of the several layers were taken and subjected to chemical analysis.<sup>1</sup> The results were so promising that in 1923, when a trench was dug from the front to the rear of the cavern along the bed-rock, under the direction of Mr. N. C. Nelson, a connecting link was cut over from this trench to the 1921 test pit. This pit was then enlarged and the sides dressed perpendicularly to permit of accurate observation. An intermediate, well-defined, fine-grained, bluish clay layer, about 10 cm. thick, was found in the red cavern clay. This color contrast does not register in a flashlight photograph so this bluish layer was delineated with small cedar pegs and the photograph then taken; the correct placing of the cedar pegs was examined and vouched for by Messrs. Nelson, Taylor, and Randolph, just before taking the picture. This layer is shown in Fig. 15.

Careful samples were taken, of the several layers and the results of the chemical analysis of the samples follow.

Analysis of Layers in Jacob's Cavern  
Location and Description of Layers Given in Fig. 16

Constituent.....	1st layer Light black fluffy dirt	2nd layer Compact red clay	3rd layer Fine- grained bluish clay	4th layer Compact reddish clay
Silica (SiO <sub>2</sub> ).....	20.50	71.44、	60.20	47.56
Alumina (Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> ).....	5.49	9.74	13.78	6.87
Iron Oxide (Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> ).....	1.46	4.21	4.21	2.48
Lime (CaO).....	41.36	2.06	3.70	18.83
Magnesia (MgO).....	0.94	1.66	1.26	1.04
Titania (TiO <sub>2</sub> ).....	0.25	0.65	0.65	0.65
Manganese (Mn).....	0.10	0.23	0.05	0.18
Phosphorous (P).....	1.76	0.13	0.34	0.09
Potash (K <sub>2</sub> O).....	0.33	2.12	3.04	2.87
Soda (Na <sub>2</sub> O).....	0.09	0.61	1.01	0.98
Ignition Loss.....	28.28	7.42	11.66	17.93

Attention is called to the amount of iron oxide and phosphorus in the four layers. There is so much organic matter in the top layer (Layer 1) that the color due to the iron content, 1.46 percent, cannot be discerned. Layer 3, however, even though it contains as much iron oxide

<sup>1</sup>These samples were analysed by Mr. Harold Brandenburg, Mr. S. O. Jones, Mr. Charles Stelle, and Mr. Maurice Walker, under the supervision of Professors James A. Yates and J. B. Quig, all of the State Teachers College at Pittsburg, Kansas. When more valid samples were taken in 1923, it was thought best to have them examined by an expert in clay analysis. Doctor M. H. Thornberry of Rolla, Missouri, kindly consented to make the clay analyses, and to analyse the stalagmite. The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to these men.



(4.21 percent) as layer 2 and more than layer 4 is not red but bluish. The iron in Layer 3 is ferrous iron and was reduced by organic matter.

The source of this organic matter is shown by the phosphorus content of the several layers. If 0.13 percent of phosphorus is considered as the phosphorus content of the surface clay of the region, all phosphorus over 0.13 per cent is derived from other sources. Deducting the 0.13 per cent, the phosphorus derived from other sources is:—

Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3	Layer 4
1.63	0.00	0.21	0.00

Layers 3 and 1 are seen to contain phosphorus derived from sources other than the surface clay of the region and Layer 1 still contains 2.65 percent of undecayed bones. Bones consist of sufficient calcium phos-

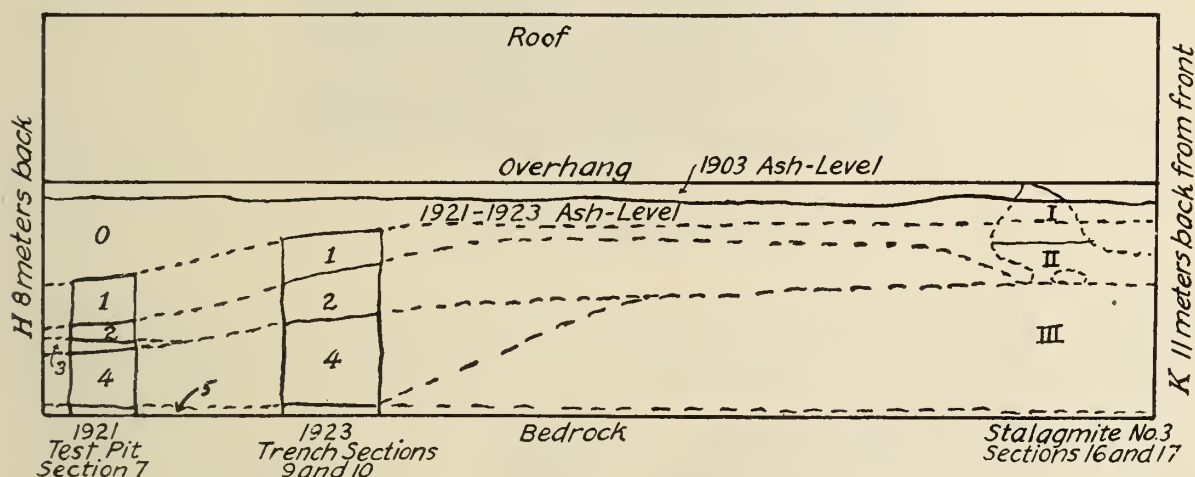


Fig. 16. Transverse Section of the Cavern. Section from H line on West to K lines on East (Fig. 4). Approximate scale 1 centimeter equals 0.5 meter.

- Layer 0    Removed by Moorehead and Peabody in 1901. Ash.
- Layer 1    Black, ash, loose dirt, charcoal, bones, and flints.
- Layer 2    Compact red clay. Few flints, no bones or charcoal.
- Layer 3    Bluish gray, compact clay, fined-grained. Bones, small amount of charcoal, and some foreign flint fragments.
- Layer 4    Red compact clay. Full of small slab rocks in several layers.
- Layer 5    Whitish, rotten, shaley rock.
- Stalagmite layer I    Dirty gray with ash. Full of flints, bones, and charcoal.
- Stalagmite layer II    White, almost pure calcium carbonate. No flints, bones, or charcoal.
- Stalagmite layer III    Red. Heavily contaminated with clay.

phate to give about 40 percent of their weight as phosphorus. The percentage of decayed bone represented by the above amount of phosphorus is:—

Layer 1	Layer 3
4.0	0.53

Layer 3 is thus seen to be of animal origin, and from the large content of bone refuse, of carnivorous origin.



Fig. 17. One Square Meter of Layer 3 exposed.



Fig. 18. Bones from Layer 3.



The 1921 test pit was again opened in September, 1924, and Layer 3 readily located by means of the cedar pegs which had been left in place when the pit was filled up again at the close of the work in 1923. Layers 1 and 2 were completely removed, in a direction towards the nearest wall (Fig. 4), over an area of about one square meter and care taken that no material from Layers 1 and 2 fell down upon Layer 3. The one square meter area of Layer 3 is shown in Fig. 17.

Layer 3 was about 10 cm. thick and a little less than one half of one square meter of this layer was removed, giving about 80 kilograms of the bluish clay. Fifty-six kilograms, representative of the whole amount removed, was placed in two burlap bags, 28 kilograms to the bag, and carried down to Little Sugar Creek where the clay was removed by moving the burlap bags around in the water. The clay came out through the openings in the bag, suspended in the water, and was carried away by the running water. When the contents of the two bags had decreased to about 5 kilograms each, the entire 10 kilograms was carefully transferred to a muslin bag and the washing continued until the creek water was no longer colored by the clay from the interior of the bag.

The material remaining in the muslin bag, about 3 kilograms, was spread upon a blanket and, after drying about 30 grams of rock fragments mostly flints, and about 16 grams of bone fragments were culled from the mass of small rocks, pebbles, etc.

#### CHARCOAL

The remaining material was then placed in a large, shallow pan and again taken to the creek where the material was "panned." This resulted in the recovery of two or three very small pieces of a substance resembling charcoal. These were later identified, under the microscope, as charcoal, by Doctor Rheinhardt Thiessen, paleobotanist of the Bureau of Mines, Pittsburgh Station.

#### THE ROCK FRAGMENTS

Six or seven of the flint fragments consisted of flint which is not native to the vicinity of the cavern. None of these fragments could be positively referred to human origin although one of them was a small conchoidal flake, triangular, and about 1 cm. on the edge. Four of the rock fragments were of fire-burnt limestone and sandstone. The rock fragments were placed in dilute hydrochloric acid for cleaning purposes and after the acid bath had completed its work it was found that one of the small pieces, thought to be rock, had been, in reality, a small piece



of bone, mineralized and encrusted with calcium carbonate; the piece of bone was undeterminable and the only mineralized piece found.

### THE BONE FRAGMENTS

These were identified by O. A. Peterson, Vertebrate Paleontologist of the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh; the snail was identified by Dr. A. E. Ortman, Invertebrate Paleontologist of the same Museum.

The identifiable fragments were as follows:—

Fish	Teleostan. One vertebra.
Rodents	{ Microtus, Species? Lower jaw with teeth and isolated teeth.
	{ Synaptomys, Species Cooperi? Fragment of jaw with one tooth and front of jaw referred to the same genus.
	{ Sciruid? Squirrel. Broken cheek tooth and incisors.
	{ Lepus? Hares. Isolated teeth representing perhaps two species.
Felid	Lynx? Canadensis?, or possibly, Felis pardalis. Upper sectorial (right side).
Snail	Endodontidæ Helicodiscus lineatus (Say).
	Numerous fragments of limb and foot bones of rodents and perhaps other small mammals in addition to many undeterminable fragments.

This list may be considered as a typical late Pleistocene cave fauna for this country (Peterson).

The bone fragments are shown in Fig. 17 where it will be noticed that about half of them are blackened; this blackening may be due either to slow oxidation or to charring by fire. At least part of the blackening of the bones is attributed to fire because of the presence of the small fire-burnt limestone and sandstone fragments and the small pieces of charcoal found with the bones. The presence of fire in a wet cave, 7 meters back from the entrance, indicates a human source for the fire. The fragments of flint, not native to the vicinity, also support this view.

One of the striking things about these bone fragments is the absence of large bone material. The presence of the phosphorus in the deposit shows that there was originally considerably more bone material in the layer than there is now. If the three or four fragments of bones marked A in Fig. 18 are examined it will be seen that they are shapeless pieces of large celled bones, or large bones.

The larger bones decay, in the presence of an abundant supply of oxygen of the air, more rapidly than the smaller bones, because the larger cells and more open structure permit of freer access of the oxygen. Herbivorous animal bones are also more easily oxidized than carnivorous animal bones, for the same reason. The few shapeless pieces of larger bones are the last remaining evidence of the larger bones of the deposit

which decayed and left behind their phosphorus content as calcium phosphate. The complete disappearance of the larger bones indicates a long period in which the cavern was open to the air, but unoccupied.

Fig. 19 shows the red Layer 2, sloping down and away from a central red clay mound lying beneath the stalactite crevice. It is possible to interpret the preceding chemical and physical data and with the aid of



Fig. 19. Layer 2 sloping down and away from the Center.

Fig. 16 to reconstruct the past history of Jacob's Cavern. It was the first of a series of caves formed by the dissolving and removal of the limestone by carbonated water. The insoluble part of the limestone fell to the bottom of the cave and remains there as the thin, rotten, whitish layer of rock shown as Layer 5 in Fig. 16. Later, a large volume of water, flowing in, and completely filling the present flood plain of Little Sugar Creek, undermined the bluff to such an extent that the front part of the chain of caves fell away, leaving the series of open



caverns or shelters which still exist. This large flow of water was due to a cool, rainy climatic period which also caused a large amount of red clay to flow down the crevice at the rear of Jacob's Cavern; this crevice is the remains of the old sink-hole which was originally responsible for the formation of the chain of caves. This red clay formed a mound under the crevice, shown by Layer 4 in Fig. 16, and, as the cool rainy period slowly decreased, the amount of water entering the cavern through the crevice decreased to such an extent that no more clay flowed into the cavern. The flow of lime water was still sufficient to form the lower stalagmite, III of Fig. 16, which consists of the red clay mineralized by the lime water. Later, this flow of water almost entirely ceased, due to the final passing of the cool rainy period, and the stalagmite tapered off and practically died as shown by the narrow connecting neck between III and II in Fig. 16.

The cool rainy period would have forced the inhabitants of the region to seek shelter in caverns having a southerly exposure. We have shown that they entered Jacob's Cavern and could at first only inhabit the edges of the cavern, away from the wet sticky red clay mound in the center, but later occupied the whole cavern floor. The cavern was probably continuously, although possibly sparingly, inhabited for the duration of this cool, rainy period and the cool windy period which followed. This is estimated as from 16,080 B.C. to 11,730 B.C., dates proposed by the writer in an earlier publication.<sup>1</sup> About 11,730 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> a more genial climate, similar to that of today, returned and the inhabitants abandoned the cavern and lived in the open. The cavern was then unoccupied for a relatively long period, 10,500 years, and the oxygen of the air had ample time to oxidize almost completely the larger bones on the cavern floor.

Another cool rainy period occurred in 1226 B.C. and a second flow of red clay came down through the stalactite crevice and washed the loose debris of the cavern floor down to the edges of the central clay mound, forming Layer 3. This red clay then formed Layer 2 on top of Layer 3. Once again this cool rainy period would have forced the inhabitants of the region to seek shelters with a southerly exposure. The flow of red clay ceased and the formation of part II of the stalagmitic formation shown in Fig. 16 occurred while the inhabitants of the cavern occupied only the edges of the central clay mound. Later, they occupied the entire cavern floor, with the exception of immediately under the drips

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<sup>1</sup>Allison, Vernon C., "Quaternic and Tertiary Chronology" (*The Pan-American Geologist*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 199-217, October, 1924).

<sup>2</sup>Allison, *ibid.*



in the wet season, and part I of the stalagmite grew at this time. The last continuous occupation of Jacob's Cavern was from 1226 B.C. to about 1 A.D.<sup>1</sup> when the present genial climatic conditions again returned and the cavern inhabitants abandoned the cavern for the open.

The cavern has probably been intermittently occupied by several different peoples since 1 A.D.

### CONCLUSIONS

Jacob's Cavern was continuously, although perhaps sparingly inhabited for a period of about 4,350 years, from 16,080 B.C. to 11,730 B.C.<sup>2</sup> (Gschnitz Ice Advance of the Alps, Goti-Glacial of Scandinavia, and the Lake Border Ice Advance of the United States). The cavern was then unoccupied for a period of about 10,500 years, from 11,730 B.C.<sup>3</sup> to 1226 B.C. (Gschnitz, Goti-Glacial, or Lake Border Interglacial period), and again continuously inhabited for a period of about 1227 years, from 1226 B.C. to 1 A.D. (Daun Ice Advance of the Alps, Fini-Glacial of Scandinavia, and the Port Huron Ice Advance of the United States). The cavern has probably been intermittently occupied or visited by different aboriginal tribes from about 1 A.D. to historic times. (Recent or Daun, or Fini-Glacial, or Port Huron Interglacial.)

Jacob's Cavern and the talus slope below it should be completely excavated, horizontally, to investigate further the indicated occupation from 16,080 B.C. to 11,730 B.C.

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<sup>1</sup>This date, wherever used in this paper is merely approximate, indicating simply the beginning of the Christian Era.

<sup>2</sup>Allison, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Allison, *ibid.*

## NOTES ON THE INCISED BONE

These studies in Jacob's Cavern were inspired by the discovery of worked bones, one of which bore a design suggesting a mastodon. This puzzling specimen was critically studied by the author, for, this artifact, if authentic, is the first human record of the contemporary existence of man and the mastodon in America.<sup>1</sup> The co-existence of man and the woolly mammoth in Europe is now well known through the publications of Breuil, Mäska, E. Lartet, Osborn, and others; paintings and carvings of the woolly mammoth are found in many caverns and open stations in France, Spain, Moravia, etc.<sup>2</sup> There are three possibilities as to the mastodon carving from Jacob's Cavern: it may be an old carving upon an old bone; it may be a recent carving upon an old bone; or it may be a recent carving upon a recent bone. In the following pages the carved bone under discussion will be compared photographically, under several different wave lengths of light, with a recent carving upon an admittedly old bone and a recent carving upon a recent bone.

The age or genuineness of an artifact is only known, *a priori*, when it is found in a layer of material which can be confidently described as "undisturbed" by competent authority. All other cases must be labelled "doubtful" unless they respond favorably to later examination in which as definite tests as possible are applied, for too much trust may easily be placed in mere superficial examination. There should be no hesitancy in regard to the application of these more or less definite tests as a doubtful artifact is relatively worthless to science. The method of approach to the problem followed here depends upon the comparative response of the artifact to various limited wave lengths of light recorded upon photographic plates sensitive to the entire visible spectrum; several similar objects of a known age are necessary for comparison in this plan of investigation.

The carved bone under discussion is the left humerus (upper arm bone) of a deer; it is probably from an old male of a Virginia Deer and has the upper end broken. Fig. 20 shows the "mastodon" side and Fig. 21 shows the reverse of the bone. The carved bone was found on April 17, 1921, by J. L. B. Taylor and Vance Randolph in Jacob's Cavern.<sup>3</sup> According to the accounts given by the discoverers, the bone was found in a small mound of loose dirt occupying the space formerly

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<sup>1</sup>Taylor, J. L. B., "Did the Indian Know the Mastodon" (*Natural History*, vol. 21, no. 6, pp. 591-597, 1921).

<sup>2</sup>Osborn, Henry Fairfield, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, New York, 1919 (283, 316, 348, 349, 397, 398).

<sup>3</sup>Taylor, J. L. B., "Discovery of a Prehistoric Engraving Representing a Mastodon" (*Science*, N. S. vol. 54, no. 1398, October 14, 1921, 357; *Natural History*, *ibid.*



Fig. 20. "Mastodon" Side of the Carved Bone.



Fig. 21. The Reverse Side of Carved Bone showing Additional Carvings.



occupied by stalagmite No. 4 (Fig. 4). The bone was thought to have been removed from beneath the overhang by rodents or by people seeking to satisfy the universal curiosity inspired by caves. Seven other carved and perforated bones and one perforated mussel shell were reported as found with the "mastodon" bone. In the absence of photographic apparatus, all were carefully sketched by Randolph. Some days later signs of beginning decay were noticed in the objects and they were dipped in "hard oil" (boiled linseed oil), the only preservative available. Several weeks passed before the bones were again examined and it was then found that all the carved and perforated objects, with the sole exception of the "mastodon" bone, had completely disintegrated. Randolph immediately communicated with the author, who, in turn, sought the technical advice of the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, through the then Director, Doctor W. J. Holland. The advice was to saturate the remaining bone with paraffin. This was done by Randolph and Taylor and the bone left embedded in a block of paraffin until it was melted out by the author in the presence of Doctor Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History in August, 1921.

Unfortunately, these engraved and perforated objects were not found in an undisturbed layer. For this and other reasons, the element of doubt as to the genuineness of the find arose at the time of discovery. The discoverers were so skeptical of the authenticity of the carved and perforated artifacts that they refused to permit details to be published until the matter had been investigated by competent authorities.

The cavern was investigated in September, 1923, by the American Museum of Natural History; the work was under the supervision of Mr. N. C. Nelson, Associate Curator of Archæology in that Institution. Nelson trenched the talus and the deposit remaining in the cavern, but failed to find additional archæological evidences of antiquity. On the basis of this work, there were formulated three tentative questions reflecting, in a purely negative manner, upon the genuineness of the "mastodon" bone.

1. Why were no other carved or perforated bones found in the cavern by previous investigators over a period of eighteen years, from 1903 to 1921?

2. Some 6,000 pieces of bones were removed from the cavern during the progress of the 1923 work. Why were none of these specimens carved or perforated?

3. Seven other carved and perforated bones and one perforated mussel shell were found with the "mastodon" bone. Why did all these



Fig. 22. Panchromatic Plate, W. and W. contrast Light Filter C.  
 A, Recent carving on an old bone; B, Carving on the original bone;  
 C, Recent carving on a fresh bone.



Fig. 23. Panchromatic Plate, W. and W. Contrast Light Filter F.



other bones and the shell completely disintegrate after a period of several weeks and leave the "mastodon" bone alone almost intact?

The procedure employed in the present investigation was as follows: three carved bones, A, B, and C, were mounted with a white background and photographed on panchromatic plates through a series of Wratten and Wainwright orthochromatic and contrast color filters.

*Bone A.* Several pieces of bone were removed from the extreme bottom of the top layer of the cavern in 1923; these specimens we have estimated in the preceding pages as over three thousand years old. These were laid away to dry and in 1924 had so far dried as to be rather fragile, but, however, showed no signs of disintegration. One of these specimens, of such peculiarity as to be readily remembered and recognized (badly gnawed by rodents) was chosen and a copy of the "mastodon" was carved upon it by the author. Flint points from Jacob's Cavern were the only edges used and the scraping method was employed. The carved bone was then saturated with paraffin. (The author knows nothing of osteology, but by a queer coincidence this bone was later found to be the lower end of the left scapula of a deer.<sup>1</sup>)

*Bone B.* The "mastodon" bone.

*Bone C.* A fresh beef bone, "skinned" from the meat by a butcher, carved and treated in a similar manner as Bone A.

Each of the photographs thus contained:—

Bone A. Recent carving on admittedly old bone

Bone B. Carving of unknown age on bone of unknown age

Bone C. Recent carving on admittedly recent bone

Filter	Color
None	Normal daylight
K <sup>2</sup>	Light yellow
G	Strong yellow
A	Orange red
B	Green
C	Deep blue
F	Deep red
X-ray <sup>2</sup>	

It was seen in all the panchromatic photographs that Bone B is uniform in color, and resembles, through seven different wave lengths of light, Bone A, which is also uniform in color. This is shown in Fig. 22, C, or deep blue filter, and Fig. 23, F, or deep red filter. There are a

<sup>1</sup>Identification by O. A. Peterson, Vertebrate Paleontologist, Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh.

<sup>2</sup>X-ray picture through the courtesy of Doctor Lawrence F. Jablonski.





Fig. 24. X-Ray Photograph of the Bone Series.

number of methods of completely removing the mineral matter from a bone without much change in the organic matter content, with dilute acids, for example. However, to remove the organic matter completely from a bone and by so doing discolor the bone uniformly, is a difficult task. Boiling has been suggested as a method to produce this result, but the outcome is doubtful. It is asking too much of the law of probability that an artificially aged bone (or aged in a short time) could, through seven different wave lengths of light, so completely and uniformly resemble a bone which required three thousand years to age, according to the previous estimate. In any case the tests show that Bone B is as old as Bone A.

A careful examination of the seven panchromatic photographs also revealed that the ease with which the carving can be seen—the contrast between the carving and the bone—varies according to the following order.

Filter	Color	Order of Contrast		
None	Normal daylight	B	A	C
K <sub>2</sub>	Light yellow	B	A	C
G	Strong yellow	B	A	C
A	Orange red	B	A	C
B	Green	B	A	C
C	Deep blue	B	C	A
F	Deep red	A	B	C

The contrast between the bone and the carving is evidently greatest with the two older bones, A and B; the contrast is also greater with B than with A. The first is due to the color change induced by oxidation and the second is due to a combination of two effects:

a. The surface of Bone B, Fig. 22 and 23, has apparently been polished.

b. The substance at the bottom of the grooves in the carving on Bone B has been oxidized to approximately as great an extent as the bone surface itself and, composed of somewhat different material, has taken on a slightly different oxidation color.

This all points to the carving on Bone B as being as old as the bone itself, which we have estimated at more than 3,000 years.

Fig. 24 shows that Bone A is more mineralized—casts a deeper X-ray shadow—than the Bone C. This mineralization was obtained through the loss of organic matter content. Bone B is also seen to be more highly mineralized than Bone A. This added mineralization was obtained through impregnation with limestone (calcium carbonate,  $\text{CaCO}_3$ ).

This is shown by the absence of the bone cell structure in the thin part of Bone B, at the extreme right of Fig. 24, and by the variation in the apparent specific gravity.

Bone	Apparently Specific Gravity at 25°C.
A	1.53
B	1.69
C	1.64

The bones are all saturated with paraffin which would tend to minimize the difference in apparent specific gravity. The limestone impregnation would shut off access of the oxygen to the bone and thus prevent further oxidation; the color of Bone B, however, shows that it had oxidized to as great an extent as Bone A before it was mineralized and Bone A required 3,000 years to be oxidized to its present condition (Bacterial action played a part in this oxidation). Careful scrutiny of the wavy marks on Bone B shows that these marks, at least, were made before the bone was mineralized. Hence, Bone B, with its "mastodon" carving, is older than 3,000 years, or the assumed age of Bone A.

The artist who carved Bone B was familiar with the mastodon and carved it at a time when the climate was so cool and rainy that the mastodon ranged as far south as the vicinity of Jacob's Cavern. (There is here a possibility that the bone was carved in the north and then brought southward to Jacob's Cavern.) Furthermore, this period preceded the cool rainy period which started in 1,226 B.C. Thus the period in which the bone was carved started in 16,080 B.C.<sup>1</sup> and corresponds to the Gschnitz Ice Advance in the Alps. As stated previously, Jacob's Cavern was inhabited during this cool rainy period; but later, when a genial interglacial climate (something similar to that of today) returned, the inhabitants abandoned the cavern and lived in the open. This was about 12,000 B.C. and for a long subsequent period, over 10,000 years, the cavern was not inhabited. During this long intervening period the bones in the cavern floor refuse were exposed to the air and the larger celled bones, those from larger animals, were almost completely oxidized and disappeared, leaving behind them only the smaller bones (those with smaller cells and thus, generally speaking, from smaller animals) and the calcium phosphate from their own decomposition. This calcium phosphate shows up in the chemical analysis of the layer formed from this deposit. The seven carved and perforated bones and the perforated

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<sup>1</sup>Allison, Vernon C., "Quaternic and Tertic Chronology" (*Pan-American Geologist*, vol. 42, October 1924, pp. 199-216, Des Moines, 1924).



shell were strung as a necklace (possibly) and were cached under clay or cavern earth in such a manner as to be protected, to a certain degree, from the oxygen of the air; they did, however, oxidize to such an extent that when they were exposed to the air and dried out in 1921 A.D. all the carved and perforated objects, except one of the bones, disintegrated. The "mastodon" bone did not disintegrate because the end farthest away from the perforation had been mineralized at some period during its long rest in the cache. The mineralization was progressive and is heaviest at the end farthest away from the string and least at the string end, as shown by the fact that the broken end is so heavily mineralized that the difference in thickness between the wavy carving and the uncarved bone is important enough to be apparent in the X-ray shadow picture (Fig. 24) and also by the absence of bone cell structure at that end of the bone.

It is now possible to answer the three questions which emerged at the conclusion of the excavation of Jacob's Cavern in 1923 and which seemed to cast doubt upon the genuineness of the "mastodon" bone.

1. No other carved or perforated bones or shells were ever taken from Jacob's Cavern because these bones belong to the layer which started forming in 16,080 B.C. and this layer was not recognized until recently and has been merely touched upon in excavation work.

2. The 6,000 pieces of bone taken from Jacob's Cavern in 1923 were all from the layer which started forming in 1,226 B.C.; none from the layer which started forming in 16,080 B.C.

3. The carved and perforated bones (and the perforated shell) were so much older than any other bones or shells taken from Jacob's Cavern and had thus been so much more completely oxidized that they fell to pieces on losing their moisture when exposed to the air; the sole exception was the "mastodon" bone which had become impregnated with limestone.

Objection has been raised to the smoothness of the carvings upon the "mastodon" bone as indicating that they were not made with stone edge tools. The edges of the carving were exposed to the oxygen along two sides (about 90° apart) while the uncarved bone surface was exposed to the oxygen only on one side; the long exposure to oxidizing conditions would have this very effect of smoothing the carving, due to excessive oxidation of the edges of the carving. It is impossible to say what the carving looked like when it was first made.

Attention has also been called to the fact that the perforating of this bone has been from both sides, possibly to avoid chipping or splintering

an old bone when the drill emerged. This, and the fact that the two holes taper and grow smaller as they meet at the center of the bone (does not indicate a cylindrical drill), just as strongly indicates that the holes were made with a stone drill with its recognized limitations of shortness and taper. These two holes also meet each other at a slight angle; this would seem to dispel the conjecture that the "mastodon" bone was designed to be used as a shaft-straightener. The perforation was probably for the purpose of running a string through the bone to assist in carrying it.

Notice has also been directed to the effect that the carvings all miss the weathering cracks on the bone, or were carved after the cracks were made. Fig. 21, however, shows several diagonal cracks at the right end of the wavy lines and the head part of the animal at the left takes advantage of a crack; coincidental.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The physico-chemical evidence indicates that the carving of the "mastodon" reported as found in Jacob's Cavern on April 17, 1921, by J. L. B. Taylor and Vance Randolph, dates back to somewhere around 16,000 to 12,000 B.C., in the writer's chronological scheme, when the climate of this vicinity was such as appealed to the mastodon. This climate was cool and rainy and corresponds to the Lake Border glacial episode of America, the Goti-Glacial of Scandinavia, and the Gschnitz glacial episode of the Alps.<sup>1</sup> The carving may have been made further north and then brought southward to Jacob's Cavern. The date of 12,000 B.C. may then be of the nature of a minimum date.

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<sup>1</sup>Dachnowski, *ibid.*, 225.





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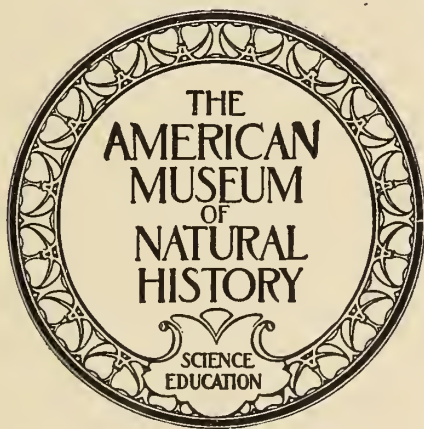
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VOL. XX, PART I

TALES OF YUKAGHIR, LAMUT, AND RUSSIANIZED NATIVES  
OF EASTERN SIBERIA

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS



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TALES OF YUKAGHIR, LAMUT, AND RUSSIANIZED NATIVES  
OF EASTERN SIBERIA.

BY WALDEMAR BOGORAS.



## INTRODUCTION.

The following tales were collected among Russianized natives of the Kolyma and the Anadyr country, and also among Russian creoles, who, indeed, lead the same kind of life as the Russianized natives. I have excluded a large number of those tales which treat of kings, young heroes on horseback, etc., and which, on the whole, clearly show their Russian or Turko-Mongol provenience, and have given only those that represent elements of native life. The narrators ascribe quite a number of the tales given here to the Lamut, Yukaghir, or Chuvantzi; but, so far as I am able to judge, most of those coming from the Kolyma indicate a Yukaghir provenience, and those from the Anadyr would seem to be of Chuvantzi origin. Nothing more definite than this is known. Most of the tales were taken down by myself, a large part by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, and a few by a couple of Russian creoles who could read and write after a fashion.

The majority have titles corresponding to their context, which must be due to Russian influence, as the same stories in native languages rarely have titles.

As to the transcription of proper names and such words as are said to belong to native languages, I have used, for the more or less Russianized words, the usual English alphabet; and for native words not Russianized, the special alphabet which I have used in the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. 7.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the tales are composed in part of rhymed prose. Some of these prose rhymes, though quite local and native as to contents, are arranged in the form of the ancient Russian lays. For most of these I give the Russian text with English translation. Notes signed W. B. are by the author. A few comparative notes have been added by Franz Boas and signed with his initials.

WALDEMAR BOGORAS.

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<sup>1</sup> Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 10.





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The following alphabet is used in transcribing native words: —

a, e, i, u have their continental sounds (in Chukchee and Koryak always long).

o like *o* in *nor*.

ä obscure vowel (long).

ë like *a* in *make*.

A, E, I obscure vowels (short).

ê like *e* in *bell*, but prolonged.

ei a diphthong with an accent on *i*. It always has a laryngeal intonation, 'i<sup>g</sup>.

θ between *o* and *u* long.

ũ mouth in *i* position, lips in *u* position (short).

w, y as in English.

Very long and very short vowels are indicated by the macron and breve respectively.

The diphthongs are formed by combining any of the vowels with *i* and *u*. Thus: —

ai like *i* in *hide*.

ei like *ei* in *vein*.

oi like *oi* in *choice*.

au like *ow* in *how*.

l as in German.

l̥ pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the palate a little above the alveoli of the upper jaw, the back of the tongue free.

L posterior palatal *l*, surd and exploded (affricative), the tip of the tongue pressed against the hard palate.

l̄ posterior palatal *l*, sonant.

r as in French.

ř dental with slight trill.

ṛ velar.

m as in English.

n as in English

ñ nasal *n* sound.

n̄ palatized *n* (similar to *ny*).

b, p as in English.

b', p', d', t', g', k' have a spirant added (*gehauchter Absatz* of Sievers).

v bilabial.

g like *g* in *good*.

h as in English.

x like *ch* in German *Bach*.

x̄ like *ch* in German *ich*.

q	velar k.
k	as in English.
g	velar g.
d, t	as in English.
d', t'	palatized (similar to <i>dy</i> and <i>ty</i> ).
s	as in English.
s'	palatized (similar to <i>sy</i> ).
š	palatized German z.
c	like English <i>sh</i> .
č	like English <i>ch</i> .
j	like <i>j</i> in French <i>jour</i> .
j̃	like <i>j</i> in <i>joy</i> .
č'	strongly palatized č.
ǰ	strongly palatized j.
!	designates increased stress of articulation.
ε	a very deep laryngeal intonation.
'	a full pause between two vowels: <i>yiñe' a</i> .

I. TALES OF THE TUNDRA YUKAGHIR.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. (THE GIRL AND THE EVIL SPIRIT.)

There lived a girl who knew no man. Nor could she tell who were her parents. She was rich in reindeer and other property. So she walked about, singing lustily. She never went to watch over her reindeer. When the reindeer strayed away too far, she would merely sing one of her songs, and they would come back of their own will. She sang and sang; and when she came back to her home, she would find the fire burning, the food cooked, and everything ready. Thus she lived on without work, care, or trouble.

One day she saw that half the sky was darkened. This darkness approached nearer and nearer. It was the evil spirit. One of his lips touched the sky, the other dragged along the ground.<sup>2</sup> Between was an open mouth, ready to swallow up whatever came in its way. "Ah!" said the girl, "my death is coming. What shall I do?" She took her iron-tipped staff and fled.

The evil spirit gave chase, and was gaining on her. She drew from her pocket a small comb of ivory and threw it back over her shoulder.<sup>3</sup> The comb turned into a dense forest. The girl ran onward. When the evil spirit reached the forest he swallowed it, chewed it, and gulped it down. He digested it and then defecated. The dense forest turned again into a small ivory comb. After that he continued his pursuit and was gaining on her, as before. She loosened from her waist a red handkerchief, which became a fire extending from heaven to earth. The evil spirit reached the fire. He went to a river and drank it completely dry. Then he came back to the fire, and poured the water upon it. The fire was extinguished. Only a red handkerchief lay on the ground, quite small, and dripping wet.

---

<sup>1</sup> These tales were collected among the Tundra Yukaghir on the western tundra of the Kolyma country. The Tundra Yukaghir have a mixture of Tungus blood, and call themselves "Tungus" in the Russian and in the Yakut languages. Though the language of the tales is Yukaghir they were written down mostly without the original text. Conversation with the narrators was carried on in the Chukchee language and partly also in Russian. The tales often include well-known episodes of Old World folklore, borrowed from the Yakut or from Russian neighbors. Most of them had no titles. The titles have been introduced by me according to the contents of the tales.

<sup>2</sup> Altai-Katunja (W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, vol. 1, 39, 73); Ainu (B. Piłsudski, *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* [Cracow, 1912], 205, 240).—F. B.

<sup>3</sup> Bolte und Polfvka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder-u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, vol. 2, 140.—F. B.



After that he gave chase again, and gained steadily on the girl. She struck the ground with her iron-tipped staff, and all at once she turned into an arctic fox. In this form she sped on, swifter than ever. The big mouth, however, followed after, wide open, and ready to swallow her. She struck the ground with her iron-tipped staff, turned into a wolverene and fled swifter than ever, but the evil mouth followed after. She struck the ground with her iron-tipped staff and turned into a wolf and sped away swifter than ever. She struck the ground with her iron-pointed staff and turned into a bear, with a copper bell in each ear. She ran off swifter than ever, but the big mouth followed and gained on her steadily. Finally, it came very near, and was going to swallow her.

Then she saw a Lamut tent covered with white skins. She summoned all her strength, and rushed on toward that tent. She stumbled at the entrance and fell down, exhausted and senseless. After a while, she came to herself and looked about. On each side of her stood a young man, their caps adorned with large silver plates. She looked backward, and saw the evil spirit who had turned into a handsome youth, fairer than the sun. He was combing and parting his hair, making it smooth and fine. The girl rose to her feet.

The three young men came to her and asked her to enter the tent. The one who had appeared in the form of the evil spirit said, "We are three brothers, and I am the eldest one. I wanted to bring you to my tent. Now you must tell us which of us you will choose for your husband." She chose the eldest, and married him, and they lived together. The end.

Told by John Korkin, a Tundra Yukaghir man, on the western tundra of the Kolyma, spring of 1895.

## 2. (A TALE ABOUT THE WOOD-MASTER.)<sup>1</sup>

There lived a man who was very poor. He used to walk along a small river near his house, constructing deadfalls for hares. Sometimes he would catch one hare, another time he would catch two. With these he fed his family. One time he said to himself, "What does the Wood-Master look like? I should like to see him." The whole day long he walked about, and thought of the Wood-Master. The next morning he set off to examine his deadfalls and all at once there came a heavy snowstorm. He lost his way and struggled on not knowing where he went.

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<sup>1</sup> This tale is Tundra Yukaghir, though the hero is called a Lamut. For Masters and Owners, cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee" (*Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 7), 285.

At last he felt very tired, so he found a cavity under a steep bank of the river. Then he made a fire and crouched before it, waiting for better weather. All at once, not far off, he saw a huge iron sledge. An iron reindeer-buck just as big was attached to the sledge, and a black-faced man as tall as a larch tree was walking along with enormous strides. He asked himself, "What are these? I wanted to see the Wood-Master. Goodness! Is this not the Wood-Master himself, with his appurtenances?" He was so frightened that he cried aloud, "God help me!" In a moment the iron sledge broke into a number of small pieces, and the iron buck was scattered to ashes. The tall man, however, did not fall at all. He looked at the man, and called angrily, "You, man! come here!" So the man went to the Wood-Master and awaited his words. "What have you done to my property?" cried the Wood-Master. "You have broken my sledge, you have destroyed my driving-reindeer, and you have even frightened me. I was frightened no less than you. And now you want me to walk on foot! I will not. You must repair my sledge, and restore to life my driving reindeer-buck. This is the task that you must perform." — "How can I perform a task like that?" said the man. "Ah!" said the Wood-Master, "why have you been thinking about me so steadily? You were calling me in your mind, so I came. Now you must make good your evil action." — "Ah, sorrows!" said the Lamut, "I will try my best, but then you must let me walk alone. I cannot achieve anything in the presence of another being, be it man, forest-owner, or evil spirit" — "All right," said the Wood-Master, "you may walk alone."

Then the black giant set off. The Lamut walked around some small bushes, saying "Sledge, O sledge! be whole again! Buck, O buck! be whole again!" And, indeed, the sledge and the buck were whole, as before. Then he touched the reindeer-buck with his right hand. "Buck, O buck! come to life!" But the buck remained without life and motion. He touched the buck with his left hand, and said likewise, "Buck, O buck, come to life again!" And, indeed, the reindeer-buck, gave a start, and came to life. "Ah, ah!" said the Lamut, "where are you, black giant, Forest-Owner?" At once the black giant appeared. "Oh, it is all right! What do you want me to pay you for this? I can give you immense wealth." — "I do not wish any wealth at all. I want plenty of food for all of my life." — "All right, go home! You shall have as much food as you want. Have no care. Go home and sleep! Tomorrow morning go into the forest, and set there five large self-acting bows. They shall give you ample food."

The Lamut went home. His wife said to him, "O husband! I thought you would never come. It is several days since I saw you last." — "I was caught in a heavy snowstorm, so I sat crouching under the steep bank,



before a small fire." — "What snowstorm?" asked the old woman in great wonder. "We have not had the slightest trace of any storm."

The next morning the Lamut went into the woods and set five self-acting bows; and that very night five big elks were killed. He took them home. After that, he would catch five elks every time. He collected a great mass of meat and a number of skins, and so became very rich. He lived in plenty until his death.

Told by John Korkin, a Tundra Yukaghir, on the western tundra of the Kolyma country, spring of 1895.

### 3. (TALE ABOUT THE SEA-SPIRIT.)<sup>1</sup>

There was a small river that flowed into the sea. Some Tungus lived at the mouth of the river, and caught fish. One time they came to the sea and saw a sea-spirit as big as a whale coming up from under the water. The sea-spirit said, "O people! you are here. I want to devour you." They prayed to him to let them live. "All right," said the spirit, "I will devour only one man now, and the others may go home, but every day you must give me one man. You must bring him to the sea, and leave him near the water. He shall be food for me. Otherwise, if you do not do as I bid, I shall carry off your nets and drive away all the fish. I shall turn over your canoes, and so I shall surely devour you, nevertheless.

The Tungus went home, leaving one of their number behind. They went to their chief, and said to him, "What is to be done? We have to give away one man after another. We cannot live without the sea." So they gave to the spirit one victim after another. At last came the turn of the only daughter of the chief. They took her to the sea and put her down on the sand. Then they went back. The young girl sat there awaiting her death. Then she saw a young man coming. He was a wanderer, who knew neither father nor mother, and was walking around aimlessly. "What are you doing here?" said the young man — "I am awaiting my death. The sea-spirit is coming to devour me." — "The sea-spirit! What is he like? I want to stay here and see him." — "Young man," said the chief's daughter, "go home. What need of two human lives being destroyed?" — "I have no fear," said the young man. "I have neither father nor mother. There is not a single soul in the world that would lament my death. I shall sit here and wait for the sea-spirit." He took

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<sup>1</sup> This story represents a Tundra Yukaghir version of the well-known tale of the dragon and the young princess.— W. B.— Bolte und Polivka, *l. c.*, vol. 1, 547; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, vol. 1, 66, and vol. 2, 260.— F. B.



his place close to the chief's daughter, and said to her, "Louse me a little, and make me sleep! But if anybody comes, make me get up!"

So he slept, and did not wake until the flood tide set in, and with the flood came the sea-spirit. He saw the young man, and said with joy, "Ah, good people! this time they brought two people instead of one." The chief's daughter wanted to rouse the young man; but he slept on, and took no heed of all her nudging and shaking. So she cried over him and a hot tear trickled down and fell upon his face." The young man awoke instantly and sprang up. "Ah, ah," said he, "you are already here!" He attacked the sea-monster, and they fought until late in the evening. At last the young man grasped the upper jaw of the monster, and tore it off along with the skull. "Oh, I am tired!" said the young man. He sat down again and put his head upon the girl's lap. "Louse me again," said he, and she did so. He went to sleep as before. One of the herdsmen of the chief came to the shore. He said to the girl, "Why, you are still alive?" — "I am," said the girl. "And how is it with the sea-spirit?" — "This man has killed him." — "You lie!" said the herdsman. "Who will believe that a loitering fellow like this man with no kith or kin, could kill the monster? It is I who killed the monster."

He drew a knife and stabbed the man. He threw his body into the sea, and said to the girl, "Thus have I done; and if you contradict me with as much as a word, I shall do the same to you." She was frightened, and promised to obey him and to say that he had killed the monster. So he took her by the hand and led her back to her father. "Here," said he, "I have killed the sea-monster, and saved your only daughter from death. Your daughter is mine at present." The father was full of joy. "All right," said he, "take her and marry her." They arranged a great bridal feast for the next morning.

In the meantime, the chief's daughter called together all the girls of the village, and they prepared a large drag-net, as large as the sea itself. They cast it into the sea and dragged it along the shore, and then right across the sea. They toiled and toiled the whole night long, and in the morning at dawn they caught the body of her rescuer. "Here it is," said the chief's daughter. "This man saved me from the monster, and the herdsman stabbed him in his sleep. Now I shall stab myself, so that both of us may have one common funeral." — "Do not do so," said one of her companions. "I know a rock not far from here. From under that rock comes a stream of water, scalding hot, but good for healing all kinds of wounds." She went to the rock with a stone bottle and fetched some of the water. They washed the wound with it, and, lo! the youth came to life again. The girl took him by the hand and led him to her father. "This is the man who saved me.

The other one is a traitor and an impostor." So they killed the herdsman, the young man married the girl, and they lived there. The end.

Told by Innocent Karyakin, a Tundra Yukaghir on the western tundra of the Kolyma country, winter of 1895.

#### 4. (THE SLY YOUNG MAN.)<sup>1</sup>

There were two brothers, one married, the other unmarried. The married one lived in one place; the unmarried one, in another. They did not want to live together. One time the unmarried brother wanted to visit the married one. When he approached his house, he listened, and thought, "Why, my brother and his wife are talking and laughing quite merrily." When he came nearer, however, he noticed that the man's voice was not that of his brother. So he crept along the wall very cautiously, and then looked through a rent in the skin covering. A strange man was having quite a merry time with his sister-in-law. They were hugging and kissing, and talking and playing with each other. He thought, "My brother is not here. Probably he is off hunting wild reindeer." The others meanwhile took off their breeches<sup>2</sup> and made love right before him, though unaware of his presence. At the most critical moment the young man entered the house. The woman, however, shook herself free, swifter than a she-ermine, and in a moment the man too was hidden beneath the blanket. The young man said nothing. He simply sat down and waited for the evening. The other man, the one hidden under the blanket, having nothing else to do, also waited. Late in the evening, the married brother came home.

The unmarried brother said nothing to him about the strange man hidden in the house, the woman also said nothing; but both were silent and very anxious. The married brother said, "Listen, wife! Our brother has come to visit us. Cook plenty of the best meat and reindeer-fat, and we will have a hearty meal." The visiting brother said nothing, and waited, as before. The woman cooked some meat, and taking it out of the kettle, carved it with great care and spread the meal. The married brother said, "Come on! Let us eat!" The other answered, "How can we eat, since a strange man is hidden in our house?" The married brother said, "Then I shall look for him in every corner, and certainly I shall find him." He did

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<sup>1</sup> This tale represents a mixture of some Russian and Yakut episodes adapted to the ideas and customs of the tundra inhabitants. Some details are curious enough; such, for instance, as nails driven into the flesh of the heel, which undoubtedly represent spurs, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Women also wear breeches among the Chukchee, the Lamut, the Yukaghir, etc.



so, searching all through the house, but found nothing. Then he said again, "So it was a joke of yours. Come on! Let us have a meal!" The unmarried brother said, as before, "How can we have a meal? A strange man is hidden in the house." The same happened three successive times. At last the unmarried brother said, "Leave me alone! How can we have a meal? A strange man is hidden in your bed, and covered with your own blankets." The married brother pulled off the blanket. The strange man was lying there, face downward. His head was under the pillow. The married brother felt very angry. He drew his knife and with a single blow, cut off the head of the adulterer. Then he came to himself and said with great sorrow, "Oh, brother! — and you, woman! You ought to have warned me in time. Now, what is to be done? I have killed a man. What will happen to us?" He sat down and cried most wretchedly. The other brother said, "What of it? There is no need of crying. He has been killed, and we cannot change it. It is better that I carry off the body and dispose of it."

He took the body and carried it off. After some time he found the tracks of the killed man and followed them up. He came to a beaten road, and then to a large village. It had numerous houses, some of them Tungus, and some Yakut. They had herds of reindeer and also of horses. In the middle of the village stood a large house just like a hill. It was the house of the chief of the village. The unmarried brother arrived there in the night time and soon found the house of the killed man. He entered at once, carrying the corpse on his back. The parents of the killed one, an old man and an old woman, were sleeping on the right hand side of the house. The bed of their son was on the left hand side. He went to the bed, put down the body, and covered it with a skin blanket. He tucked in the folds with great care, and then placed the head in its proper place, so that he looked just like a man sleeping. The old man, and the old woman heard a rustling sound and thought, "Ah, it is our son! He has come home." Then the father said, "Ah, it is you! Why are you so late?"

In another corner slept the elder brother of the killed man and his wife. He also said, "Why are you so late? You ought to be asleep long ago." The man who had carried in the corpse crept softly out of the house and went home. He came to his married brother, who said, "Ah, it is you! You are alive. And what have you done with the body?" — "I carried it to the house of his parents and put it down on his own bed. He ought to have slept on it long ago."

After that they had a meal. Then the unmarried brother said again, "I will go back and see what happened to the dead body." — "Do not go! This time they will surely kill you." — "They will not kill me. I shall go



and see." He would not listen to his married brother, and went back to the house of the dead man. He approached, and heard loud wailing. The relatives of the killed man were lamenting over the body. He entered and saluted the old man. Then modestly he sat down at the women's place. The old man said, "I never saw such a face in our village. Certainly, you are a stranger, a visitor to our country." — "I am," said the young man. "And why are you lamenting in this wise?" — "We have good reason for it," said the old man. "Two sons we had, and now we have lost one of them. He used to walk in the night time, heaven knows where. Then he grew angry with us and in that angry mood he cut off his own head. After that he lay down, covered himself with a blanket, and then he died. So you see we have good reasons for lamenting."

They had a meal and then some tea. After that the old man said, "We have no shamans in our village, although it is large. Perhaps you know of some shaman in your own country?" — "Yes," said the young man, "I know of one." He lied once more. He did not know of any shaman. "Ah!" said the old man, brightening up, "if that is so, go and bring him here." He asked them for two horses,—one for himself, and another for the shaman whom he was to bring. "I will ride one horse, and the other I will lead behind with a halter for the shaman." He rode off without aim and purpose, for he knew of no shaman. After a long while he came to a lonesome log cabin. Some wolflings were playing before the entrance. He entered. An old wolf-woman was sitting on a bench. Her hair was long, it hung down and spread over the floor. A young girl was sitting at a table. She was quite fair, fairer than the sun. This was the Wolf-girl. The wolflings outside were her brothers. The old woman looked up and said, "I never saw such a face in our own place. No human beings ever came here. Who are you,—a human creature, or something else?" — "I am human." — "And what are you looking for, roaming about?" — "I am in great need. I am looking for a shaman, having been sent by a suffering person." She repeated her question, and he answered the same as before. The old woman held her breath for some time. Then she said, "I am too old now. I do not know whether I still possess any power, but in former times I used to help people." He took hold of her, put her upon his horse, and rode back to the old man's home.

He took her into the house, and said, "This is the shaman I have brought for you." They treated her to the best dainties, and all the while she was drying over the fire her small, strange shaman's drum. After that she started her shamanistic performance. According to custom, she made the man who had taken her there hold the long tassel fastened to the back of her garments. "Take care!" said the old woman, "do not let go of this

tassel!" He grasped the tassel, and the old woman wound herself around like a piece of birchbark over the fire. The house was full of people, house-mates, guests, onlookers. After a while the young man said, "I feel very hot. Let somebody hold this tassel for a little while, and I will go out and cool myself."

He went out of the house. The moon was shining brightly. A number of horses were digging the snow for some tussock-grass. He caught them all. Then he cut down some young willow and prepared a number of willow brooms — one for each of the horses. He tied the brooms to the tails of the horses. Then he set them afire, and set the horses free. Seeing the glare and scenting the smell of fire, they ran away in every direction. He went back and took hold of the tassel again, as though nothing had happened. Then some other person went out, and hurried back, shouting, "O men! the country all around is aflame!" And, indeed, the horses were galloping about, waving high their tails of fire. "Who lighted this fire?" said the people. "Perhaps the spirits." Everyone left the house. They stood outside, staring upon that living fire fleeting by. "Ah, ah!" said some of them. "It is our end. This fire will burn us down." Not one of them thought any more of the old woman. The young man, however, quietly slipped back into the house.

The old woman was drumming more violently than ever. She was so full of inspiration, that she had noticed nothing at all. He looked about. No one was there. The old woman drummed on. Then he lifted from the ground a big kettle full to the brim of ice-cold water and all at once he overturned it over the old woman's head. After that he put the kettle over her head and shoulders. The old woman shuddered, and fell down dead, as is the way of all shamans when frightened unexpectedly. The young man left the house, and mingled among the people outside, looking most innocent.

After some time, however, he said, "Why are we standing here looking at this blaze, and meantime we have left the shaman alone in the house? That is wrong." They hurried back, and the wolf shaman was lying on the ground, wet and stone dead, half hidden in the kettle. The old man was in great fear, and wailed aloud, "Alas, alas! I lost a son, and that was bad enough; but it is much worse that this Wolf-woman has died in our house. Her children will surely come and wreak vengeance upon our heads. We are already as good as dead. O God!" he continued, "we are in a bad plight. Somebody must go and carry the Wolf-woman to her own house."

The people were full of fear and nobody wanted to go. Then the old man tried to induce the young visitor to convey the body of the Wolf-woman to her family. The young man said, "How can I do this? They will tear me into bits." The old man had a young daughter who was very



pretty. He said, "Please toss this old woman away! If you come back alive, you may marry this young girl as your reward." — "All right," said the young man, "but still I am not sure. Perhaps, even if I come back alive, you will break your word and give me nothing." — "No, never!" said the old man, "I will deal honestly with you." — "So be it," said the young man. "Now please kill for me two ptarmigan, and give me their bladders filled with fresh and warm blood." He took the bladders and placed them under his armpits. Then he drove some iron nails into his heels, into the very flesh. He took the old woman and put her upon the saddle. Then he bound her fast, though not very strongly. She looked, however, quite like a living person riding a horse. They set off and reached the house of the wolves. "Oh," the wolfings raised a yell, "Mamma is coming, mamma is coming!" "Easy," said the young man. "My horse shies easily. Take care lest you cause some great misfortune." And he secretly spurred his horse with the nails of his feet. The horse reared and threw him down. The other horse did the same. The body of the wolf-mother fell down like a bundle of rags. The bladder burst, and all the blood was spilled. They lay there side by side, swimming in blood. The wolf-children said, "O brother! our mother is dead; but that is as nothing. We have killed that stranger by our imprudence. He is near unto death, and no doubt his brothers and sisters, and all his kith and kin, will come here to have revenge."

They went near and looked at him. The blood was streaming down his arms and legs. "Oh, oh!" said the wolf-children, "How can he live?" In despair they took him by the hands and feet and shook him and said to him, "Please, man, do not die here! We will give you our pretty sister." They worried him, howled over him, and entreated him, and by and by he acted as though feeling a little better. He sighed low, "Oh, oh!" In the end he fully revived and came to. "Ah!" said the wolfings to their sister, "see what good luck we have. A man was dying, and we said, 'We will give you our sister,' and he revived."

So he took the girl and went home. "Be sure," said the wolf children on taking farewell, "when you return to your own place, not to tell your kinsmen that we had nearly killed you!" — "I will not tell," assured the man, and galloped off with his bride. They came to the old man. "I have come back and am alive!" shouted the young man. "Where is the girl?" — "Here she is," said the old man. "Thank god, you have come back safe!" He took the other girl, and went back to his brother with two women and three horses. The brother said, "How long it is since you were here! I thought you were dead but I see you have brought some girls." — "I have," said the young man. He entered the house, and without much



ado, cut off the head of his sister-in-law. "There you are!" said he. "You shall have no more paramours." He gave his brother the old man's daughter and took for himself the old woman's daughter. After that they lived on.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Innocent Karyakin, a Tundra Yukaghir man, on the western tundra of the Kolyma country, winter of 1895.

### 5. (CREATION STORY.)<sup>2</sup>

When the Creator created the earth, the bear was made the master of all the beasts. The wolf, the fox, and the wolverene paid homage to him. But the wild reindeer refused to obey him, and ran about free, as before. One day the Forest-Owner was hunting five reindeer-does; and one doe, in running, brought forth a fawn. The Forest-Owner caught it and wanted to devour it. The Fawn said, "Please give me a respite. My flesh is too lean. Let me grow up to be a one-year-old."—"All right," said the Forest-Owner, and he let him go.

After a year the Forest-Owner found the fawn, and wanted to devour it; but the fawn said once more, "Do not eat me now! Let me rather grow a little and be a two-year-old."—"All right," said the Forest-Owner, and he let him go. Another year passed, and the reindeer fawn had new antlers, as hard as iron and as sharp as spears. Then the Forest-Owner found the fawn and wanted to devour it. He said, "This time I am going to eat you up."—"Do!" said the fawn. The Forest-Owner drew his knife and wanted to stab the fawn. "No," said the fawn, "such a death is too cruel and too hard. Please grasp my antlers and wrench off my head." The Forest-Owner assented, and grasped the fawn's antlers. Then the fawn gored him and pierced his belly through, so that the intestines fell out and the Forest-Owner died. The fawn sought his mother. "Oh, you are still alive! I thought you were dead."—"No," said the fawn, "I killed the Forest-Owner, and I am the chief of the reindeer." Then the bear sent a fox to the fawn. The fox said, "All the beasts pay homage to the bear, and he wants you to do the same."—"No," said the fawn, "I killed the Forest-Owner, I also am a chief."

After that they prepared for war. The bear called together all those with claws and teeth,—the fox, the wolverene, the wolf, the ermine. The reindeer-fawn called together all those with hoofs and antlers,—the reindeer, the elk, the mountain-sheep. Then they fought. The bear and the

<sup>1</sup> See Bolte und Polívka, *l. c.*, vol. 2, 1.—F. B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bogoras, "Chukchee Materials," No. 32, 131.

reindeer-fawn had a single fight. The fawn pierced the bear through with its antlers of iron. Then it stood still and felt elated. But its mother said, "There is no reason to feel elated. Your death is at hand." Just as she said this, a wolf sprang up from behind, caught the fawn by the throat and killed it.

Because the reindeer-fawn gored the Forest-Owner to death, no reindeer dies a natural death. It lives on until a wolf, creeping up from behind opens its throat and kills it.

Told by Innocent Karyakin, a Tundra Yukaghir man, on the western tundra of the Kolyma country, winter of 1895.

#### 6. (THE SHAMAN WHO TURNED INTO A FOX.)

There lived an old man who had a pretty young daughter. He was a great shaman, and he wanted to find a husband for her, the best of all human kind. So he turned into an arctic fox and ran along. Whomsoever he met, by him he would allow himself to be caught. And as soon as the man caught him, his hand would stick to the fox's back. Then the fox would rush onward, dragging the man along. The fox would come to a river and turn into a fish. Then it would dive into the water, dragging the man along. And so the man would be drowned.

Another time he turned into a red fox and ran along. Whomsoever he met, by him he would permit himself to be caught. Then the hand of the man would stick to the fox's back. The fox would rush onward, dragging the man along, and soon would drown him in the river.

A third time he turned into an ermine, and the same happened as before.

Finally, he turned into a black fox and ran along. He met a young man, a wanderer, who knew neither father nor mother, and who walked about without aim and in great poverty. The fox allowed himself to be taken. Then the hand of the wanderer stuck to his back, and the fox rushed on, dragging the man along. The fox ran to the river, turned into a fish, and dived into the water, dragging the man along. The fish crossed the river, came to the opposite shore, and turned again into a fox. And, lo! the young man was still alive. The fox rushed on, and came to some rocks. The rocks were all covered with sharp-pointed spikes. The number of the rocks was ten. The fox ran through between all of them, and the man along with him. The man was winding along like a thin hair, and he was still alive. The fox ran into a forest, which was as dense and thick as the autumn grass. The bark of one tree touched the bark of another. They crossed this dense forest, but the young man was still alive. The fox came to the sea, and plunged into the sea. He went across the sea to the opposite shore,

but the man was still alive. Then the fox said, "Oh, you are an excellent man! I want to have you for a husband for my daughter. I will let go of your hand. So please let go of my back." The man said, "I do not want to have your daughter. I want rather to have your skin." He lifted the black fox high into the air, and then struck it upon the ground with much force. The fox was dead. That is all.

Told by Innocent Karyakin, a Tundra Yukaghir man, on the western tundra of Kolyma, winter of 1895.

#### 7. (TALE ABOUT THREE STORKS.)<sup>1</sup>

There lived a man who did not know where he was born. We think, however, that we were born of this man. He was rich in everything. One time a She-Monster came to him and wanted to be his wife. The She-Monster said, "You must take me for your wife. Otherwise, I shall devour you." So he married her, and they lived together. After some time he felt sorrowful and thought to himself, "Is it fair, that I being a man, so strong and rich, must have for a wife this unclean monster?"

He came to a water-hole, and sat down there. For three days and three nights he cried from vexation near the water-hole. One time, when he was crying there, a girl appeared out of the water. He said, "I am lonely. Sit down by my side and cry with me?"—"How can I sit by your side? Your Monster Wife will surely kill me." The man spoke fair words to the girl. Three times she appeared out of the water-hole and talked to him. The She-Monster said, "What is the matter with you? For three nights in succession you have stayed near that water-hole. Did you not find another woman there to spend your nights with?" The man answered, "Where should I find a woman better than yourself? And why should I look for another woman?" They lay down and slept together.

Early in the morning the woman arose from the bed. She threw her thimble upon the man; and his sleep grew sound and strong, almost like death. He slept throughout the day, and on until midnight. The Monster-Woman took his bow and arrows and went to the water-hole. She lay there in ambush, holding the bow strung and ready to shoot. At last, the water-woman appeared out of the water-hole. The Monster-Woman shot at her, and hit her straight in the heart. She fell down, and sank to the bottom.

The Monster-Woman came home and picked up her thimble from the man's bed. The man awoke instantly. He looked around, and said, "Ah! how long have I slept?" So he put on his clothes and ran to the water-hole.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 124.



It was full of blood. He saw the blood, and cried bitterly. "Ah!" said he, "it is my wife who has spilled this blood." He plunged into the water-hole head foremost.

When he reached the bottom, it was like another earth. He looked about, and saw that every bush had, instead of leaves, small copper bells, and the tussocks were covered with sableskin instead of moss. "What a fine place!" thought the man, and he walked onward along the beaten track. After a while, he came to a river. On the other shore stood a tent of Lamut type,<sup>1</sup> made of silver. He came nearer and heard voices within. So he entered.

A woman lay on the bed of skins, moaning with pain. Two strong men were sitting by her, right and left. The men jumped up and laid hands upon the visitor. They shouted, "This man has killed our sister!" And they wanted to kill him on the spot; but the woman said, "Do not kill him! He did me no harm. His wife killed me." He looked at her more closely. An arrow was sticking out from her heart, and the woman was ashen from pain. She moaned pitifully, and said, "Bring him nearer!" They brought him close to the woman, and he took his place by her bed. She cried, and he cried with her. He wanted to pull out the arrow; but the woman said, "Leave it alone! I shall die at your first touch. But if you want to restore me to life, go off across two stretches of land. In the third country you will see a silver hill and three she-storks are playing on it. You must creep close to them, and catch one of them. Then you must bring her to me."

He set off, and after passing through these two countries he saw the silver hill. Three she-storks were playing on the hill, and amusing themselves with their stork-play. He tried to creep nearer, but after some time the storks noticed him. He fell to the ground full of despair, and in his despair he turned into a little shrew. Then he heard the storks talking to one another, plainly, in the Lamut language. The youngest one raised herself on her long legs, stretched her neck, and asked, "O sisters! where is that man? And what is coming now, so small and mouse-like?" The other said, "Why do you stretch your neck in such a manner? This is no man at all. Otherwise we should have noticed him sooner than you." They flew up and circled around the hill.

In the meantime, the man had reached the top of the hill. The storks descended again; but the youngest said, "Ah! my heart misgives me. This man is hidden somewhere." But the two others retorted, "Ah, nonsense! We should have noticed him sooner than you." The two eldest ones de-

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<sup>1</sup> The Lamut cover their tents with well curried reindeer skin. The Tundra Yukaghir use partly birchbark, partly reindeer skin clipped short and well smoked, bought chiefly from the Chukchee.

scended to the hill; the third was still circling around in the air. All at once the shrew turned into a man, who caught one of the storks by her long leg. "Ah, ah, ah!" blubbered the stork, "and how does our other sister at home fare? Is she still living, or is she dead?" He told them everything. They were greatly moved and said, "Go home, and we will follow you." He went home, and the three storks followed him on high, with much talking and many songs. He reached the house and entered it; but the storks were circling on high, singing their incantations. They wanted to pull out the arrow. The oldest said to the youngest, "Do try and pull out the arrow!"—"You are older than I. You have more skill than I."—"No, we are unable to pull it out. Do try to get it out!" Then the youngest stork flew upward, and for a moment stood still directly over the vent hole of the silver tent. Then she dropped down like a stone; and when half way down, she soared up again. They looked up, and the arrow was in her beak.

The patient sat up directly and wiped away the tears of pain. Then she said, "Indeed, our youngest sister is a shaman." She entered the house, and also praised the man. "Your heart is true. Will you take me for your wife?" He took her for his wife, and on the bridal night they slept in the silver tent; and the three female storks were circling above all night long, keeping watch over them and singing incantations. In the morning, the storks said to their two brothers, "You must send our brother-in-law, together with his wife, back to his home."—"All right," said the brothers. "Let them stay here for one day more, and then we will get them ready for the trip; but you must fly first, and see that everything in their home is in order."

The storks flew off, and came to his house; and that very evening they came back. The man said to them, "How shall we go home? I have great fear for my young bride." The storks answered, "Have no fear. We caught your old wife, and threw her into the sea. She turned into a big sea-worm." The next morning they started on their journey; and the youngest stork warned them, "Be sure not to sleep on the way!" They moved on, he in front, and his young bride close behind him, both on reindeer-back. Half way along he was overpowered with sleep. Do what he would, he could not keep awake, and at last he fell from the saddle like one dead. The wife tried to wake him and said, "Did not our sisters warn us against sleeping in the way?" But he did not hear her words.

In the meantime, while she was busy over him, nudging him, and pulling him up, a big Eagle-Man with two heads came, and shouted, "I have been making suit for her since her earliest years." The Eagle-Man caught her by her tresses and threw her upon his back. Then he flew off, and carried



her along. After a while the man awoke, and his wife was nowhere to be seen. He cried from grief, and then looked around. No trace was left upon the snow, he saw only their own tracks made when they were coming to that place.

The three storks arrived. The youngest one said, "Did we not tell you not to go to sleep? Now what is to be done? The giant Eagle-Man is the mightiest of all creatures. They flew away in pursuit of the Eagle-Man. The young man followed behind on foot. After a while they overtook the Eagle. He was flying on, carrying the woman. Then the two elder storks told the youngest one, "Why, sister, we can do nothing. You alone must try your skill and good luck. All we can do is to aid your efforts." "I will try," said the youngest stork. She flew straight upwards, and vanished from sight. Then she fell straight down upon the Eagle, and snatched the young woman from his talons; and he still flew onward, noticing nothing at all. The youngest stork put the young woman upon her back and carried her back to her husband. They prepared for the journey again. The youngest stork said, "Now, you must go home. Nothing evil will befall you. You shall live there in wealth and good health. Children shall be born unto you every year. Take our blessing and go away." They went on, and came to their country. There they saw that the silver Lamut tent was standing in their own place. They entered. They lived happily and quietly.

Told by Innocent Karyakin, a Tundra Yukaghir man, on the western tundra of the Kolyma country, winter of 1895.

#### 8. (REINDEER-BORN.)<sup>1</sup>

There was a Tungus man who had a large reindeer herd, and no son at all. One time he came to his herd, and saw that a doe had brought forth a fawn which looked quite human. "What is this?" asked the man. "This is a small boy," said the doe. "I brought forth for you. Take him and have him for a son." The Tungus took the boy, who grew up quickly. Every day he would swallow live reindeer,—one in the morning, another at noon, and still another in the evening,—three meals a day, three living reindeer. So this man, who was rich in reindeer, soon had almost none at all, and was poor. Then he felt afraid, and said to himself, "He will finish the reindeer-herd, and next it will be my turn." He left his house and goods,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bogoras, "Chukchee Texts", (*Publications, Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 8) 175.



and fled away, not knowing where he was going. He walked on for a long time. Then he saw an iron house.

In the house was a very pretty girl, so pretty that all the food she swallowed was visible though her transparent body.<sup>1</sup> He thought in his mind, "Oh, I wish I had a wife like that girl!" And she answered immediately, "Really, you wish it?" She knew his thoughts, though he had not uttered a single word. She called him in and gave him food and drink. Then they lay down to sleep together. He stayed in that iron house three days and three nights. On the fourth morning his wife said, "It seems that you are a runaway." He said, "Maybe I am."—"From whom were you running? I wish you would tell me the truth." Then he said, "I took a foster child from the herd, Reindeer-Born; and I was afraid he would eat me up, together with my last reindeer."—"All right," said the woman, "have no more fear! Go back to your home. Here, take this neckerchief, and if the Reindeer-born should see you and should pursue you, run to some tree and hide behind it. Reindeer-born will not be able to catch you. And if Reindeer-born should not desist, touch the tree with this neckerchief."

The man went back and came to his house. All at once he saw Reindeer-born, who rushed straight for him. The man turned about and ran for his life. He came to a tree, and hid behind it. Reindeer-born gave chase, and ran straight into the tree, striking his forehead against it with all his might. "Ah!" said Reindeer-born, "Your strength is greater than mine. I cannot make you fall." In the meantime the man took the neckerchief and touched the tree with it; and instantly the kerchief turned into iron, and its outward shape was similar to that of a saw. This saw sawed at the tree and cut it down. The tree fell and struck Reindeer-born directly upon the head. It broke his head as if it had been an egg-shell, and killed him outright. The man returned to the iron house and lived there, having the young woman as a wife.

Told by Innocent Karyakin, a Tundra Yukaghir man, on the western tundra of the Kolyma country, winter of 1895.

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<sup>1</sup> This detail is borrowed from Yakut folklore in which it is frequently met. See also Radloff, *l. c.*, vol. 1, 11.—F. B.

II. TALES OF THE LAMUT.<sup>1</sup>CHAUN STORY.<sup>2</sup>

There was a Lamut man in the country of Chaun who went to East Cape to look for some thong-seal hides. He moved and moved, and so came to the very end of the country. He had with him his wife and also a son, young and active. All around the country was wholly deserted. Not a single trace of man was to be seen anywhere. The young man said, "I will go and look for people." The father retorted, "Do not go! You will lose your way, and in any case you will find nothing."—"No, I shall find them. And I shall even take a wife among them."

He went away on snowshoes, and after a considerable time came to a river wholly unknown to him. There was a large camp there. Several tents were pitched in two clusters. In one of them lived a man who had a single daughter. He entered, and stayed with this family as an adopted son-in-law. One day the father-in-law said to him, "Let us go to the river to catch fish!"

There was on the river a large open place. They set off. The son-in-law was very light of foot. He was the first to reach the open water. Without much ado he cast into the water his fish-line, and immediately felt something heavy on it. So he pulled it up, and there, caught on the hook, was a small child, human in appearance. He was much afraid, and threw the child back into the water. After that he again cast his fish-line back into the water, and in a moment drew out another human child. He threw it back into the water, but in the meantime the other people arrived. "Why are you throwing the fish back into the water?" said the old man angrily. If you do so, you will destroy our fishing luck and the fish is our existence. Everything will be destroyed."—"Oh," said the young man, "but I caught a human child! I was afraid."—"I say, it was no child, it was a fish.

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<sup>1</sup> These tales were collected among the Lamut living on the upper course of the Omolon River and on its affluents in the Kolyma country, a few also among the Lamut of the Chaun desert met with in the Russian village of Nishne-Kolymsk. They were written down without the original texts.

<sup>2</sup> The Lamut people living on the river Chaun are a branch of this tribe that has migrated farthest to the northeast. They are composed of stragglers from several clans of the Kolyma country, who came to the Chaun desert for various reasons; therefore, they do not form a separate clan. Their ways of living in the treeless tundra of Chaun, however, are different from those of all other Lamut, and are nearer to the mode of life of the Chukchee, among whom they dwell. They number about thirty or forty families.

You are playing jokes on us. Better go away! I was mistaken when I called you a reliable man. Be off! You are no longer my son-in-law." They cast into the water their own fish lines, and after a while they also caught a small human child. They put it upon a long wooden spit and roasted it before the fire. Then they sat down and made a meal of it. This done, they went back.

The human son-in-law felt very angry. So he also cast his line and angled for fish. He caught one after another, and all his fish were human. In a short time, he had collected a large heap. He covered them with sticks and stones, and went home late in the evening. "Where have you been the whole day long?" asked the father-in-law quite sternly. "I have been angling."—"Caught anything?"—"I covered a large heap of fish with sticks and stones." The old man was very glad. "Oh, indeed, you are the very son-in-law for me!" The spring was coming. The snow was covered with a hard crust. The old man said, "Let us go on snowshoes to hunt wild reindeer-bucks!" They went out on snowshoes, and came to a forest. The old man said to his son-in-law, "You must hide behind this large tree as we will drive the reindeer towards you, that you may kill them one by one." The young man crouched behind the tree, having his bow ready. The other people drove the reindeer toward him. He saw running past him two giant men, all naked, with long hair that reached to the ground. He was so much frightened, that he did not dare to shoot at them.

The other people came. "Well," asked the old man, "have you killed them?"—"Whom must I kill? Two giant men passed by, both naked, with hair hanging down to the very ground. I did not dare to shoot at them."—"Ah!" said the old man angrily, "they were no men, they were wild reindeer-bucks. You spoil our hunting pursuit. This hunt is our very life. Be off! I was mistaken when I called you a reliable man. Cease being my son-in-law! Be gone from my house and family!"

They went home. The young man was angrier than ever. He ran to the forest and looked for some trace of those human reindeer-bucks. He found tracks and followed them. At last he saw those giant naked men. They were sitting on the ground leaning against the trees, and fast asleep. So he crept toward them and tied their long hair around the tree. Then he crept off and made a large fire on their windward side. They were killed by the smoke.

Late in the evening he came home. "Where have you been the whole day long?"—"I found those reindeer bucks and killed both of them." Oh, they were very glad. Now they had plenty of food, but the son-in-law could not eat it. They slaughtered for him real reindeer. One day his



wife said to him, "They are very angry with you because of those everlasting slaughters. They are going to kill you too. You had better flee to your own country."—"And will you go with me?"—"Yes, I will."—"And what will you eat in our land?"—"I shall eat fish and reindeer meat. I want no more human flesh."

Once when she had to keep watch over the reindeer herd, she crept out of the tent quite naked. She took some new clothing from the large bags outside and put it on. They fled, and came to his father. There they made her walk three times around a new fire, and thus her mind was changed. After that they left that country and moved away. They went back to their own land and lived there.

Told by Hirkán, a Lamut man from the desert of Chaun, in the village of Nishne-Kolymsk, the Kolyma country, winter of 1896.

## 2. A TALE OF THE CHUKCHEE INVASION.

At the time of the freezing of water some Lamut men crossed the mountain ridge near the Wolverine River. They came to the upper course of the Chogodon River and lived there. They wanted to separate their reindeer herds. In doing this, they talked among themselves. One said, "We must be very careful. From the east enemies may come to kill us and to drive our herds away." Another man, young and hasty, answered, "All right, let them come! We can kill them all." An old man, the oldest of all, whose son and son-in-law were the most active and swift of foot said, "Do not say so! You must be on your guard, and show no arrogance." Still another young man said, "You are too much afraid, a whole family of cowards. Let them come! We can destroy all of them." Another old man said, "Ah! stop talking! The evil one is watching for every rash word. He punishes arrogant people."

After that they separated their herds and went to sleep. In the morning at dawn there came from the east enemies as numerous as flees. Even the snowy mountains grew black with the multitude of men. They were the Chukchee. They moved on in large herds like reindeer. They attacked the tents in front, and were killing the people. At that very time those in the rear gathered a few things and moved off. They rode along. The Chukchee saw them and followed afoot, so nimble and light of foot were they.

One of the pursuers shot an arrow and hit a young woman. She sank down on the neck of her reindeer. Her husband, however,—the one who first said, "We can kill all of them,"—only glanced back, and hastily cut

off the halter of her reindeer, which was attached to his own saddle. After that he galloped on more headlong than ever.

The Chukchee followed on. Another of them shot an arrow, and hit a cradle.<sup>1</sup> The infant fell out. His father (the one who said, "We may kill all of them") glanced back, and cut off the reindeer halter. That done, he rode on with all possible speed. They rode across the mountain-ridge, and fled to steep rocks along the narrowest paths, so that the Chukchee sledges could not follow their riding reindeer. Whenever a pack reindeer fell down exhausted, they would not stop to take off the load, but would leave it there, load and all. At last they came to the mountains of Oloi. The pursuers were not there, so they stopped, and after a while pitched their camps.

Told by Hirkán, a Lamut man from the desert of Chaun, in the village of Nishne-Kolymsk, winter of 1896.

### 3. (STORY ABOUT CANNIBALS.)

In ancient times the Lamut in all parts of the land ate one another. There was an old man who had an only daughter. The neighbors wanted to eat her. So the father and mother and girl fled, and wandered off for ten days and ten nights without stopping. They crossed several ridges of hills, and from the last they saw some tents standing in a pass. They descended, and pitched their own tent near by. The people, however, were also man-eaters, even worse than those whom they had left. Although they had large reindeer herds, they wanted to eat human flesh. A rich reindeer breeder of those people paid suit to the girl. He paid a hundred reindeer for her, and married her.

Every day the husband slaughtered fat bucks to feed his wife with their meat. They gave her of the best fat. Oh, the parents rejoiced! A poor young man who had no reindeer of his own, and who served throughout the year, summer and winter as a herdsman to the rich owner, said to them, "There is no cause to rejoice. They simply want to fatten her before they slaughter her. When she is fat enough, they will kill her."

And, indeed, in the night time in the very act of copulation, the husband felt with his hand of the haunches and the belly of the woman, and muttered to himself, "Still not enough. Why do you not eat your fill? Eat more fat and marrow." So the woman understood. The next morning the young

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<sup>1</sup> Among the Tungus and the Lamut, cradles of small children are so constructed that they may form one half of the usual pack load of a pack reindeer so they may be carried along with infants on the reindeer back.

herdsman said, "They are weary of waiting. Soon they are going to eat her. Why do you not flee? You may do so this very night, cut a way through the cover of the sleeping room."

Indeed, in the night time they ripped open the cover of the sleeping room and ran away. They took riding reindeer and rode off. They rode for a night and a day. Then they looked back, and saw three men in pursuit. So they turned in another direction and rode on. They rode again for a night and a day. Then they looked back and saw the same three pursuers who were this time nearer than before. The father grew angry, and said, "I will attend to this." He descended from the reindeer, and slipped his bow from over his shoulder. "You ride on without me. I shall wait here for the pursuers." The path was very narrow, and led through a pass, so that the three pursuers had to ride in single file. The foremost hurried on. He did not think of any danger. He only looked ahead.

When he was directly opposite the hidden man, the latter sent forth an arrow and shot him. In the same way he slew another and still another. After that he mounted his reindeer and overtook the women. They came to another country, and lived there. The girl was married again to a rich reindeer breeder, a well-meaning man, who knew nothing of man's flesh.

Told by Irashkan, a Lamut man, on the upper course of the Molonda River, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 4. (A TALE ABOUT STINGY REINDEER-OWNERS.)

The short days of the year had already begun, and the cold of winter had come. Then some Lamut met to live together. They pitched their tents close to one another, played cards, and had merry talks and joyful reunions. An old shaman, who had nothing to eat, had no joy. The wealthy reindeer owners gave him nothing, so stingy were they.

One time he went to sleep without any supper, and had a hungry dream, such as the Lamut used to have. In the morning he said to the best hunter in his own family, "Let us move away! I had a dream that the wolves came and scattered the reindeer herd all over the country." So they moved away and pitched camp separately. The richest of the men had several children, and up to that time they had never known what hunger was. Still he gave nothing to the poor people.

The old shaman left him. The people in the camp played cards as usual, and laughed noisily. Then they went to sleep, the herd being quite close to the camp. In the morning, however, the reindeer were gone, and only numerous tracks of wolves were seen in the deep snow. The rich man had



nothing left, not even a single riding reindeer, so he had to stay in camp with all his children and grandchildren.

The others somehow moved off in pursuit of their lost animals. His men, too, tried to search for their reindeer; but all at once a violent snow-storm came which lasted several days. It covered every trace of the reindeer in front of them, and made invisible their own tracks, behind them. The great cold caused all the game to wander off. They could find nothing to feed upon, so they were starving and perishing from famine. They ate their saddles and harnesses, the covering of the tent, and even their own clothes. They crouched almost naked within their tents, protected only by the wooden frame thereof. In ten days they had never a meal, and so at last they took to gnawing their own long hands.

The old father, however, set off again. He wandered the whole day long in the open country, and found nothing. Finally, he stopped in the middle of the desert, and cried aloud in despair. The Master of the Desert heard his voice. He came all at once from underground, and asked him, "What do you want?"—"My wife and children have had nothing to eat for ten days, and they are starving to death. My hunting boots are full of holes, and I am unable to walk any longer."—"Do not cry!" said the Master of the Desert. "I also am the owner of reindeer. I will give you something to eat, but you must remember the ancient custom of the Lamut. When you have food, give the best morsel to your poor neighbor."—"I will," said the old man. "Is not my present trial as severe as theirs?"—"Now, go home!" said the Master of the Desert, "and go to sleep. Food shall come to your house." So the old man went home. His wife said to him, "Do come and look upon this sleeping boy! He is moving his mouth as if chewing. This presages good luck." The boy was the youngest child of their elder son. "Be of good cheer," said the old man, "the worst is over. We shall have something to eat."

They went to sleep and in the morning they saw that a large herd of reindeer had come to their camp. All were gray, like the wild reindeer. Still the backs of the largest bucks were worn off by saddles. These were the riding reindeer of the Master of the Desert. The people lived on these reindeer. By and by the winter passed, and the long days of the spring came back. The people broke up their tents, and in due time moved away, as is customary among the Lamut reindeer herders. They came to a camp of numerous tents, and pitched their own tents close by the others. The old woman, however, had not learned her lesson. She was stingy as before and gave evil advice to her husband. Several poor people were in that camp. The old woman said again, "We are rich, but we must not feed these good-for-nothings. We never saw them, they are strangers. Let us rather move away from here."

So they moved off, and after some days they pitched camp alone, as before. In the morning, however, all the reindeer were gone, no one knew where. Only their tracks were left on the pasture ground. They may have ascended to the sky. The Master of the Reindeer grew angry with them because of their close hands and hard hearts. Therefore he took away his property. They walked back to camp; but the people said, "Formerly you gave us nothing. You too may go away with empty hands." They went away, and soon were starved to death. That is all.

Told by Ivashkan, a Lamut man, on the upper course of the Molonda River, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

### 5. STORY OF AN ARCTIC FOX.

An arctic Fox constructed a fish weir on a small river to catch fish. It was winter time, and he was at work cutting the ice. A Bear came to him, and said, "O Fox! what are you doing?"—"I am arranging a fish weir for catching fish."—"All right. Give me a share in the spoils."—"I will not. How can I? I bring forth children by the dozen at each litter. How shall I feed them?"—"Nay, nay! You must give me a share of the catch."—"All right. Since you are so insistent, I will give you half. Come here! I will show you what to do." He made him sit down on the floor planks, which were all wet with water. "Sit down here and keep watch over the weir. Perhaps the ice will split. You must not stir, lest you should frighten the fish away. In due time I shall come back."

The bear sat there for three days. He was frozen to the ice. At last, on the fourth day, the arctic Fox came back. "Here, you, Fox! Come to me! You talked about the fish, but where is the fish? I am near dying of cold. At least, help me to get away, pick me off, and make me free from this ice."—"Ah!" said the arctic Fox, "You are too heavy. I cannot pick you off. Here!" cried the arctic Fox, "Children, come here, all of you. I caught a big fat bear for you. Come here and have a meal!" The young arctic Foxes came and bit the bear to death. They had a liberal meal, and soon the bear was gone.

After that a Wolf came. "You, arctic Fox, what are you doing?"—"I am constructing a fish weir to catch fish."—"Give me a share."—"O, no! How can I? I have too many children. I bring forth a dozen in one litter."—"I say, give me a share!"—"All right, I shall give you half the catch." He made him sit down on the flanks. "See here!" said Fox, "put your bushy tail down into the water, you will catch some nice fish. But you must stay quiet, and not even move a toe. Otherwise all the fish will be scared away."



After three days the arctic Fox came back to the weirs. "Oh, oh!" cried the Wolf. "There, you arctic Fox, where is your fish? I am frozen and nearly dying of cold. Please help me get away, and pick me off!"—"Ah!" said the arctic Fox, "You are too heavy. Pick yourself off." Then the Wolf turned his head and gnawed at his tail. Seeing this, the arctic Fox set off, and ran away along the river bank. The Wolf, tail-less and very angry, found his tracks, and gave pursuit, but the Fox dug a hole in the snow and lay down, feigning to be lame. "Ah, you scoundrel!" growled the Wolf through his teeth, "I will catch you and tear you into three parts. You have deceived me most heartlessly." He came to the Fox, and snarled, "Here you are! You thief! where is your fish? I will tear you to pieces." The arctic Fox shut one eye and pretended to be blind. "What fish?" asked he innocently. "I am lame and nearly blind. My other eye is also worthless. I have not left here for a number of days."—"Of course," acquiesced the Wolf, "the other one had two eyes, but still these seem to be your tracks."—"How can they be mine?" said arctic Fox. "Am I the only arctic Fox hereabouts? There are ever so many."—"That is right," said the Wolf. He followed another track, and caught another arctic Fox. "I have you," snarled he. "It is you who made me stick to the ice of the river." And he tore him to pieces.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Ulashkan, a Lamut man, on the Molonda River, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

## 6. (WOLVES AND MEN.)

There lived some people who had no dogs at all, so they caught the small puppies of a gray fox, and brought them up. These gray foxes brought forth black and spotted dogs. Another man caught a wolfling and fed it. That wolf brought forth another kind of dog. They were long-legged, and light in color. This wolf was so nimble of foot, that it could overtake and catch reindeer and elk and any other kind of game. So its master became the richest of all the people.

At last the man said, "I am quite rich. My assistants are too many." So he ceased to pay the wolf in food and shelter. The wolf went off and called all his companions. Twenty wolves came with him, and attacked the reindeer herd. Many reindeer were killed. The man caught his bow, shot at the wolves, and killed four of them. From that time began the war between man and wolf. The end.

Told by Ulashkan, a Lamut man, on the Molonda River, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

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<sup>1</sup> O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, vol. 4, 219.—F. B.



## 7. BEAR, WOLVERENE, AND WOLF STORY.

Bear, Wolverine, and Wolf, being brothers, lived side by side. The youngest brother paid suit to the daughter of the middle one. "No," said the middle one, "How is it that you ask me for my daughter? We cannot join. You are born from the snow, and I am born from the earth."<sup>1</sup> Wolf grew angry and made complaint to Bear. Bear bore judgment and ordered, "If that is so, you must part." He said to Wolf, "Your temper is worst of all, you shall bring forth not more than two or three children." Wolf departed sorrowfully. Bear said to Wolverine, "You have a daughter, and refuse her to suitors, so you must not bring forth more than one child." He blamed Wolverine, and said, "If you had given your daughter in marriage, our people would be more numerous, so you must meet your fate in the wooden thing."<sup>2</sup>

Wolverene also grew angry, and retorted, "And you must meet your fate underground."<sup>3</sup> Wolverine laid a curse upon Bear: "You must sleep throughout the winter, and your fate will come to you while you are insensible to it."

So the Bear's word caused young wolves to be born by two's and three's, and wolverenes singly. The Wolverine's word caused the Bear to sleep throughout the winter, so that hunters kill him in his sleep.

Told by Ulashkan, a Lamut man, on the Molonda River, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

## 8. (A LAMUT MAN TURNED INTO STONE.)

It was told in the olden times that in the Gishiga country, on the Okhotsk side, there lived some Lamut of the Lam branch who were all rich in reindeer. One of these reindeer owners had a bad temper. He used to strike his assistants for mere trifles. One time his herd went away from their usual pasture. One of the assistants set off to look for it. He came to the pasture, which was covered with the tracks of reindeer hoofs, but farther off there was not a single track. He walked and walked and grew tired. So he came home, and said, "I could not find the herd." The master gave him a severe thrashing, and then said, "How is it that you

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<sup>1</sup> The polar wolf is of light gray color, sometimes almost dirty white. The wolverene is brown.

<sup>2</sup> Deadfall made of logs.

<sup>3</sup> In the bear-lair when sleeping in winter, and tracked by the hunters.

could not find it? Where can it be? I will go and look for it myself." He came to the pasture, and walked all around it, but he also could not find any tracks outside of it. He grew quite tired. There was on the border of the pasture a boulder. He climbed it and sat down to rest. His head was resting on his hands, and so he sat thinking. All at once he heard a voice, "Brya!"<sup>1</sup> He sprang to his feet and looked up. High on the rock there stood an old man, large and white, as high as the sky. "O man you see me?"—"I see you."—"You hear my voice?"—"I hear your voice."—"What are you doing?"—"I am resting myself."—"And where are your reindeer?"—"I do not know."—"Ah, well! but why do you strike your assistants with so little reason? Now you must look for reindeer yourself." But the man did not stir. "Why do you strike your assistants? Is not each of them a man and a Lamut like you? Look upward! There are your reindeer." He looked up, and his reindeer were mounting up to the sky, all of them,—bucks and does and fawns. He looked on, but still did not stir. "So you will stand here forever." The white one vanished. Then the Lamut came to himself, and tried to climb down; but his feet stuck to the stone. He tried to disengage them, but he was unable to do so. After a while his feet and legs were sinking into the stone.

The next morning his people came to look for him. His feet had sunk into the stone up to his ankles. They tried to pull him out, but he cried for pain, "Leave me alone! I cannot stand it. It seems that I am done for. Better go away and tell the other people." So they went and told the neighbors what had happened. In a couple of days they came back. He had sunk into the stone up to the knees. They talked to him, but he did not answer. Only the look in his eyes was still life-like. They went away, and came back in the spring. He was all stone. And so he is up to the present, and stands there upon the boulder.

Told by Ulashkan, a Lamut man, on the Molonda River, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

### 9. (A SHAMAN AND A BOY.)

There was a great shaman who reached a very great age. When angry he could lay his spell on any one, even upon another shaman. One time he was walking about and met a little boy, who roamed about, not knowing where to go. "Who are you?"—"I do not know."—"Perhaps you are a shaman."—"What kind of a shaman may I be? Though, indeed, I get up in my sleep and walk about sleeping."—"I shall kill you."—"Do, please.

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<sup>1</sup> One of the usual invocations. "You man!" (Bry, "man").

I shall not resist. My father and mother are gone, and I wish to follow them."—"Oh, well! then follow me."

He took him to his house, and put a plate before him. "Sit down and let us have a match!"—"What kind of a match shall we have?"—"A shamanistic match. You are a shaman."—"No, I am not, I know nothing."—"Enough. Be quiet, or I shall kill you." He spat into his palm, and put the spittle upon the plate. It grew to a small bear not greater than a louse. "Here is my champion and where is yours?" The boy scratched his head, not knowing what to do, and, lo! a small louse fell down upon the plate, a real louse. "Ah! this is yours. All right, let them fight." The bear and the louse fought throughout the day, and the louse proved the stronger. It caught the bear by the throat and wanted to strangle it. "Let go!" cried the old man. "Leave the bear alone! I shall die."—"No, I shall not do so," said the boy. "It is you who wanted to have this fight." So the louse strangled the bear. As soon as the bear died the old man fell down and died also. The boy took his wives and all his goods, and became a rich man.

Told by Ulashkan, a Lamut man, on the Molonda River, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 10. (THE LAMUT AND THE RUSSIAN.)

In olden times, when the Russians were not here, the Lamut lived in the mountains. They had no iron, no ax, no knife. A stone tied to a stick served as ax; a rib of wild reindeer, as knife; splinters of elk thigh bone, as spears; and a thin splinter of reindeer fawn thigh as needle. They had no kettles. They spread their meat upon stones for roasting. They melted the snow into drinking water, putting it in a reindeer stomach, which they hung high above the fire.

Then came some Russian people. They questioned our men, "Who are you?"—"We are Lamut."—"How do you kill wild reindeer?"—"With bow and arrows."—"We want to see them."—"There they are." One young man strung the bow and shot at a splinter of wood stuck into a high tussock quite far away, and his arrow with a point of fish bone split the slender bit of wood. "Oh, how glorious!" said the Russians. "And how do you do in spring when the snow has a thin ice crust?"—"We overtake them running on snowshoes."—"We want to see you do it." Another young man put on his snowshoes and ran off. He sighted a wild reindeer buck, overtook it, and stabbed it with his long spear. "Oh, glorious! Indeed, you are quite active and strong, and successful in hunting, so you must be our closest friends and assistants. You must be our best compan-



ions in every way. If some member of a strange tribe should come here with evil intentions, you must kill him without fear. You must give us assistance in every struggle against all kinds of invaders.”<sup>1</sup> They gave them iron knives, and axes, match-locks, and kettles, and all kinds of iron ware. “Take this, and be stronger than any of your neighbors. Chastize them according to their deserts and evil intentions.” After that the Russian chief instituted the tribute and noted it down in a big black book. He gave to the young Lamut pipes and tobacco, saying, “Have this to smoke, and with that smoke be first to fight, speeding ahead on your snowshoes.”

Told by Ulashkan, a Lamut man, on the upper course of the Molonda River, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

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<sup>1</sup> The Lamut consider themselves, and are considered by the Russians, as the closest allies of the latter in every struggle against other more stubborn and refractory tribes, such as the Chukchee and the Koryak.

## III. KOLYMA TALES.

## 1. ONE-SIDE.

There was a family of Tungus. They lived in a tent. They had three daughters. The girls, when going to pick berries, would turn into female geese. In this form they visited the sea islands. One time they flew farther than usual. On a lonely island they saw a one-sided man.<sup>1</sup> When he breathed, his heart and lungs would jump out of his side. The Geese were afraid and flew home. After some time, they had nothing to eat, so they went again to the sea islands for berries. Wherever they chose a spot on which to alight, One-Side appeared and frightened them away. At last they found a place full of berries. They descended and laid aside their wings. They picked so many berries that they could hardly carry them all. They went back to the place where they had left their wings. The wings of the youngest daughter were gone.<sup>2</sup> They looked for them a long time. At last, evening came and the sun went down. It grew very dark. The two elder sisters reproached the youngest one: "Probably you have taken a liking to One-Side, and you have asked him to hide your wings. Now remain here alone and let him take you!" She almost cried while assuring them that their suspicions were unjust. "I have never seen him and never thought of him." They left her and flew away. She remained alone.

As soon as they were out of sight, One-Side appeared carrying her wings. "Well, now," he said, "fair maiden, will you not consent to marry me?" She refused for a long time, then she gave in, and said, "I will!"—"If you are willing," said One-Side, "I will lead the way." He took her to his house. It was the usual house, made of wood, with a wooden fireplace.<sup>3</sup> He proved to be a good hunter, able to catch any kind of game. Still he had only one side, and with every breath his heart would jump out. They lived together for a while, and the woman brought forth a son. The young

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<sup>1</sup> Samoyed (M. Alexander Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaischen Völker* [Petersburg, 1857], 160).— F. B.

<sup>2</sup> Samoyed (*Ibid.*, 172); Ainu (B. Pilsudski, *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* [Cracow, 1912], 27); E. Cosquin, *l. c.*, vol. 2, 16.— F. B.

<sup>3</sup> The type of house generally used among Russian creoles and Russianized natives,—a square log cabin, having a fireplace in the corner, with a straight chimney made of wood and plastered with clay, the so-called "Yakut chimney." It is improbable that this chimney is really a Yakut invention. The ancient type of Yakut house had only an uncovered fireplace, with an opening in the roof above it. At the present time, however, the "Yakut chimney" is used everywhere among the Yakut, as well as among Russian creoles.— W. B.

woman nursed the infant. But One-Side did not want to stay at home. He would wander about all the time, and bring back reindeer and elk. They had so much meat that the storehouses would no longer hold it. He was a great hunter. He hunted on foot on snowshoes, for he had neither reindeer, nor horses for traveling.

One time he set off to hunt as usual. Then his wife's sisters suddenly came and carried the youngest sister and her little son off to their own country. The small boy, while carried on high, shouted, "O father! O my father! We are being carried by aunties to their home, to their home." One-Side ran home as fast as he could, but he came too late. They were out of sight. Only the boy's voice was heard far away. Then he shot an arrow with a forked head in the direction whence the voice seemed to come, and the arrow cut off one of the boy's little fingers. One-Side found the arrow and the finger, and put them into his pouch.

Then he started in search of his boy. He walked and walked. A whole year passed. Then he arrived at a village. A number of children were playing "sticks."<sup>1</sup> He looked from one to another, thinking of his boy. There was one poor boy who was dressed in the poorest of clothing. His body was mangy, and his head bruised and covered with scars. First, One-Side paid no attention to him, but when he finally looked at this boy, he saw that the little finger on his left hand was missing. He snatched the finger out of his pouch and placed it beside the hand, and indeed it fitted! The poor boy was his son! "Whose boy are you?" asked One-Side. "I am mamma's boy."—"And where is your father?"—"I have no father. I used to have one, but now I have none."—"I am your father." The boy refused to believe it, and only cried bitterly. "If my father were alive, we should not be so wretched, mother and I." The elder sisters had married and made their youngest sister a drudge in the house. "Why is your head so bruised and scarred?" asked One-Side. "It is because my aunts order me to enter the house only by the back entrance, and every time I try to go in by the front entrance, they strike my head with their heavy staffs."<sup>2</sup> "Let us go to your house." They arrived at the house. The boy

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<sup>1</sup> A play of Russian provenience much in use among the Russianized natives.—W. B.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is interesting, since it shows that perhaps some of the native peoples on the Kolyma River had houses with two entrances, and that some members of the family were not allowed to pass through the main entrance. This recalls the type of house of the Maritime Koryak and Kamchadal, with its different entrances for winter and summer. Among the Koryak, as well as among the Kamchadal, in former times, women and children, also transformed shamans, often entered, even in the winter time, by the rear entrance from the storage room, while men considered it beneath their dignity to do so. (cf., for instance, W. Jochelson, "The Koryak," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. VI, 458). It is quite certain that this tale, though it mentions the Tungus, must have referred, not to the nomadic reindeer-riding Tungus, with their light tents of curried reindeer skin, but to the people living



went ahead and One-Side followed him. They came to the front entrance. As soon as the boy tried to go in, his eldest aunt jumped up and struck him with her iron staff. Then the woman saw the boy's father, and felt so much ashamed, that she fell down before him.

He entered the house. They hustled about, brought food of every kind, and prepared tea. They ate so long that it grew very late and it was time to go to bed. On the following morning, after breakfast, he said to his brothers-in-law, "Let us go and try which of us can shoot the best with the bow! You are two, and I am only one." They made ready their bows and arrows and began to shoot at each other. The elder brother-in-law shot first; but One-Side jumped upward, and the arrow missed him. The second brother-in-law also shot. One-Side jumped aside and dodged the arrow. "Now I shall shoot," said One-Side, "and you try to dodge my arrows." He shot once, and hit his elder brother-in-law straight through the heart. With the second shot he killed his other brother-in-law. Then he went back to the house, killed his wife's sisters, and took home his wife and his son.

One time he set off, as usual, to look for game. When he was out of sight of his wife, he took off the skin that disguised his true form and hung it up on the top of a high larch tree. He became a young man, quite fair and handsome, just like the sunrise. He went home and sat down on his wife's bed. While he was sitting there, he was about to take off his boots. The woman began to argue, "Go away from here! My husband will be here soon, and he will be angry with me. He will say, "Why have you let a strange man sit down on your bed?" "I am your husband," said he. "Why do you try to drive me away?" "No," said the woman, "my husband is one-sided, and you are like other men." They argued for a long time. At last he said, "Go and look at that tree yonder. I hung up my one-sided skin on it." She found the tree and the one-sided skin, and now she believed him. Then she caught him in her arms and covered him with kisses. After that they lived happier than ever. The end.

Told by Katherine Rumiantzer, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, in the summer of 1896.

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more or less sedentary lives along the Kolyma River or on the seacoast near its mouth. On the Bear Islands, for example, were found remnants of some houses, deserted long ago. The people living along the Kolyma were chiefly Yukaghir; and along the seacoast, also the little known Ca'ačet and Shelags. At the present time, among the Russian creoles and the Russianized natives on the Kolyma, several types of houses are in use; but the ancient type of house cannot be ascertained, because of the preponderant influence of the Russian log cabin with its wooden chimney of so-called "Yakut" type.— W. B.

## 2. A YUKAGHIR TALE.

Once upon a time there were some Yukaghir people. They had an only daughter, who was very active and clever. One time when she was walking about a whirlwind carried her off. It took her to the mountains. A big rock, which extended from the ground up to heaven was standing there. The whirlwind carried her there and left her close to the rock. She sat there, and after a while she saw a bluejay flying by. "O Jay, go to my father and mother and say to them, "Your daughter asks you for some glue and a glue pot, for a line, and for climbing hooks."<sup>1</sup> "I will not go. When you were still living with your father and mother, you were nasty; whenever I wanted to pick up some meat, you drove me away. I will not help you." A snow-bunting passed by. She said to it, "Go and tell my father and mother, 'Your daughter would dearly love to have some glue and a glue-pot, a line, and some climbing hooks'." — "I will go. When you were still living with your father and mother, you were very nice. I used to come and peck at the drying meat, and you would even leave for me some spare bit or a piece of dried roe; so I will help you. My wings are young. I will bring each and everyone one of the things you asked for." And really it brought everything. The girl felt glad, and sang aloud.

"O jay, blue jay!  
Give me your talons  
To mount the rock  
And to get my overcoat.

Ай кукша, ты, кукша,  
Ты дай менѣ когти  
На камень попасти  
Гагаглю достасти.

O bunting, snow-bunting!  
Give me your talons  
To mount the rock  
And to get my overcoat.

Петишка, петишка,  
Ты дай менѣ когти  
На камень попасти  
Гагаглю достасти.

Keyom-da, Keyom-da,  
Keyom-da, Keyom-da!"

Кейом-да, кейом-да,  
Кейом-да, кейом-да!<sup>2</sup>

After some time the whirlwind brought another girl there, and then a third one. The first one said to her fellow-prisoners, "Why, sisters! there is no use to sit here and wait. Let us try to climb the rock! She prepared three lines and three sets of climbing-hooks. Then she threw her line upward. It caught around the stone, and she climbed up. The other two followed.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee" (*Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 7), 263.—W. B.

<sup>2</sup> I give also the Russian words, which are arranged in the form of a lay. The burden is said to be Yukaghir, and to have no particular meaning, like so many other burdens.—W. B.



When half way up, she asked of one, "Well, now, sisters, perhaps we shall find only one man there, and all three of us are going to marry him. Shall we then have quarrels and fights, as usual?"—"Of course we shall," said the other. So the first one, without more ado, cut off the line; and the unhappy girl fell down and was killed. Then she asked the second girl, "Well, now, sister, perhaps we shall find only one man and we shall both of us marry him. Shall we then have quarrels as usual?"—"Of course we shall," answered the girl. So she cut her line, and the poor girl fell back to the ground. After that she herself climbed to the top of the rock. She was full of joy, so she danced and sang:—

"How active she is!	Какая удалая,
How clever she is!	Кака бѣдоватая,
She climbed the rock.	На камешекъ попала.
Keyom-da, keyom-da,	Кейом-да, кейом-да,
Keyom-da, keyom-da!	Кейом-да, кейом-да.
The active ones climbed to the top	Вотъ удалы-те попали,
The slow ones all perished.	Кисловаты-те пропали.
Keyom-da, keyom-da,	Кейом-да, кейом-да,
Keyom-da, keyom-da!"	Кейом-да, кейом-да.

The top of the mountain was a high plateau. She walked across it and after a while she saw a house, well arranged and quite large. She entered. The furniture and appurtenances were of the best, but people there were none. Along the walls stood long rows of boxes and bags filled to the brim with costly furs. She opened one box and entered it. Then she closed the lid above her, and waited for events. In the evening a man came. It was One-Side. He had one leg, one arm, one side, one eye. As soon as he entered, he said aloud, "Chimney, burn! Teapot, bubble! Kettle, cook food! Take off my boots! they are too heavy." He lay down. The chimney began to burn, the teapot bubbled, the meat in the kettle was done just right. His clothes and boots were taken off and hung up to dry. Still the girl could not see anybody. The next morning One-Side went off. Then the girl left the box, and again investigated the house. Not a living person was in it. At last behind the chimney she saw a large flint stone. She lifted it; and under it there were mice and ermine, worms, flies, mosquitoes, and all kinds of larvae, as many kinds as existed in the surrounding country. Some were sewing and some were weaving, some scraping skins, and some again currying soft hides. These were the female assistants of One-Side. The girl felt jealous and angry. She filled with water the largest kettle that she could find. She hung it over the fire and when the



water was scalding hot, she poured it over the vermin, and scalded them all to death. After that she crept back into the box and waited till evening. One-Side came home, and called aloud, "Chimney, burn! Kettle, bubble! Let meat be cooked! Take off my boots! I am very tired." He waited and waited, but nothing happened. The chimney did not burn, the kettle did not bubble, and nobody came to take off his boots. "What is the matter with them? Perhaps my incantations have lost their power. Maybe I am going to die. Then let me have a last look upon my peltries. Before I die, I want to see once more my wealth, my goods, peltries, and clothes." He carried all his bags and boxes into the middle of the house and opened them one by one. At last he found the girl. "Ah, it is you!" said One-Side. "Come out! You have destroyed all my people. It seems you object to having servants and female assistants: so now just stir about yourself and make yourself useful. Get the household things ready. In the morning three reindeer herds will come to you. You must catch the driving-reindeer and harness them to the sledges, and then move away to another place. He did not indicate the place where she was to go. Early in the morning, before sunrise, she awoke, arranged all the sledges, and was ready to move. Then the three reindeer herds came to her. She caught all the pack-reindeer and attached them to the sledges. After that she drove on in front of the first line of sledges, as is customary. She looked back and saw all three lines of sledges, ever so long. Thereupon she rejoiced, and struck up her song:—

"What an active one,  
What a clever one!  
I arose early,  
And got myself ready.

Какая удалая,  
Кака бѣдоватая,  
Утромъ рано соскочила,  
И вся убралася.

My moving road,  
Just like a new-spun thread,  
So straight it is,  
So finely it is done."

Мое кочевище,  
Какъ двоёсна ниточка,  
Такое прямое,  
Такое хорошее.

Then she continued:—

"I wish I had some poor tent poles!  
I should pitch my tent,  
And sleep in it alone."

Кабы мнѣ худыя резвины,  
Я бы руйту ставила,  
Одна ночевала.

Then she saw some tent poles on the trail. They were of the poorest kind; but she took them and pitched her tent. She slept alone in this tent; and the next morning she moved on; and so throughout the day from sunrise to sunset.

She sang again:—

“I wish I had some good tent poles!	Кабы мнѣ хорошія резвины,
I should pitch my tent,	Я бы рўйту ставила,
My husband would come	Мой мужъ бы пришелъ
To sleep with me.”	Со мной ночевать.

She saw some tent poles on the trail. They were of good quality. So she pitched a large tent, new and handsome. In the evening a young man came who wanted to stay. She saw him coming, and met him outside. “Who are you, and what do you want?”—“I am your husband.”—“No you are not! My husband is one-sided, and his name is Li’giman.”—“I say I am your husband.” He went out and climbed a tree. Then he turned to the sun once, twice, three times, and was again one-sided. “There!” said he, “you would not believe me, although I am your husband. See, now! I am one-sided again.” She felt much joy that he was really her husband. He turned three times toward midnight and became again a young man, quite handsome, and clad in white skins. They entered the house and slept there. In the morning they moved on. On the way they saw a lake. Some people were playing football on the ice. One of them shouted, “Ah, ah! Run home and tell the chief that his daughter is coming.” They came to a village. The front house was covered with black skins as a sign of mourning. It was the house of her father and mother. They arrived at the house. The old people ran out and rejoiced. From mere joy they fell down and became ashes that were scattered by the wind. The end.

Told by Innocent Korkin, a Russianized Yukaghir man, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

### 3. RAVEN TALE.

There once upon a time lived a man and his wife. They had neither son nor daughter. They lived together for a long time. Then they talked to each other. The old woman said, “Well, old man, what do you think? We are getting old, and we have no children. Who will take care of us when we are still older? Who will bring us food?” So they prayed to God, and at last God gave them a daughter. The daughter grew up rapidly to womanhood. One day she went berrying. Then Raven-Man<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In local Russian, literally Воронъ-Человѣкъ, though not in keeping with the spirit of the Russian language.—W. B.

caught her and carried her away. The old couple wandered about, looking for their daughter, but could not find her. So they prayed again to God, and asked for a son. God heard their prayer again, and gave them a son. They nursed him and fed him, and soon he was full grown. The young man said to his father and mother, "Did you never have any other son or daughter? I long to have a brother or a sister." They did not tell him. "We had none whatever." He walked about in the vicinity, and shot in every direction with his blunt arrow. One time his arrow entered the house of the old woman, Underskin,<sup>1</sup> through the chimney-hole. He almost cried for fright, still he went in to ask for his arrow. The old woman, Underskin, went out to meet him. "O you bad boy! Why are you wronging me? I am old and without defence. Why are you shooting at my house? Rather than shoot at my house, you had better shoot at Raven-Man, it was he who carried off your own sister." The boy cried aloud and went home. "Ah!" said he, "father and mother! You did not want to tell me about my unfortunate sister, but Underskin has told me all. Now, you cannot keep me back. I shall go and search for her."

He set off, and after a long journey, he saw a house in the desert. He entered it, and his sister was sitting on a bench. "Why did you come?" she said to him. "Raven-Man will kill you."—"Ah, he has taken you! Let him kill me! I shall not demur." She gave him food and drink. After a while Raven came. He croaked three times, then dropped upon the roof, and turned into a young man. Raven-Man entered the house, sniffed around, and then exclaimed, "Ah, ah, ah! We did not hear it, we did not see it, the Russian body came to us of its own will; not a strange man, either, but my own brother-in-law. There, wife, go and bring us some nuts! We will have some fun with them." The woman brought some iron nuts, about four dozen of them. They began cracking nuts; but while the young man was trying to open one nut, Raven-Man was ready with two or three. Then Raven said, "Go now and get ready a steam bath in which we may steam our little bones." She prepared the steam bath. They went to the bath house. Raven said, "You enter first," and the young man said, "No, you enter first." Raven got the better of the young man and pushed him into the bath house. It was as hot as an oven there, so the young man was roasted.<sup>2</sup> Raven took out the body and ate it. Then he went home, and said to his wife, "Go and get your brother's bones, pick

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<sup>1</sup> In local Russian, *Старушка Подкожурница*. Perhaps it is a reference to some insect, rather obscure at present. Compare the Chukchee tales about Bright-Woman (*Tä'gi-ñe'ut*, *Coleoptera Alla*) in Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 329.

<sup>2</sup> See American parallels in Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology" (*Thirty-first Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1916), 806.—F. B.



them clean, put them into a bag, and hang them up on a tree.”<sup>1</sup> She cried for a long time; then she sewed up a pouch, gathered all the bones, and put them into the pouch which she hung high up on a tree.

The parents waited and waited, but their son never came home. So the old people prayed again to God, “O God! give us a child, a son or a daughter.” So God gave them another son. The boy grew up, and inquired of his parents, “O father and mother! was there never at any time another brother or a sister of mine?” They denied it more strongly than ever, lest he too should go away. He walked about, playing with his bow and blunt arrow; and one time he sent an arrow into the house of the old woman Underskin through the chimney-hole. Underskin went out. She was very angry. “Why do you shoot at me? I am old and defenceless. You had better shoot at Raven-Man, who carried off your sister and killed your brother.” He went to his father and mother, and cried for vexation. “Oh, father and mother! you did not want to tell me; but old woman Underskin has told me everything. She told me that I had a sister and a brother, but that they were taken by Raven-Man. I shall go and look for them, whether you are willing or not. I shall go away.” They tried arguments and tears; but he paid no heed, and set off instantly. After a long journey, he arrived at the house. His sister was sitting inside. “Why did you come?” she said. “He will devour you.” — “Let him do it! I shall not demur. He devoured my brother, and I am no better than he.” So she gave him food and drink, and they waited for Raven. Raven flew homeward croaking, “food, food, food.”<sup>2</sup> He alighted on the roof and turned into a young man. He entered the house. “Ah, ah, ah! we heard nothing, we saw nobody, but the little Russian bone came to us of its own will. He is not a strange man, he is my own brother-in-law. Go wife, and bring us some iron nuts! We will have some fun with them.” So she went and brought some iron nuts, about four dozen of them. They cracked nuts; but while the young man was struggling with a single one, Raven was ready with two or three. Then he said again, “Go and prepare a steam bath for us. We want to take a bath.” She heated the bath house. They went there. Raven said, “You enter first,” and the young man said, “No, you go in first.” Raven had his way and pushed the young man in. The bath house was so hot that the young man was roasted alive. Raven drew out the body and ate it. He went home and said to his wife, “Go and pick clean his bones, then gather them into a pouch and hang them high up on a tree.” She cried bitterly, then she made a pouch and went

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<sup>1</sup> The ancient Yukaghir used to gather the bones of their dead in pouches, and carried them along, or put them away in secret places.

<sup>2</sup> In Russian, Кормъ, кормъ, кормъ imitative of the sound of the croaking.—W. B.

there. She gathered all the bones, even the smallest joints, and put them into the pouch which she hung high up on a tree.

The parents waited and waited, but the boy never came. And how could he? So they prayed to God, "O God! give us a son or a daughter." God heard again, and gave them a son, the very last one to be given. The boy grew up and became strong of body. He also said to his parents, "O my father and my mother! I want to know whether I ever had any brothers or any sisters?" They were less willing than ever before to tell him, lest he too should go away and perish. So he walked about and played with his bow, and at last he shot an arrow into the chimney-hole of old woman Underskin. She went out quite angry, "Why do you shoot at me. I am old and defenceless. Better shoot at Raven-Man. He took away your sister and destroyed your brothers. He is a better target for your shooting." He cried aloud and went to his parents. "Oh, father and mother! You did not want to tell me, but old woman Underskin has told me the truth. Raven-Man destroyed my brothers and carried off my sister. I shall go and look for him, no matter whether you are willing or not to give me your blessing." They wanted to keep him back, and almost died with sorrow. Still he set off. After a long journey he found the house, and his sister was sitting in it. She recognized him all at once, and cried bitterly, "Why did you come? He will devour you like the others."—"Let him do it! I shall not object. He ate my elder brothers, let him finish the whole breed!" She gave him food and drink, and they waited. Raven-Man flew home, and croaked, "Food, food, food!" He alighted on the roof of the house and turned into a strong man. He entered and said, "Oh, oh, oh! we heard nothing, we saw nobody; but the little Russian bone entered of its own will, not a strange man, either, my own brother-in-law. Go, wife, and bring us some iron nuts. We will have some fun with them." She brought the iron nuts, four dozen of them. They cracked the nuts; but while Raven was trying to open a single one, the young man was through with two or three. "Oh, oh," said Raven-Man, "you are a good one, O brother mine! You crack the nuts even quicker than I do."—"Why," said the young man, "I crack them in the only way that I know."—"All right!" said Raven-Man. "Now, wife, go and get the steam bath ready. We want to steam our little bones." So she went to the bath house and heated it. All the while she was crying most bitterly. Her whole face became swollen with crying. At last she came home. Raven looked up at her, and said, "There, woman, it seems you have been crying again. Take care, lest I swallow you some day!"—"Ah, brother mine!" said the young man, "so you swallow human beings?"—"Oh no!" answered Raven-Man, "it is only a little joke. Nevertheless let us go and have our



steam bath. You must be tired from your long journey." So they went to the bath house; and one said to the other, "You enter first," and the other said, "You enter first. You are my guest." — "And you are my host." The young man had his way and pushed Raven into the bath house. Then he set fire to it and burnt it up together with Raven. He scattered the ashes to the winds. Then he asked his sister, "Where are the bones of our brothers?" She climbed to the tree and took them down. He entered the storehouse, and there was preserved a bottle containing the water of life and youth. He took the bones of the oldest brother and joined them all together. Then he sprinkled them with the water of life and youth. The first time he sprinkled the bones they were covered with flesh; the next time he sprinkled, the flesh was covered with skin; the third time he sprinkled, the young man sat up, and said, "Ah, ah, ah! I slept too long, but I am quite refreshed.— "Ah!" said the youngest brother, "if it had not been for me, you would not have awakened at all." Then he did the same with the bones of the second brother, and restored him also to life. They gathered all the goods Raven had in his house, and went home, all four of them. They went to their father and mother. The old people were quite joyful, and from very joy they became ashes that were scattered around. The end.

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

#### 4. YUKAGHIR TALE.<sup>1</sup>

There once lived an old man and his wife. They had an only son. They lived together for a long time. One day the old man came home from the woods and said to his wife, "O wife! I am going to die tomorrow morning. Here in the neighborhood is a small abandoned hut. Put my body there; and take with it a kettle and an ax, a strike-a-light, and some food." The next morning the old man was as if dead. The old woman cried over him; then she put his body, with everything required, upon a sledge, and hauled it to the funeral place. The boy went along, and helped his mother haul it. On the way they came to a brook. The old woman pulled across it with all her might, and at last broke wind. The old man giggled. The boy noticed it, and said, "There, mother, father is laughing!" The old woman grew

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<sup>1</sup> Compare various versions of this well-known tale about Raven feigning death: Bogoras "Materials for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore collected in the Kolyma District" (*Edition of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, part 1. St. Petersburg, 1900), 403; Jochelson, "The Koryak" (*Publications, Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 8), 326 (a Kamchadal story collected by W. Bogoras); etc.— W. B.



very angry and struck the boy. "He is dead. How could he laugh?" They continued hauling the sledge, and after a while they came to another brook. Again the old woman pulled with great force and broke wind. The old man giggled again; and the boy said, "See here! father is laughing." She struck him again. "Why, you liar! our father is dead." They came to the abandoned hut, and put the old man inside. They shut the door and went away. After a few days the boy passed by the house, and he saw smoke ascending from the chimney-hole. He ran to his mother. "Mother, come! There is smoke over that hut." She went, and saw the smoke. Then she approached with great caution and looked in. The old man was making a fire. He was cooking some fat meat over the fire. Before he feigned death he had killed a big fat elk, and had hidden it in the hut; and he now was eating it all alone. The old woman went home and said to the boy, "Go and set some snares for ptarmigan. I want some ptarmigan." The boy set his snares and caught a ptarmigan and brought it to his mother alive. The old woman took the ptarmigan and plucked it well, leaving only the wings. Then she spoke to the ptarmigan as follows: "O ptarmigan! you have wings, and your talons are sharp and pointed. Now fly off to my old man, enter his hut through the chimney hole, and scratch his body with your sharp talons. Draw blood from his body with your talons." The ptarmigan flew to the hut, and dropped into it through the chimney hole. It attacked the old man and lacerated his body with its sharp talons. The old man was much frightened. He left the hut and ran home to his old woman. He came to the house, but the door was shut tight. He said in the Yukaghir language,<sup>1</sup> "Oh, there, old woman! Open the door!" — "Why should I open it? You are not my old man. My old man is dead." — "No," said he, "I am really your old man." — "How can that be? From which world, then, did you come,— from this one, or from the other one?" — "So help me God! I am really your old man." She opened the door and then snatched the poker and beat him on the head. "Mind you do not eat alone without your old woman!" The old woman swore that he should never do that again. He brought home the elk carcass, and they continued to live together. That is all.

Told by Katherine Rumiantzev, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably in an earlier version of this story the following words were really told in the Yukaghir language.— W. B.

5. A BEAR TALE.<sup>1</sup>

A clan of the Tungus lived in three tents. The family in the first tent had two daughters. The elder daughter was married, and the younger lived at home. She was very pretty; and her parents made her sit in her sleeping room all the time, lest any strange eye should behold her beauty. An old woman lived with her, who gave her drink and food, and acted as a nurse. Even her parents rarely visited her. Once in a while in the night time she would go noiselessly to their sleeping room to be caressed by them.

One time when she was sitting alone in her sleeping room the lower edge of the cover was lifted up. No human hand appeared, but the flap of the cover continued to be lifted up, and at last there appeared a bear's muzzle. The girl was so badly frightened that she could not cry. The bear entered the sleeping room as far as his belly, and then caught the girl. He covered her mouth with his huge paw, and carried her off to his lair. It was in the middle of the fall; so he put her into the lair, and went in himself. He stopped up the entrance, as bears do, and they slept. They slept most of the time, but sometimes the girl would wake up and feel hungry. Then she would make known to the bear by signs that she wanted food. He would growl, stretch out one of his paws toward her, and she would suck at the thickest part of it. After she had sucked a while, fat would drip from it. She felt satisfied and went to sleep again. One time, as the days grew longer, the girl was awakened by a heavy weight that was pressing her down. She was unable to resist, and so became the wife of the bear.

At last the warm season came again. The bear left his lair and roamed about, looking for food. Every day he brought back all kinds of game—reindeer, hare, or at least ptarmigan. He never came home without something. He ate the raw meat. She could not eat it. So she prayed to the bear, "O bear! grandfather.<sup>2</sup> You see I cannot eat raw meat. How shall I subsist? Please bring me some fire!" He let forth a growl and set off. For a long time he did not return. Then he brought in his mouth a firebrand. He procured a knife and an ax (goodness knows where he got

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<sup>1</sup> Similar tales are met among all the native tribes of these countries.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> The Russianized natives of the Kolyma have a very strong superstitious fear of the bear. They never mention its name, but call him "he" or "grandfather." The bear is considered as a mighty shaman, the man of the wood. "He knows everything," say the people. None of them dares to attack a bear, even when the latter comes to the fishing camp and plunders the stores of dried fish and oil. Even the setting of deadfalls for bears is considered by most people as a sin against the bear. It is curious to notice that among the natives (Yukaghir, Tungus, Chukchee) this kind of superstitious fear and worship, though it also exists, is never felt to such an extent as among the Russian creoles and the Russianized natives.— W. B.



them!); and, moreover, he brought her large masses of every kind of meat. She made a fire, and roasted the meat on wooden spits. On this she lived all the time.

All the snow had melted off, and patches of last year's berries appeared. She roamed about, picking berries for her own food and also for the bear. Once she heard a human voice. She hurried to the place whence it came. It was the voice of her brother-in-law. He was a great shaman, and since the fall had been looking for her on land and on water, but had found no trace of her. Now she heard his call. She hurried to the spot, pretending, however, to pick berries along the way. He came toward her, and they met, "What is the matter with you?" asked the shaman. "Who caught you and carried you away?" She answered, "A bear carried me away, and made me his wife. He keeps me close to the lair, and does not allow me to wander far away." — "Ah!" said the man, "even now when you go back, he will be very angry, and he will give you a severe thrashing with his heavy paws. Then you must say to him, 'O, grandfather! why do you beat me thus? The berries are getting scarce, and, moreover, I feel a great longing for my parents and family, and this makes me restless.' Be that as it may, you must come again to this place." Then she went back. The bear was very angry. He pawed the ground and threw it about in great lumps. Then he caught the woman and gave her a severe thrashing. The woman said, "O, grandfather! why do you torture me so? The berries are getting scarce, and, besides, a longing for my people overpowers me. I am growing restless, and cannot stay in the same place." The bear ceased beating her. The next morning she awoke and prepared some food for herself. She ate her meal, and then set off, pretending to go berrying. As soon, however, as she was out of sight of the bear, she ran as fast as her legs would carry her to the place where she had met her brother-in-law who was already there expecting her. He said, "You must run on with all your might." He dropped to the ground, and turned into a big bear with a bell on his left ear. He rushed off to meet the other bear. On his departure, he said to her, "Run as fast as you can, but in running try to listen behind you. When the earth begins to tremble and to sway right and left, then know that we have met. Listen to the bell! If it rings with a full sound, then know that I have conquered; but if the sound grows fainter, then it is that he has vanquished me. Know then that you also will not live." She ran off, but tried to listen. At last the ground trembled. The bell was ringing quite loud; but gradually the sound grew fainter and fainter, and then ceased altogether. "Oh," thought the woman, "we are lost!" She ran off in more haste than ever. Then all at once the bell sounded again, stronger and stronger. Her brother-in-law had vanquished the other one



and was coming back. She arrived at home, but did not enter neither the sleeping room of her parents nor her own. She entered the sleeping room of her sister who was sleeping. She fell down at her side and lost consciousness. Her brother-in-law arrived soon after her and resumed the form of a man. He awakened his wife and their parents, and they tried to restore the girl. She was very ill, however, and swooned again and again. The bear spirit was tormenting and oppressing her. After three days she came to, and in a few months she gave birth to a boy, who had bear-ears. This boy grew up and became a strong hunter. His name was Bear-Ear. That is all.

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

## 6. GRASS-BLADE GIRL.

An old woman lived all alone. She had no children. One time she went for a walk. She saw a patch of yellow grass. One blade was growing higher than any of the others. She gathered that grass for her bedding, and kept this long blade separately. She carried the grass home, put it under her mat and slept over it. In the night time the long blade became warm from the heat of her body. In the morning the old woman mounted to the roof to open the chimney hole. Then she heard something crying in the house. It was the grass-blade which had turned into a little girl. The old woman swathed her in thin skins, fed her and nursed and caressed her. Thus Grass-Blade-Girl lived in her house and grew up. When the time came for her to be married she was a wonderful girl. When she wept her tears were costly pearls. When she smiled, her smile was all precious stones. She would swing her right sleeve, and sables and martens would drop from it. She would swing her left sleeve, and red foxes would fall out of it.<sup>1</sup> She was also very pretty. The like of her was not to be met. A strong young man heard about her, and went to pay suit to her.

On his departure, he told his brothers, who had remained at home, to make arrows and to feather them well, that he might shoot with them sables and foxes for his future bride. He ordered them also to prepare bags for the skins, and boxes for the precious stones and pearls.

He went to the old woman and saw the girl. She was all that people had stated her to be. Pearls and precious stones dropped from her mouth, sables and foxes fell from her sleeves. He offered his suit, and was accepted.

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<sup>1</sup> These details belong to Old-Russian folklore, and, indeed, are met with in the folk stories of various peoples of the Old World.— W. B.

Then he married her and took her to his house. On the way, they passed the house of Yaghishna. Just as they were right opposite it, the bride said, "Oh, my dear! I am very thirsty. Bring me some water." He took the ice-pick and went to a lake. He cut through the ice, but there was no water. The bottom was dry. He tried another place, and still another. There was no water anywhere, and at last he went so far toward the middle of the lake, that he disappeared from the sight of the woman. In the meantime the dogs of the team scented the house of Yaghishna. So they rushed off with the sledge, and she could not keep them back. They arrived at Yaghishna's door. The witch came out, took the young woman by the hand, and led her into the house. She made her take a place on a new reindeer skin, and went to prepare some food and hot tea for her; but when she took the first cup of tea, the witch unexpectedly pulled out the bedding from under her seat, and the young woman fell into an underground cellar a hundred fathoms deep, a hundred fathoms wide, and quite dark.

She prayed and prayed to be let out: "O grandmother! help me out! I will give you anything you may ask of me." — "All right," said the witch, "take off your clothes and give them to me, then I will help you out." The young woman took off her clothes, saving only her undershirt, and made them into a bundle. The witch dropped a long line into the cellar. The young woman tied the bundle to the line. The witch pulled up the bundle, put on the clothes, and all at once became exactly like the young bride. So she took her place upon the sledge, and hurried back to the former place. After some time the husband came. He brought some water, but the bride refused to take it. "I do not want it. I did not ask you at all to fetch any water." They even had a quarrel. "Why," said the young man, "you were so thirsty. Have I not cut the ice maybe in twenty places to get water for you?"

After that they continued on their way. When they reached home all the people gathered to look upon the bride; but she had neither pearls nor sables. She coughed and spat, blew her nose; and only once a small glass bead fell down, which, moreover, was pierced awry. In due time, however, she bore a son. Her husband was an excellent hunter. He brought home geese and swans, reindeer and elks. The house was full of meat and of all kinds of skins. He passed most of his time in the open air, and paid no attention to the ways of his wife with their little boy. One time, however, he came home, and his wife prepared some dinner for him. While waiting for it, he took up the boy, who began to cry. "There," said the man, "the boy is crying. It is time to give him some food." The witch took the boy and turned her face toward the wall. After that she began to take off her left boot. He looked on with great wonder, and thought, "What is



this? 'I wanted her to suckle the boy, and she takes off her boots.'" The woman took off the boot, and instead of the breast she gave the boy her left heel to suck. He was very angry. "Why," said her husband, "is this the way you feed our boy? Truly, you have grown up in the wild country, and you are of wild blood. You are good for nothing. I took you for a treasure, and instead you are an unclean thing. You suckle your boy in this unhallowed way. Tomorrow morning I shall take you back to your mother. I do not want you any longer." They quarrelled all night long, and did not sleep. The next morning he carried her back to her mother. They arrived there, and lo, Grass-Blade-Girl was living with the old woman again.

She had been left quite naked in the underground cellar of Yaghishna's house. When groping about in the cellar, she found it full of dead bodies of men and women. She heaped them up and mounted to the top. In this way she succeeded in making her escape. The Witch, though living far away in the house of the young man, became aware directly of the flight of her prisoner. She sent some bears and wolves in pursuit, which overtook the fugitive. They tore her to pieces, and the blood flowed all over the ground. A new thin yellowish-green grass grew up from the blood. The old woman found the grass, and gathered it; and so again she had in her house the same Grass-Blade-Girl, as before.

The young man carried his wife back to her mother, and found there also this Grass-Blade-Girl. He recognized her immediately as his former bride. They had supper, and then lay down to sleep. The old woman said to Grass-Blade-Girl, "Tell us a tale." So the girl began, "There lived an old woman. She found a yellowish-green grass blade and took it home. She put it under her bedding. The next morning she went out to open the chimney-hole, and something was crying within the house. The grass-blade had turned into a little girl. The girl grew up, and a young man came and married her. He took her to his house. On the way she asked for a drink. The bridegroom went for some water. Near the trail stood the house of Yaghishna. The dogs scented it and rushed there."

As soon as she reached this place in the story, Yaghishna grew angry and interrupted her. "Enough of your prattling! We want to sleep. No need of your silly tales!" — "Not so fast," said the husband. He took Yaghishna and with twelve new arrows he shot her dead in front of the house. Then he carried Grass-Blade-Girl to his house. The end.

Told by Katherine Rumiantzev, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.



7. THE ALDER-BLOCK.<sup>1</sup>

There lived an old woman who had neither son nor daughter. One time after cooking her supper, she climbed to the roof of her house to stop up the chimney hole. Then she heard from within a small child's voice. She was much frightened, but still she descended hastily and ran into the house. An infant boy was lying on the floor. She swathed him in swaddling clothes, and prepared food for him. She fed him on blood soup and minced meat, and he grew from year to year. She gave him the name Alder-Block. He was an excellent carpenter, and made excellent canoes of boards and of hollowed tree trunks. One time he said to his foster mother, "Mother, give me permission to leave. I want to visit all the wonders of earth and sea." The woman said, "How can that be? And who will then procure food for me? You are almost full-grown. All my hope lies in you." Nevertheless, he left in the night time and went away along across the sea. He traveled and traveled, and at last he saw an island. On the island there stood a house. In it lived the witch, Yagha.<sup>2</sup> She had three daughters, one Five-Eyes Girl; another, Six-Eyes Girl; and the third, Eight-Eyes Girl. She herself had ten eyes. The witch Yagha saw the canoe, and said to her daughters, "Here, girls! get ready! a small reindeer is coming from the sea. Do try and lure it hither." The eldest daughter cooked flour-cakes. She filled a birchbark vessel as big as a man with them, and put it on the shore as a decoy. She hid herself near by in order to catch the boy as soon as he should land. The boy saw the birchbark vessel full of cakes. He came close to the shore, and said aloud, "First eye, fall asleep! second eye, fall asleep! third eye, fall asleep! fourth eye, fall asleep! fifth eye, fall asleep! The girl fell asleep. He emptied the birchbark vessel into his canoe. He threw the vessel into the water, approached the girl, and, taking off his breeches, he defecated upon her head. After that he struck her back with the paddle, and broke her back. That done, he

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<sup>1</sup> This tale represents a version of the well-known European story. Several details, however, belong to the native life. The underground oven is a primitive device, although it is not used at present in northeastern Asia, being superseded by the so-called Russian oven, made of bricks or of beaten earth. In more ancient times, the oven dug in the ground may have been used by the natives.—W. B.—E. Cosquin, *l. c.*, vol. 1, 246.—F. B.

<sup>2</sup> Witch Yagha (Баба-Яга literally, "(old) woman Yagha") is a she-monster often appearing in Old-Russian folk stories. It is presumed that in the Star mythology the witch Yagha was the personification of winter. Yaghishna is, properly speaking, the name of the daughter of Yagha, formed with the Old-Russian suffix *shna*, *vna*. Daughters of Yagha often appear in Russian tales; but their name, Yaghishna, is known only in the Kolyma stories. And, by the way, those stories confuse the mother and her daughters, and call the witch Yagha also Yaghishna. Yagha, Yaghishna of the Russian tales of northeastern Asia, often appears as a being more like the American Snenek than the Old-Russian Yagha (See, for instance, No. 9 (p. 133) of the Markova tales).—W. B.

paddled away across the sea, back to his mother. So he brought to his mother all those cakes. She was much astonished. She asked him, "O child, Alder-Block Boy! where did you get all these cakes?" — "At such and such a place." The boy told her everything. The old woman was very much scared. "Now," she said, "I will not let you go even one step from my side. The witch Yagha will devour you." That very night, as soon as the old woman had fallen asleep, Alder-Block descended toward the water, boarded his canoe, and set off again. The girls saw him, as before. They prepared a vessel with cakes, and put it out on the shore. The second sister hid nearby, ready to catch him. He paddled to the shore, and called out aloud, "First eye, fall asleep! second eye, fall asleep! third eye, fall asleep! and fourth and fifth and sixth eye fall asleep!" Again, the girl fell asleep. He emptied the vessel into his canoe. Then he defecated upon the girl, and broke her back with a blow of his paddle. Then he paddled back across the sea with his booty. The girl, however, came to, and crawled to her mother. The mother sprinkled her with the water of life and youth, and the girl became as sound as before.

The boy's mother took the cakes, but she reproached him. "O, child, you go away secretly in the night time. I shall lose you and shall not know where to find you. The witch Yagha will devour you. Do stop these awful doings!" The very same night the boy went again. This time the youngest daughter tried to catch him. She also put upon the shore a vessel full of cakes, and hid near by. He paddled shoreward, and counted aloud, "First eye, fall asleep! second eye, fall asleep! third eye, fall asleep! Fourth and fifth and sixth and seventh and eighth, do fall asleep!" He took the cakes and defecated upon the girl. Then he struck her with the paddle upon the back and paddled away. The girl could hardly crawl back to her mother. The next day he came again. This time it was Yaghishna herself who tried to catch him. She put the vessel upon the shore and hid near by. He counted aloud, "First eye, fall asleep! second eye, fall asleep! third and fourth, fall asleep! fifth and sixth and seventh, do fall asleep! eighth and ninth, do fall asleep!" but he forgot the tenth eye. He took the vessel and emptied it into his canoe, but the witch did not stir. He took off his breeches and wanted to defecate upon her; then she caught him by the breeches and carried him home. "There you, dogs, you could not catch this small reindeer, but I have caught him." They had an oven dug in the ground. The Yaghishna said, "I will call my brother; meanwhile cook this reindeer for our meal. When brother and I come back, we will have a meal of him."<sup>1</sup> She set off. The eldest daughter brought an iron shovel,

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<sup>1</sup> Bolte und Polívka, *l. c.*, 115.— F. B.



and said to the boy, "Well, Alder-Block, sit down on the shovel." He spread his legs and stretched his arms. She tried to put him down into the oven, but could not do it. "Why," said she, "Alder-Block, you hold your body too clumsily. Sit down on the shovel, then draw up your legs and keep your arms together." — "How together? I do not know how. You had better show me how." — "Look here, you booby!" She took a seat on the shovel and held her body quite close. So he thrust her into the oven, snatched the shovel back, and shut the oven door. In this way he killed the eldest daughter of Yaghisna. The second daughter came and asked him, "Oh, Alder-Block, what makes it smell so strong here of something singed?" — "It does indeed," said Alder-Block, "Your sister singed a leg of mine, and also an arm, but in the end took pity on me and allowed me to live." — "I will show you what pity is. Sit down on the shovel, go your way down into the oven." He spread his legs and stretched his arms just as before. By no means could she thrust him down the oven. "Oh, there! Alder-Block, you hold yourself quite in a wrong way. Draw up your legs and keep your arms together." — "How together? I do not know how." — "Even so, you booby!" She sat down on the shovel and drew up her legs. He immediately thrust her down into the oven and shut the oven door. There she was roasted. The third one came too, the youngest one. "You, there, Alder-Block! why does it smell so here of something singed?" — "Yes, it does," said Alder-Block. "Your second sister singed a leg of mine, and then also an arm. Then she took pity on me and let me live." — "Oh, I will teach you what pity is! Sit down on the shovel, go your way down into the oven." He spread his legs and stretched his arms. She could not thrust him in. "Oh, there, Alder-Block! You do not hold yourself right. You must draw up your legs and keep your arms together." — "I do not know how. You must show me how." She sat down on the shovel, and he thrust her into the oven. After a while all three were done just right. He took them out of the oven, and drew them up to the ground. Then he prepared the meal, cut the meat, and laid it out on dishes and in troughs. All these he arranged on a large table. He put the table near the large bed of Yaghisna, where she usually took her meals and concealed all three heads under the bed near her seat. He hid himself behind the chimney and waited for Yaghisna. After a while she came back. She was driving the mortar, urging it with a pestle, and effacing the traces of the sledge with a big broom.<sup>1</sup> She had not found her brother at home. So she came all alone. She entered the house, and saw the food all ready for a meal: so she felt gratified, and exclaimed, "See there! my daughters have prepared the meal, and they themselves are gone, perhaps for a little walk." She

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<sup>1</sup> Details usual in all Russian tales.— W. B.



took a seat near the table and tried to eat, but the first mouthful stuck in her throat. "Oh, oh, oh!" said the witch, "what is the matter? Why does even the first mouthful stick so in my throat? Is it possible that Alder-Block is a kinsman of mine?" She took another morsel, but could not swallow it at all. She spat it out, and looked down under the bed, and there were the three heads of her daughters. She clapped her hands and wailed aloud, "Ah, you hound, Alder-Block! You have eaten all my daughters, and none has stuck in your throat." She looked around, and found the boy behind the chimney. "Ah, ah, now I have you." She caught him by the nape of the neck and hurled him across the room and back again. After a few kicks and pushes, he felt nearly dead. Then he called aloud, "O, granny! that is enough. I want to ease myself before I die." — "Go, then, and ease yourself." He ran to her storehouse. She had there two wells,—one full of water of life and youth, the other full of water of death. He drank his fill of the water of life and youth, then he changed the places of both wells. After that he came back. He caught Yaghishna and threw her across the room and back again. After a few kicks, she felt very feeble, and asked of him, "O, Alder-Block! I want to ease myself." — "All right, you may go." She went to the storehouse, and wanted to drink of the water of life and youth, but instead she drank of the water of death. After that she went back, hardly being able to move. As soon as she stepped over the sill, her belly burst, and she dropped down stone dead. The boy gathered all her wealth — the costly furs, dried meat and fish, and all kinds of provisions — and took it to his mother. He also took along the water of life and youth. His mother drank of the water and became quite young, like a fresh berry. He became immensely rich. The end.

Told by Katherine Rumiantzev, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 8. YUKAGHIR TALE.

There lived a man with his wife. They had a daughter. The name of this daughter was kept secret. The father announced that whoever should guess her name should have her for a wife. There came traders and hunters and all kinds of able young men, but nobody could guess her name.

The couple had only a single female servant. The suitors were too many, and the housework was too hard for her. The servant had to fetch water, chop wood, and cook food. Throughout the day and night she had no rest at all. She toiled and toiled. One time she went to an ice hole in the river to draw water, feeling wearied and unhappy. She wept and a tear fell down

straight into the water. At the same time she whispered to herself: "What is her name? They cannot guess it. Her name is, Kutika Mutika." All of a sudden some air bubbles danced on the water; and a Monster appeared from the ice hole, clad in hareskin.

So the Monster inquired, "What was it you whispered when crying over the ice hole?" At first the girl refused to answer; but after a while she said, "It is so and so. I feel wearied almost to death. And what is in her name, that they cannot guess it? Her name is simply Kutika Mutika." The monster jumped out of the water and rushed off, so that the ice resounded. He came to the house of the girl. All the people laughed at him, "This ugly old man also wants to guess her name." He hopped around on one leg, and said, "Her name is Spoon, her name is Ladle, her name is Big Fork, her name is Kettle-Hook." Then suddenly he said, "Her name is Kutika Mutika." All the people jumped up in wonder. The old father slapped himself on the mouth with the palm of his hand. The other suitors from mere shame and anger, left immediately without waiting for dinner to be served. The old Monster remained there. The next morning they were married. The father of the girl was wealthy and generous. He had a winged horse with a natural saddle and a natural bridle.<sup>1</sup> He gave this horse to his daughter as her dowry, so she mounted it. The Monster held the halter of silk, and led the way down the river directly through the ice hole. He went down, and she followed him. They descended into the river and found a trail. They followed it for a long time. At last the girl said, "O, old man! I feel hungry and thirsty. Is it still far to your houses?"—"Why," said the Monster, "Look there! Our houses are there." She looked, and saw a number of large bunches of grass which were standing like so many houses. From under every bunch smoke ascended. He took her to the largest of the bunches and helped her down from her horse. All kinds of monsters jumped out from under the grass. One had no trunk of the body, another was without a nose, a third even without a face. Last of all there jumped out a one-eyed old woman clad in hareskin. She hopped about on one leg, and cried, "Oh, oh! he has brought a reindeer and a doe withal." The young woman was frightened, so she cut the halter of the horse. The horse immediately flew up. It bolted through the ice-hole back to earth. It did not go back to the house of the bride's father, however, but flew on steadily. The old Monster followed it, running below. After

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<sup>1</sup> This is borrowed from Russian folklore, where it forms one of the well-known rhymed formulas:—

Онъ былъ богатый да тароватый,  
Былъ у него конь крылатый,  
Отъ себя сѣдлатый,  
Отъ себя уздатый.



a long time the Monster was left behind. Then he shouted with all his might, "Mind, woman! You will marry somebody else, and you will have three children by him. The first one shall be a boy, and the second a girl, and the third again a boy. Bear in mind that then I shall come to you again!"

She wandered on, and came to a wild country unknown to any one. There she married a man, who was a mighty hunter. Not a single living thing could escape his skill. They had three children,—a boy and a girl, and again a boy. When the last was still an infant in the cradle, the husband one day said to his wife, "Give me your horse, I want to use it to go hunting." The woman said, "Take the horse! but be careful when stopping in the woods! Tie it only to an old dry tree. Be sure not to tie it to a green tree."

He used the horse once, twice, several times. At last one day he went into the woods. About the middle of the day he stopped for dinner, and quite forgot his wife's warning about tying the horse, and tied it to a green tree.

In the meantime the woman busied herself about the house. She cooked food, then she raked up the burning coals and covered them with ashes, as is customary. The children were playing near the fireplace. All of a sudden something fumed and smouldered among the coals. She thought it was the children's fault: so she grew angry, and said to the older boy, "Now, just scrape that off with a piece of wood and throw it on the floor!" He scraped it off on to the floor; and, lo! there was the Monster, clad in hareskin, sitting near the fireplace. She was so frightened that she nearly had a fit. Then she came to herself, and said, "I will bring some food from the storehouse." She went off, and the older boy followed her. The Monster said, "Be quick! Hardly step out of the house, and you are back again!" So she took off one of her boots and squeezed it between the door and the doorpost. They had in the storehouse an old box clamped with twelve iron hoops. The woman said to the box, "You were a box clamped with twelve iron hoops. Now become a raised storehouse with twelve iron supports, and every support as thick as a man can embrace!"

So the box turned into a storehouse raised on twelve supports, each support as thick as a man could embrace. The woman and the boy were on top of the storehouse. Then she shouted, and called for her husband; but he was so far away, he could hardly hear her voice. When he heard it, he ran for the horse; but the horse had been left in the woods quite a way behind. The horse also tried to make itself free, but the green tree held it fast, notwithstanding all its efforts. The Monster went out of the house, and saw the iron storehouse. He grew very angry. First of all, he caught



two of her children and swallowed them. The girl's legs just passed through his mouth like a flash. "You also shall not escape," said he, and began to vomit. After a few efforts he vomited out a large ax and attacked the iron supports. He chopped at them with supernatural force, and big iron splinters flew about. At this time a little She-Fox came and said, "O, granny! you are so tired, let me relieve you and chop a little in your stead!" He gave her the ax. She ran away and threw it into the sea. The monster vomited again and threw up a hatchet. With this he chopped at the supports with greater force than before. The Fox thought a little, then she wallowed in white clay and turned white, just like an arctic fox. She came to the Monster, and said again, "O granny! you are so tired, let me work in your stead for a while!" — "And who are you?" asked the Monster. "Methinks you are the same fox." — "Oh, no!" said the Fox, "don't you see! I am an arctic fox." He gave her the hatchet, and the Fox threw it into the sea. The Monster vomited again and threw out a large lance. With this he chopped at the iron supports harder than ever. Eleven supports were cut down. Only the last was left, and the storehouse swayed to and fro upon its base. Then the winged horse with a last effort uprooted the green tree and ran home. It rushed straight to the storehouse and with its iron hoofs it broke the Monster's back. Then the husband also came home. He cut up the Monster and chopped its body into small pieces. He put what remained on a leather sledge cover and dragged it toward the sea. Then he threw all the remnants of the Monster's body into the sea. After that they left, and wandered to another country. They lived there and had more children.

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole, in the village of Pokhotsk in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

### 9. TALE ABOUT ČU'MO.

There were three sisters. They knew no men, and subsisted by hunting wild reindeer. They also wandered about gathering roots and berries and every sort of thing that the earth produces. One time the eldest sister said, "I wish we had at least one baby." As soon as she spoke these words, she glanced at a rock, and saw a severed piece which had a human face and looked like a baby. "Ah, sisters!" exclaimed the girl, "come here and see! I have found a baby in the rock." So they took the child of the stone and carried it home. They made a cradle, and put the baby in it. Then they rocked the cradle with much zeal.

After a while the baby began to cry and became like a human being.

The next day the two elder sisters went, as usual, to hunt wild reindeer, but they left the youngest sister at home. "Stay at home and nurse the infant," they said to her.

As soon as they went away, the baby began to cry louder and louder. At first the girl rocked the cradle, but the baby was not to be thus silenced. At last a sudden fright seized her without any apparent reason. She could not stand it, so she hid herself under the bed and tried to listen to what would happen next. The baby cried as before. Then it ceased, and seemed also to be listening for something. It was listening to hear whether anyone might suddenly enter. Then quite unexpectedly the baby said with a deep man's voice, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself large!" In the same instant, it left the cradle and rose to its feet. It said again, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself large!" And lo, its head reached the very roof. It gathered all the dried meat and fat, sausages and tongues, hanging from the rafters, and devoured all this most ravenously. Then it heard some voices. They were those of two elder sisters coming home from hunting. In the same moment it said aloud, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself small!" So it became quite small, and was lying in the cradle and crying, just as before. The youngest sister, however, came out of her hiding-place and ran with all her might to meet the other sister. "O elder ones!" she sobbed out, "I will not stay at home alone any longer. You may stay there yourself if you want to." — "What is the matter with you?" asked the eldest sister. "It is thus and so," answered the youngest one. The eldest sister was very angry. "You certainly are not telling the truth. How can a baby leave the cradle and make itself large?" The next morning, however, the youngest sister refused to stay, so the eldest sister ordered the second one to stay at home in her stead. The other two went away hunting. The girl stayed at home and rocked the cradle; but the baby cried incessantly, and at last a great fright took possession of her, quite unaccountable, and she too hid herself under the bed and listened for what would happen next. The child cried and cried. Then it became still, and also began to listen. Nobody came, however, so the baby said again with a man's deep voice, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself large!" At that very moment it dropped to the floor and rose to its feet. Then it said again, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself large!" and its head reached to the roof. It gathered all the dried meat and fat, sausages and tongues, hanging from the rafters, and devoured them most greedily. Then it heard human voices. They were those of the two other sisters, who were coming home and talking to each other. It said instantly, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself small!" and all at once it was small again and in the cradle, as before. The middle sister crept out of her hiding-place and ran out to meet the sister. "Oh," said she, "it is too awful! I will not stay here any longer." "And what is the matter



with you?" asked the eldest sister. "This and this," said the middle sister. "Oh, please! enough of this! How can a little baby leave the cradle and become large?"

The next morning, however, the two younger sisters refused to stay at home: so the eldest sister remained. The two others went off hunting reindeer. The eldest sister rocked the cradle; but the baby cried and cried, and at last there came over her also without any cause a terrible fright and she hid under the bed and listened for what might happen next. The baby cried and cried. Then it stopped and began to listen. Nobody came, however: so it said aloud with its deep bass voice, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself large!" It dropped to the floor and rose to its feet. Then it said again, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself large!" and its head reached the roof. It gathered all the dried meat and fat, sausages, and tongues, hanging upon the rafters, and ate them all. Then it heard distant voices. The two other sisters were coming home. So it said very quickly, "Ču'mo, Ču'mo, make yourself small!" and it was again small and lay in the cradle. The eldest sister left her hiding place and hurried to meet the other sisters. "Oh, indeed! you were quite right. It is awful! What shall we do?" They talked for a long time, trying to find a way to get rid of Ču'mo. At last they took a kettle and filled it with reindeer meat. They hung it over a large fire to cook the meat. When the meat was done, they took it out, leaving the liquid and the fat to boil in the kettle. Then the eldest sister took the baby in her arms and said in a caressing way, "Look up there! A birdie is passing there." The baby looked up, and at that moment the girl threw it into the kettle. They had nine driving reindeer: so they left behind everything else they had, and, taking these nine reindeer, they fled. Each sister drove one reindeer, leading the other two behind her sledge as relays. They hurried off at top speed. Ču'mo went in pursuit, kettle and all.

The fire was burning, the kettle was bubbling, the iron sides were clattering as Ču'mo gave chase to the three sisters. After a while he approached them. Then the youngest sister took her ivory comb<sup>1</sup> and said to it, "O comb of ivory! You were a comb, now turn into a mountain of ivory, from earth to heaven, and from east to west." She threw the comb back over her shoulder, and it turned into a big mountain, from earth to heaven, from east to west. It was just behind them: so they stopped close to it, took a rest, and ate a meal; then they attached fresh reindeer and hurried on. Ču'mo came to the ivory mountain and began to gnaw at it. Splinters of ivory flew in every direction. He gnawed it through, and went across, kettle and all, and gave chase again.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 9, note 3.



The youngest sister said, "Here, my sisters! put your ear to the ground. Perhaps he is pursuing us again." They put an ear to the ground, and indeed the kettle was clattering quite close behind. Then the second sister took out a piece of flint. She said to the flint, "O flint! you were a piece of flint. Now turn into a mountain of flint, from earth to heaven, from east to west." Then she threw the flint back over her shoulder. It turned instantly into a mountain of flint. They stopped near the mountain, and took a rest. They also had a meal, and, attaching fresh reindeer, started on again. Ču'mo came to the mountain and gnawed it. Chips of flint flew in every direction. He gnawed it through and went across it, kettle and all.

The second sister said to the other, "O sister! put your ear to the ground and try to hear whether he is following us again?" They listened, and, lo! the kettle was rattling quite close behind. Then the oldest sister took out a piece of steel from a strike-a-light. She said to the steel, "O steel! you were part of a strike-a-light and produced fire. Now turn into a river of fire from earth to heaven, from east to west." Then she threw the steel back over her shoulder, and it turned into a river of fire, from earth to heaven, from east to west. Ču'mo came to that river and tried to cross it, but he was confused by the fire and perished there. "Ah," he called after the sisters, "you ran away from me; but nevertheless my mother will catch you." The sisters were hurrying on. All the reindeer fell and perished from exhaustion. The sisters sped onward on foot. At last they came to a river. It was quite deep, and there was no ford, so that they could not cross it. On the other side of the river sat an old woman scraping a skin. "Oh, grandmother! help us to cross the river!" "Ah, you dogs! cross it by your own skill." "O grandmother! we cannot. Do help us!" The old woman stretched one of her legs<sup>1</sup> across the river like a bridge, and they crossed over on it. "Where do you come from?" asked the old woman. "We ran away from Ču'mo. He wanted to eat us, but we burned him in a river of fire." — "O, you dogs! Ču'mo is my only son. I shall punish you for it." So she locked them in an empty storehouse, and hurried to help Ču'mo.

(After this follows the well-known episode detailing how the Fox saved the girls from the She-Monster, leaving in their stead clothes filled with twigs and ashes to be swallowed by the Monster.<sup>2</sup> The narrator, however, declared that she had forgotten the details, and left the tale unfinished.)

Told by Anne Vastriakoff, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village Omolon at the confluence of the Omolon River with the Kolyma River, in the autumn of 1896.

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<sup>1</sup> See Waterman, T. T., "The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians" (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 27 (1914), 43, under Crane Bridge.—F. B.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, for instance, Bogoras, "Chukchee Materials." 408.—W. B.

## 10. YUKAGHIR TALE.

There was a man and his wife. They had a little boy. One time the woman felt a yearning for some pike. Her mouth watered at the thought of it. Then she said to her husband, "Do go to the lake and set your nets! I want some pike to eat." He went to the lake, and on the same day he caught a large pike. The woman immediately cooked it. She ate the fish beginning at the intestine and ate as far as the head. When she came to the mouth and opened the teeth, she saw that they were of iron. She was scared, and threw away what was left of the pike; but from that time on she grew with child, and after due time gave birth to a girl. The girl grew up rapidly, not like an ordinary child from year to year, but hourly; so that on the next day she was playing out of doors with her brother, who, although older, was nevertheless much smaller than she. In playing, she said, "One day more, or perhaps two days, and I shall eat all of you." The boy went to his father and mother and told them of her words; but they did not believe him, and even punished him. "You do not like your sister, and therefore you slander her." The same happened in the evening and again the next morning. The boy could not stand it any longer. He felt angry, frightened, and sore. So he left his parents and fled. Far away in the tundra he saw a house with an outer room. He entered there. Two wolves and two bears were tied up in front of the inner door. The animals wanted to attack him; but he whistled three times, and they grew quiet and lay down. Then he entered the inner room. In the middle a white reindeer skin was spread. On the skin slept a naked girl, dazzling white of body. Her tresses were auburn and as long as the sleeve of an overcoat. He hid under her tresses and slept with the girl. In due time she awoke, sniffed about, and said, "Who are you? Make yourself visible. If you are an old man, I will have you for a father; if a young man, I will take you for a husband." So he appeared from under her tresses. She married him, and they lived together. After some time he wanted to visit his father and mother; so he asked his wife to give him some animal to drive, even if it were a wolf or a bear. She gave him a reindeer with six legs. He set off. When near the house of his parents, he tied the reindeer to a tree and went on foot. Then he arrived at the house and opened the door. The Pike-Girl had eaten up his father and mother long before, and was playing with the bare skulls. As soon as she saw him, she threw the skulls under the bed. The young man felt afraid. She rushed up to him, however, and said, "O brother dear! you have come at last." In the evening she asked him, "Where are you going to sleep?" He said, "I am going to sleep on the



roof." "Why do you do so?" said the girl, "I do not want to sleep alone. I have not seen you for such a long time." — "Well, then," said the brother, "I will lie down close to the chimney-hole, and will thrust my legs down the chimney-hole, so that you may look at them, when going to sleep." He did just so, and feigned sleep. The girl tried to catch at the legs, but the chimney was too narrow; and feeling tired, she desisted. After a while she was snoring. Then with great caution he left the roof and went away. He found his reindeer and raced off.

He drove the whole night through, then he looked back and saw that the pike girl was following in pursuit. He urged on the reindeer and it galloped off; but the Pike-Girl galloped still faster, just like a winged bird. After a while she overtook the reindeer, and at first tore off one of its extra legs. While she was eating that leg, the reindeer hurried on. She finished the leg, and again gave pursuit. This time she tore off the other extra leg. The reindeer galloped off with four legs. Then she overtook it again, and tore off one leg more. Then the reindeer could run no longer so the young man left it and hurried on afoot. He had one blunt arrow. Holding this, he ran onward. When the Pike-Girl had eaten the reindeer leg she gave pursuit again. When she was close to him, he lifted up the arrow and said, "There, arrow mine! You were an arrow. Now turn into an iron tree. I want to be safe on top of that tree." Instantly, it turned into a big iron tree, and he was high up on its top. The tree was as thick through as a man can embrace. The Pike-Girl came to the tree, and said, "O brother mine! your iron tree is not tempered, but my iron teeth are tempered and hard." So she gnawed at the tree, and iron splinters flew around like rotten wood. A jay flew by, and he said to it:—

"O jay! fly to my wife!  
Bid her send off her dogs!"

But the jay answered with a man's voice, "I will not fly. When you were living with your father and mother, whenever I came to your drying poles and wanted to peck at the pike-roe, your blunt arrow would instantly hiss by close to my head. I will not fly." A snow-bunting flew by, and he said to it:—

"O, snow-bunting! fly to my wife,  
And bid her send off her dogs!"

So the bunting flew away and came to his wife's house. It perched upon the window-sill, and twittered:—

"Pititi pititi,  
Send off the dogs!"



She heard this, and in a moment she sent off two wolves and two bears.<sup>1</sup> They ran off and reached the tree. The Pike-Girl, as soon as she saw them, turned into an ermine and went under the roots of the tree. The bears dug at the roots to get at the ermine, and at last caught it. The young man descended from the tree with his ax and chopped up the ermine. He gathered the pieces and burnt them in the fire, and the ashes he let fly to the winds. Then he went back to his wife and told her all. After that they lived in peace, and they are still living. The end.

Told by Anne Korkin, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village of Sukharnoye in the Kolyma country, in the autumn of 1896.

### 11. THE SHE-MONSTER.

There lived a family. They had three daughters and no sons. After some time the father and the mother died. The girls remained alone. They hunted game and caught fish, and in the summer time picked berries and gathered roots. They never knew a man. One time the eldest sister stayed at home. The other two went berrying. They came home. The youngest wanted to be petted: so she dropped into the other sister's lap, and said, "O, my sister! I am so very hungry! Give me something to eat." The eldest sister, standing by, said, "Why, then go to the storehouse, and pick out a piece of the very best dried fish. That is the food for you." Then she laughed. The youngest sister looked up at her, and saw pieces of raw meat sticking out all around between her teeth. She felt frightened, and whispered to her second sister, "Why, sister, look about! all our stores of dried meat, reindeer, and elk, are gone! and why are the teeth of our eldest sister filled with pieces of meat?" The second sister refused to believe it; and, still, she also was afraid to look up, lest she should see those horrible teeth. After a few days the two younger sisters went for a visit to the graves of their parents. They invited the eldest one to go with them, but she refused. They arrived at the graves, and found that they had been dug open. The body of the father had been eaten up, and of the body of the mother only a part was left. This was the doing of their eldest sister. They sorrowed and cried aloud. Then they went back, and on the way they talked to each other. "O, sister! we cannot go home. She will finish eating our mother, then she will come for us. Let us rather leave in time! Let us run to the open country, or let us flee across the blue sea!" Just

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<sup>1</sup> For comparative notes see Elsie Clews Parsons, "Folk-Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas." (*Memoirs, American Folk-Lore Society*, vol. 13, 66).— F. B.

then they saw on high a flock of wild geese flying. They shouted upward to the geese, "O geese! drop down to us a feather apiece!" The geese, ever so many, dropped down for them a feather apiece. The girls gathered the feathers and stuck them between their fingers. Then they flew up, and followed the geese. The youngest sister said to the second one, "O sister dear! she will doubtless pursue us. Take care, though, if she should call to you, and shout, and ask for an answer, not to take any heed! and especially do not look back at her."

Then the eldest sister actually went in pursuit. They flew on high, she ran below on the ground, and cried out, "O sisters dear! why have you forsaken me? Have we not been nursed at the same mother's breast? Have we not been begotten in the same mother's womb? And now you leave me behind! How shall I live alone, without your company?" The second sister was moved with compassion: so she looked back and down. In a moment the She-Monster opened her mouth, and the girl fell directly into it. The She-Monster swallowed her without chewing. The youngest sister flew on, and did not look back, notwithstanding all her cries and entreaties. She flew onward; the eldest sister ran in pursuit. At last the She-Monster gave up, and at the last only shouted, "This time you do not want to look at me! But later you will be married, and you will have a boy and a girl. The girl will sit on an earth bench,<sup>1</sup> and she will play with her little scissors; and the boy will play with his bow and arrows. Then I shall come to you." The other one flew on. At last she saw a small house, standing all alone. She sat down near the chimney-hole, and looked down through the chimney. A young man was sitting near the fireplace, feathering his arrows. He did this for some time. Then he was lacking a white feather for the last arrow. So he said, "Oh, I wish I had one more feather!" In a moment she tore away one of her feathers and let it drop through the chimney. He caught it, and looked up, but no one was there. So he finished the arrow, and brought some more arrows and feathers, and resumed the feathering. After a while he was again lacking one feather for the last arrow. This time it was a black feather. "Oh," said he, "I wish I had one more feather." And immediately she let drop a black feather. After that she dropped a third feather. Then he said, "Who are you? If you are really human, come down and let me look at you, and if you are an evil spirit, then remain invisible." She took off her feathers and turned into her former self. Then she descended into the house. He took her for a wife.

They lived together for a long time, and she brought forth, first a boy, then a girl. The husband went out every day to go in search of game.

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<sup>1</sup> The Russian log cabin and the Yakut hut are surrounded by a low earth wall up to the window-sills. This wall serves also as a bench.— W. B.



The children were growing up. One spring day they were playing on the earth bench in front of the house. Then suddenly appeared her eldest sister, the She-Monster. She hugged the children and kissed them. In doing this she bit off the upper lip of the boy and the under lip of the girl. They shrieked, and ran to their mother. Their faces were covered with blood. O, she became so frightened! "Who has been treating you like this? Or perhaps you have been fighting with others?" — "Oh, no! It was our aunt, who kissed us." Then the eldest sister entered. They did not even salute each other. Then the human sister wanted to go out. "Do not do that," said the Monster. "But I want to ease myself." — "All right! but make the utmost haste. Hardly step out of the house before you are back again." She sat down near the fireplace and waited for her. The human sister went out of the house, and the boy slipped out after her. They ran to one of their storehouses. Standing there was an old wooden box. They squeezed themselves into this box. Then the woman said, "O, wooden box! henceforth be an iron storehouse standing high upon twelve iron supports." The wooden box turned into an iron storehouse with twelve supports, and they were safe within. The boy called for his father, and she called for her husband. The eldest sister went out and saw the girl: so she caught her and swallowed her. Merely the feet stuck out from her mouth. After a while, she spit out her small bones. She came to the iron storehouse and gnawed at the supports, and splinters of iron flew in all directions. Then the iron storehouse rocked to and fro, with only three supports left. All of a sudden the man came up. He struck the She-Monster with his sword and killed her. He chopped her into small pieces and burned her in the fire. She was burning, and every kind of worms and vermin crawled out of her body. He gathered them all, scraped them up with a shovel, and thrust them back into the fire. At last her body was destroyed, and he threw the ashes to all four winds. The remaining bones he threw into the sea. Then they went to another country. They lived there.

Told by Katherine Rumiantzev, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

## 12. THE MONSTER WITH IRON TEETH.

There were three brothers. One time they traveled together in lonely places. The first night they stopped at a way house.<sup>1</sup> They made a fire,

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<sup>1</sup> Small log cabins, or houses of other types, are built in various places for the use of travelers, especially along the trading or official routes. They are called in local Russian *поварня* ("cooking-house").— W. B.



cooked some bread-soup,<sup>1</sup> and had supper. While they were eating, a board of the floor was lifted up. There appeared a monster<sup>2</sup> with iron teeth, two feet long. The eldest brother said to the other two, "Go out and get the dogs and sledges ready. I will stay here. And you must wait outside for me." They took their bread-soup and went out of the house. They could hear the eldest brother within fighting with the monster. They did not know in what way, but could only hear great noise and gnashing of teeth. Before sunrise their brother came out of the house. They started off on their sledges. They drove till dark. Then they saw another log cabin. They entered, made a fire, and prepared some soup. As soon as they had swallowed a spoonful or two, a board was lifted in one of the front corners of the house and up came the Monster with Iron Teeth. The oldest brother made the other two go out and he fought the monster alone. The next morning, when he came out, they saw that he had turned into a quite different being. All his blood, and his face, were no longer human. He was more like a devil. The second brother said to the youngest one, "Look at him! He has iron teeth at least half a foot long."

They drove onward again until evening. It had grown quite dark when they came to another log cabin. They made a fire and prepared soup. When they were half through with their meal, there appeared a woman with iron teeth, covered with blood, who rushed at them. The eldest brother also fought the woman. The other two exchanged looks, and slipped out of doors. Then they turned their sledges back and drove homeward. They traveled the whole night and the next day. Then they came to the log cabin in which the second fight with the Monster of Iron Teeth had taken place. They made a fire and prepared their soup. Then they heard outside the shuffling of snowshoes. They were so much frightened, that neither dared to go out. Then the door opened of itself, and the oldest brother entered. He was very angry. "Why are you making so much trouble for me? If you want to leave me behind, why do you stop in this very place?" He had hardly finished these words, when the Monster with Iron Teeth appeared. They fought again; and the eldest brother said, "Go away! Do not wait for me any longer! But mind you do not stop at the first log cabin. When I am through with this fight, I shall give chase; and if I catch you in the first log cabin, I shall fight the first monster, but I shall also punish you."

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<sup>1</sup> Затчранъ, a kind of soup prepared of bread-crumbs or flour roasted in butter, and then boiled in water. In former times it was generally used in these regions for breakfast or supper. At present brick-tea is substituted for it.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> In local Russian it is called "heretic" (еретикъ). In colloquial Russian, in Europe and Asia, "heretic" is used as a synonym for "devil" or "evil spirit."— W. B.

They drove away from there, crying for fear. They traveled throughout the night and the next day. After sunset they came to the log cabin, and of course wanted to pass it, but they could not induce their dogs to pass by. All the dogs rushed in and fought as if they were worrying somebody to death. No one was to be seen, however. They wrangled with the dogs far into the evening, and at last dragged them out of the house. They were quite tired and hungry; and the second brother at last proposed, "Let us stay here over night!" The youngest answered, "How could we do that? The monster will appear, and then our brother; and he warned us beforehand that he will punish us." The second brother answered, "Curse him for a fool! I do not fear him at all. I myself have become as bad as he." The youngest brother looked up, and saw that the second brother also had iron teeth half a foot long. He was so badly frightened that he could not speak. Meanwhile the shuffling of snowshoes was heard outside, and there entered a being similar to their brother in face and body; but they did not recognize him. He said not a single word, but rushed at the second brother. They fought like wolves. The youngest brother slipped outside, took his dogs, and fled. He drove on until midnight, and heard nothing. After midnight, however, he heard a voice like a distant shaman's call. The voice said, "A man is pursuing his own brother. He wants to gnaw at his bones, to eat of his meat, to drink of his blood!" The youngest brother out of fright, urged his dogs on with all his might. In the meantime he said to himself, "When he overtakes me, how shall I defend myself?" He remembered having heard from older people, that, when pursued by a monster, one may defend oneself by striking the monster with an old kettle. Then the monster will fall down and will be unable to follow for a couple of hours, which at least will give respite at the most critical moment. So he loosened the kettle, and made ready for the blow. Kettle in hand, he watched when the monster should reach the sledge. When it was at hand, he uttered an incantation and struck its face with the blackened kettle. The monster fell face down, and cried aloud, "Oh, you are too clever for me! I shall catch you, nevertheless. The village is yet far off. I shall rest for a couple of hours; then I shall catch you, drink of your blood, eat of your meat and gnaw your bones." The other one urged his dogs to the limit of their strength. He knew, that the village was not very far away. They moved on. The monster gave pursuit again. Then they heard the bell in the church belfry ringing. He crossed himself, and said, "Thank God, I am safe now!" And the monster shouted from behind, "You are safe; but I shall catch you somewhere in time to come." The young man reached the village, and straightway went to the priest. He said that in such and such places in the woods there were monsters; that



these monsters were probably unburied corpses, which walk abroad and attack human beings. The priest listened to him, and then laid a curse of the Church upon the monsters; that they should cease to appear and make trouble. After that all the people traveled about without fear or danger, and they met with nothing extraordinary. The end.

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole (cossack), at the village of Pokhotsk in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

### 13. THE GIRL FROM THE GRAVE-BOX.

Some Lamut were living in three tents. One of them had two sons. They had set their deadfalls at distant places: so the father sent his sons to visit these traps. They came to the traps and walked along all day. They stopped for the night at the farthest traps. Then the elder brother said to the younger one, "Oh, I wish we could find here some girl to be our assistant! It is tedious work to cut firewood and cook food. Have we not enough to do with the traps?" — "Do not say so!" said the younger brother. "Why do you wish for a girl? We are in the wilderness. If anybody comes, it will be some monster or spirit." The first brother replied, "Be it who it may, I should like to have a girl for an assistant." In the middle of the night a girl came, handsome, like the sunrise. The older brother took her for his wife. When day was coming, she went away, but the next evening she came again. They lived in this manner.

A week passed. Then the younger brother said in the morning, "How long shall we remain here? Our father and mother must be anxious on our behalf." But the other one refused to listen. He said, "You may go home, but I shall stay here." The younger brother went home on his snowshoes, and told his parents what had happened. His father called together several neighbors, all men, and they went to bring the young man. He refused to come and cried for vexation; but they bound him hand and foot, tied him to a reindeer-sledge, and took him home. The father said, "Now, I shall stay and see who lived with him,— a human being or some impure creature." So he remained there for a night, made a fire, and waited. After sunset the girl came. When she saw that another man was in the house, she wailed aloud, and went back into the heart of the woods. She was wailing all the way back, till at last her voice died out. Next morning the father followed in her tracks. He came to a small river, which he followed upstreâm. At last he found on the bank an ancient wooden grave-box. The tracks of the girl led to that grave-box, and then vanished. The old man opened the box and saw a skeleton. The bones held together only by the dry sinew.



He cut the skeleton, disjointed all the bones, and laid them down in four separate places.<sup>1</sup>

After that the young man began to droop and pine and suffer. When walking, he would even stumble over the grass. When near to death, he said, "As you have done to my love, so do also to me." So they took his body to the grave-box, gathered the bones of the girl together, and laid him by their side. After that they left the country and went far off. The end.

Told by Katherine Rumiantzev, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, at the village of Pokhotsk in the lower Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

#### 14. SMALL-POX, A YUKAGHIR TALE. (*First Version.*)

There lived a man all by himself. One time a woman came to him. She was Small-Pox. She was quite tall and lean of body, her teeth were long and sharp, and her eyes burned like glowing coals. "Where are the other people?" asked Small-Pox. "I do not know." — "How is it that you do not know? Are you not human-born? Where are your house and village mates?" — "No," said the man, "as long ago as I can remember, I always lived all alone." Small-Pox stayed with him. Every morning and every evening she climbed a very high tree and listened in every direction. One time she descended, and said, "Yonder to the east, I can hear early in the morning and late in the evening the ringing of iron;" and indeed, there were young men chopping wood, and young girls carrying water from the river in iron pails. For this reason, even at present, our old men forbid young men and girls to chop wood and to carry water early in the morning or late in the evening. Every one must prepare the wood and bring the daily store of water in broad daylight.

"Oh!" said Small-Pox, "human people are living on that side. You must carry me to those people." — "And how shall I carry you to them? Here is a bladder of the ptarmigan. Creep into it. I will carry you concealed in the bladder." She entered the bladder which he tied up with a cord, and then hung it up before the fireplace to dry. The bladder was drying up more and more, and she was drying with it. Day and night she struggled within the bladder, but by no means could she pierce it and come out. After a while she became quite shrivelled up,— mere bones and dried skin ; and even her voice was hardly audible.

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<sup>1</sup> Grave-boxes made of wood were used by the Yukaghir. They are met with in the country of the Kolyma, chiefly in deep woods, on the banks of some lonesome little river, as described in the tale. This tale expresses the superstitious fear of the ancient grave-boxes common to all the peoples of the country, the remainder of the Yukaghir included.

"Oh, let me go!" pleaded Small-Pox in a hoarse whisper. "I promise I will never touch any man whatever of your house and kin." — "And how will you recognize my house and kin?" — "Let the people of your house and kin wear small red tufts on their caps." For this reason the Yukaghir people of our clan wear red tufts on their caps even at the present time.

Then the man opened the bladder and took out Small-Pox. She was so weak that she could not stand up,— a mere soul without a body. He put her on a board and sent it floating down the river. "Go wherever you choose! Land wherever you may!"

Told by Nicholas Vostriakoff, the head man of the Vostriakoff clan of the Russianized Yukaghir in the village Omolon, at the confluence of the Omolon and Kolyma rivers, summer of 1896.

*(Second Version.)*

There was a large Yukaghir village on the Indighirka River. In that village lived a powerful shaman. One time he beat the drum; then he went out of the house and said, "A great disease is coming towards us, the like of which we have never seen." There was a crossway where three small trails converged into a single one which was very broad and straight. He went to the crossway and hid under the roots of a large tree. Lying there, he listened for those whose approach he had foreseen. Three sisters were coming along the road. They were riding red horses, their coats were as red as fire, and their hair was burning like lightning. The younger sisters were inquiring of the oldest one, "Where shall we go this time?" The eldest sister answered, "This time go on without me. Near by there is a large Yukaghir village. A powerful shaman lives there. I want to take him away." — "Do not speak so loud!" answered the other sister, "somebody may overhear you." — "Who should overhear me? Deep woods are all around us." The shaman, however, was hidden under the roots of a tree, and heard all. He ran home, and said to his house people, "Get the meal ready. At mealtime she will come to the people eating food." He had a magic iron box, sealed with a magic seal. He opened it and put it upon the table, close to himself. They ate, and during the meal a long red hair fell upon the table, at the left hand side of the shaman. All at once he caught the hair and put it into the box. He closed it and sealed it up with the magic seal. "Now make a big fire," said he to the people. They made a big fire, and he put the box into it, and began to rake the fire. Soon the box was glowing red. Then a wail, like that of a human voice was heard from the box. "Oh, set me free! I cannot stand it." — "Ah, you cannot!" said the shaman, and raked the fire. Thus, he roasted her for three days and



three nights. On the fourth day there was a faint squeal like the voice of a red fox. "Oh, please let me go! I cannot stand it." Then he asked the other people of the village, "What shall I do to her? Shall I really set her free?" — "You are the shaman," said the people, "do what you think best. We cannot tell." — "All right," said the shaman, "let me have a look at her." He opened the box. A red girl was sitting within it, half dead with exhaustion, mere skin and bones, dryer than a withered leaf. "Now you may go," said the shaman, "but be sure not to forget our treatment of you." "I shall not forget. But I am very weary, I cannot walk. Give me some food and a drink of water." So he kept her for three days, and gave her food and water. After that she grew a little stronger; so she went to the woods, found her own horse, and hurried off. When departing, she swore to herself that she would never go back to that awful place. So she came to the crossway. Her sisters had been waiting for her for two days. "Where have you been so long?" — "Oh, the Yukaghir shaman caught me and nearly murdered me. He put me into a box and burned me in the fire." — "There you are! Did we not warn you not to be so loud in your boasting lest somebody should overhear you?" — "You did. And where have you been?" — "Oh, we have had some little fun. We slew the people of one village, and in another we left only one boy and one girl." After that the sisters rode on.

Told by Timothy, a Tunguso-Yukaghir, on the western tundra of the Kolyma, spring of 1895.

### 15. TALE OF A SHAMAN.

A shaman was living with some other people. One time he took his drum and began to practise. Then he died suddenly. Now, the ancient Yakut had the following custom: Whenever a man of importance died, every one would leave the village, and move to another place. So the people went away. The shaman was left in an empty hut, stone dead, drum in hand. In midwinter, on the twelfth day after the shortest day, the young men of the Yakut were in the habit of gathering and playing games. One young man suddenly said, "Why, comrades, who dares to go to the dead shaman and cut off his braid? He must bring it here as proof that he has been there." The others said, "Who will go? That is too much to ask; and, by the way, at what time of day do you want us to go?" — "To be sure, about midnight, in utter darkness." — "We shall not go. Better go yourself." — "I should go on a good wager. Then I should cut off his braid and bring it here."

They argued among themselves. The one said, "Let us bet a horse



each!" They consented, but secretly they proposed to send a man along. This man was to lie down behind the shaman; and when the daring one should stretch out his hand for the braid, the other one was to make a noise and clatter, and so frighten him off. Then the one asked, "Is it time to go?" They said, "All right, go!" and he rode off. He arrived at the empty hut, tied his horse to the post, and entered the hut. When he was opening the door, he heard in the darkness a ringing of iron and a clattering of the drum, as if the shaman were stirring about; but he said, "There, uncle, you may ring and clatter, but I shall take that for which I came." So he approached the dead body, and, catching hold of the braid, cut it off at the very roots. Then he went out. Behind him something rang and clattered again, but he paid no attention to it. He came to his companions and showed them the braid; the other man arrived later, and said, "Indeed, he is quite undaunted. I made a noise and beat the drum, but he paid no heed at all. He cut away the braid and carried it off." So that man won the wager, a horse from each of the partners. That is all.

Told by John Parin, a Russianized Yakut, in the village of Bystraia, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

#### 16. TALE OF A SHAMAN.

There was the head man of a village. I do not know exactly whether it was a village of Yukaghir or of the Yakut clan.<sup>1</sup> This head man used to gather tribute among his clansmen. Then he carried it southward to the town of Yakutsk on the river Aldan. On the Aldan lived the tribute chief of their tribe.<sup>2</sup> One time this Kolyma head man came to the Aldan tribute chief. The wife of the latter was suffering very much from one day to the next and they were afraid she might die. The Kolyma head man, seeing her condition said to the tribute chief, "Have no care about my dinner, I will go elsewhere." The tribute chief answered, "You were my guest in times of good fortune. Will you go away in these evil hours?" So the Kolyma head man entered, and saw sitting there in the house around a table, seven people, all quite unknown to him. He asked the tribute chief, "Who are these people — your workmen or your guests?" — "Oh,

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<sup>1</sup> For the last hundred years, the northern Miatushski clan has been living on the Great Anui River, in the Lower Kolyma country. This clan has been superficially Russianized. Their way of living is quite Russo-Yukaghir. They have no cattle, and catch their fish not in the lakes, but in the Great Anui and Kolyma rivers.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> This indicates that they were probably Yakut. The tribute chief in local Russian is ГОЛОВА (literally, "head"). This chief was elected by several clans related to one another and forming together one tribal branch.— W. B.

oh!" said the tribute chief, "what are you thinking of! These people are no workmen, nor are they simple guests. They are shamans, all seven of them. They have come here for nine days, and they practise their art all the while; but we do not see any help. My wife is getting worse and worse. O friend! Your Kolyma country is renowned for its shamans and magicians; and you too, come from a country far distant, and you select your assistant from the whole community without doubt with great care. I am sure that you pay attention also to this (*i. e.*, to magic). Can you not ask your assistant? Perhaps he knows enough to get for us at least temporary relief, even if for only a couple of hours." — "I cannot tell. Indeed, as a young man, he suffered from fits,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps he really is able to practise the art of shamanism, though I do not know whether for himself only or also in behalf of other people. However, we may call him here, and see what he can do. Where is he? Go and call him."

They brought the assistant. He was a small fellow, quite young, with only one eye. The house master asked him, "Here, you, of Kolyma birth, perhaps you have some knowledge of this matter, some shamanistic power or magical force. Have a look at my wife, and try to help her somehow!" — "All right!" said the fellow. "If I were in my own place, or if I had at least my own shamanistic garment, I might try to do something." To this the tribute chief answered, "If you only will try, I will procure the necessary garment and all appurtenances." The man was silent for a while. Then he said, "I will try to practise, as far as I may and know. But if she should die, do not be angry with me!" — "Oh, no! surely not! Do whatever you like. Before the beginning, however, give me a few hours only. Let me have one more look at her, though she is suffering." They brought the shamanistic garment and arrayed him in it. The garment was too large for him. He looked in it just like a stump in an overcoat. The owner of the garment said, "Tie him up with a girdle. He will tear off all the tassels." One man went up to him and said, "Let me gird you up!" — "Wait a while," said the Kolyma shaman, "then you may gird me. I will give you a signal." So he began to practise. He croaked three times like a raven; then he roared three times like a bear; then he howled three times like a wolf. After that he stood up. His head pierced the roof, and the garment burst between the shoulders. Then the door flew open, and the seven shamans were hurled

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<sup>1</sup> Fits of shamanistic hysteria (Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee"). Among the Russian creoles and Russianized natives, both on the Anadyr and the Kolyma, women often have so-called "fits" (припадки, without any adjective). The patient, during the fit, sings improvised tunes, and even pronounces words of an unknown language. When coming to herself, she pretends not to remember what she has done. Such singing is also called shamanistic, and probably all this really represents the remnants of a more ancient shamanistic practice.—W. B.



out of the house like seven shreds of skin. They died on the spot. He began to practise. After some time he went to the patient, and cut her body into small pieces. Each piece he took into his hands and put into his mouth, sucked it all around, and then blew on it. He put them together, and blew upon them three times. They joined again, and were covered with a new skin. He blew three times more, and the body breathed. After that he stepped toward the entrance and sang for an hour, then for another hour. At the beginning of the third hour, the woman came to herself, and turned over on the other side. She even asked for a little piece of meat to be put into her mouth. So he went back to her from the door, and asked her, "How do you feel?" — "I feel numb all over!" He resumed his singing and performed until dawn. Then he stopped and ordered all the people to lie down to sleep. When they awoke, the woman awoke with them, and asked for food and drink. They put another piece of meat into her mouth. From this time on she recovered rapidly, and after three days she was able to take food and drink without assistance.

After that the tribute chief took his best horse, renowned in that region for its swiftness. He put on it a saddle of silver, a bridle of steel inlaid with silver, and a saddle cloth embroidered with silk. To the saddle he tied a pouch containing two hundred rubles in cash. Then he took the horse to the Kolyma shaman, but the shaman refused to accept anything. So the tribute chief felt greatly afraid, and with much insistence and almost in tears, begged him to take something. At last, the shaman consented. He took the horse; but the bridle and the saddle, together with the saddle cloth, he took off and gave them back to the master. He also took thirty rubles only, and those not in silver, but in paper money. He rolled them up and tucked them into the horse's left ear. Then he blew upon the horse and struck it with his staff; and the horse soared up on high, flew away, and vanished. They asked him, "Where did you send it?" — "I sent it to my mother and sister. This will last them until my return."

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole, in the village of the Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

## 17. A HUNTING TALE.<sup>1</sup>

Three men lived together. I cannot tell to what tribe or clan they may have belonged,—whether they were peasants or cossacks, or Yakut or

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<sup>1</sup> This tale seems to be composed of mixed elements, Russian and native. The sables that play so prominent a rôle in it, were quite abundant in the Kolyma country a century ago, but since the sixties of the nineteenth century, not a single track of a sable has been met with in the Kolyma, partly because they have been mercilessly pursued and partly because they have migrated to the south.—W. B.



Yukaghir or something else. They were good hunters, and every fall with the first snow they would set off to hunt sable and red and gray foxes. Each time they would divide the skins into three equal parts. One year the snow fell very early and it was time to go on the hunt. One of the companions, who was somewhat poorer than the rest went to the others and invited them to go. It seems that he wanted to buy some provisions, and so wanted to make haste to get the means for purchasing them. The other, being richer, wanted to wait a couple of days. He waited two days, but still they were not ready. They asked him to wait a little longer. He waited again. Meantime the fallen snow had grown harder. It was the very time to go: so he went to his companions, and said, "See here! Perhaps you are not yet ready, but I shall not wait any longer. You see, the snow has already hardened. We have missed the last time. Further delay will spoil the hunt altogether."

So he went home, mounted his horse, and called his hunting dog. With these he went, and at once found the tracks of four sables. He had a good dog: so he let him loose, and the dog followed the sables and chased them to an open lake. There on the ice he caught all four of them. He crossed over the lake, and on the other shore made a fire, prepared some food, and skinned the sables. All at once the other two companions arrived and congratulated him on the successful hunt. He thanked them, invited them to pass the night with him, and the next morning to start hunting in common, as was their custom in former times. They consented, and stayed there. The night passed. In the morning they got up and went hunting in different directions. They also chose the halting-place for the next night, and promised to be there in time for the evening meal. The first hunter arrived there, however, the last of all, he was so late. The other two brought eight sables, and he alone also brought eight. They skinned them all and dried the skins. The next morning they proposed to continue the hunt; but the first hunter said, "I must go home for a couple of days. We will divide these skins equally among us; then I will go home, and be back in two or three days." They had, in all, twenty sable skins, but in distributing them they gave him only five skins, and took fifteen for themselves, and he was the one who had caught more than half of the whole. So he said, "No, that is not fair. Let us share equally. You have given me too little. We must have six sables a piece, and the two sables over are surplus." They refused to comply, and offered him the former five. He took these five skins and felt wronged: so he departed without any greeting. After some hesitation, they followed him. They rode quite silently for a long time, and then they saw near the trail a house that they had never seen before. Near the entrance stood a birch tree, very thin and high. They wondered at the house and the tree, and asked themselves, "How is it that

never before have we seen this house in our neighborhood? Let us enter and see who may live in it!" So they entered, and saw an old man, quite small, and wizened with age. He was so thin that his head was held in place by a single sinew only. His arms and legs were like grass blades, almost ready to break in two. They entered, and saluted the old man. He said, "Sit down, O hunters! Tell me, please, what success have you had in your pursuit?" The two said, "Thank God! fair enough." The third one replied, "Look here, uncle! We hunted together, and were indeed fairly successful. I caught a little more than they, and in the end they refused to give me even a fair and equal share." — "How was that," asked the old man. He told what had happened. "Listen, my friends!" said the old man. "I will tell you a story of a similar kind. I too, in my time, was a hunter, and was always ready to wander about. No kind of game could escape me, but in sharing with my companions, I was too exacting and close-fisted. One time, while traveling alone, I met a young woman, or, rather a girl. She came to me and stretched out her hand and gave me a blow on the ear. At the same time she said, 'You were a man, now you must be a wolf. For three days, you shall run, and after the third day you shall come here to this very place.' So I, who had been a man, immediately turned into a wolf. I ran about for three whole days, and then I returned to the same place from which I had started. The woman was already there. She struck me again on the face, and said aloud, 'You were a wolf, now turn into a man again!' I turned into a man. She took my hand and led me on to a village. When we were near the village, she struck me again on the face, and said, 'You were a man, now turn into a bunch of grass.' So I turned into a bunch of grass and remained motionless at the place where I stood, close to the trail. The people of that village were driving over me, and the runners of the sledges hurt me every time. The people often felt angry at me, and wanted to cut me down, but they neglected to do so. Well, I existed somehow. I felt much pain and fear, and it was only in the depths of the night that I had any respite at all. I cannot tell how long I stayed there, days or months, or maybe years. I was more dead than alive. Then at last the woman came. She kicked me, and said aloud, 'You were a bunch of grass, now turn again into a man!' So I turned into a man. I felt quite savage, and wanted to retaliate. She took my hand and led me on. I said to myself, 'What if I try and do the same to her?' So I stretched out my hand and gave her a blow on the ear, and said aloud, 'You were a woman, now you must turn into a birch tree.' I remembered the incantation; but in my haste I could not think of anything besides a birch tree, so she turned into a birch tree. From that time on, she has been a tree, and I do not know how to restore her to her former



human shape. The second part of the incantation has ceased to work. I have tried it again and again; but it has lost its force, I do not know why. So I constructed this small house, and am living here. I say to myself, 'Let me die at least near this birch tree!' So you see I am severely punished. My arms and legs have become like grass blades, my body is almost ready to break down, and my head to fall off. I think that God has sent this punishment to me and to the woman, in order to make us a living lesson to other people who pass by on this road. So I say to you two, cease to do wrong to your companion, lest worse luck befall you!"

The two greedy ones felt afraid, and they said, "The old man speaks the truth, it is too dangerous." They shared the sable skins equally, and gave six skins to the first hunter. Two sable skins were left over. They took one for themselves, and gave the other to the first hunter. Then the old man fell down and died, and the birch tree turned into its former self and became a woman. "Who are you?" asked the men. "I am hunting luck," said the woman. She asked them to help her in burying the old man. The other two hunters refused to do so; but the first hunter said, "I will bury him all alone." So he dug the grave, and then made a coffin of larch-wood. He buried him in due form, as is the custom. The woman thanked him; and when he departed, she gave him a small pouch made of various shreds of cloth. He took the pouch, and said to himself, "For what is this pouch? It seems of no use." She answered his thoughts, "Do not say that this pouch is of no use. It will be good all your life." He went home and opened the pouch. It was full of silver money. He spent the money, but whenever he took out money, the pouch was filled again. So he lived and lived, and could not empty the pouch; and his widow after him also could not spend all the money.

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian Creole, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

#### 18. STORY ABOUT THE BAD MERCHANT.<sup>1</sup>

Three brothers lived. I cannot tell who they were, whether Russian or Yakut. They lived in a wild place, somewhat after the manner of Lamut nomads. Two of the brothers used to go on hunting trips. The third one stayed at home. None of them knew whether they ever had had father, mother, or sister, or even so much as a relative. The two elder brothers

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<sup>1</sup> This story refers perhaps to some real incident. Events like this still happen in north-eastern Siberia. However, the manner in which it is told corresponds to the style of local Russian folklore.—W. B.



would come home for a day or two, and then leave again for six or seven days. They used to bring home costly peltries, also reindeer and elk carcasses. They gave everything to the third brother, and they did not even care what happened to their game. They never asked him, "What are you doing with all these things? Do you store them away, or simply throw them away as rubbish?"

One day these two brothers prepared for a longer trip than usual. So they said to the housekeeping brother, "Perhaps we shall not be back for a long time. Stay at home, and eat of the meat we have brought." After that they left. One evening, the brother who kept house was singing songs for his own recreation. Then he heard a noise without. He hurried to the entrance; but at this moment entered a man, tall of stature, carrying in his hands a bear lance inlaid with silver. He was clad in beautiful garments embroidered with silk. It was the bad merchant. The young man was much frightened, and receded to a remote corner; but the visitor said gruffly, "Help my workman unload the pack-horses!" The house master hurried out, and saw a man busying himself with nine pack-horses. He helped him take off the loads. While doing this, he heard somebody cough. He looked back, and saw a woman wrapped up in fox garments. He approached her, and asked her with much gentleness to enter the house. Then he opened the door and showed her the way. As soon as she was inside, he helped her lay off her garments. She was middle-aged, but very strong and pretty. The Bad Merchant looked at his doings with much scorn. He sat before the fire, warming his back. All the time he held in his hands the big bear lance inlaid with silver.

After a while the Bad Merchant asked the house master with still more gruffness, "Do you not know of some good pasture here for horses?" "Yes, I know of one." "Then help my workman to take the horses there." They had a meal and drank their tea. After that they took the horses to the pasture. When they were going back, the house master asked of the workman, "And who are you, this visitor and the woman?" — "Do you not know him? He is the Bad Merchant. I thought he would kill you at first sight. He has a very bad temper. No house did he ever pass that he did not kill somebody. It is your special luck that you have been spared so far." The young man ceased asking, and kept his thoughts to himself. They entered the house. The Bad Merchant was sitting, as before, near the fire, lance in hand. The house master hurried to his back room and threw out a great number of furs, sables, gray foxes, black foxes, bears, all kinds of peltries that exist in the world. He threw all this at the feet of the Merchant. The latter, seeing such riches, put the lance on the floor and bent over the heap. The young man, with an innocent face, picked up the

lance. "What a beautiful lance!" said he, "and what a shaft! Strong like iron. Even against a bear such a shaft would hold out and never break." Then he poised it in his hands. Together with the shaft it weighed no less than one pud.<sup>1</sup> He took the lance by the iron and lifted it, shaft upward, and all at once struck the Bad Merchant on the neck. The woman seized a knife and tried to stab him; but he struck her with the shaft, and she fell down senseless. Then he cried to the workman, "Bring those elk-hide lines there in the corner!" With them he bound him securely. The woman came to herself, but he violated her. Then he said to the workman, "You accompanied him on his travels, and were compelled by him to do his work, and he paid you with blows. You might have expected a violent death at almost any hour. Now that God has brought you here to me, I restore you to freedom. Take his horses and go wherever you wish!" The workman stayed there, however, for five days more. After that the elder brothers came, and saw the Bad Merchant in bonds. The woman was bound likewise. So the elder brothers said, "Ah! it is you! We have heard much about you. So many people of these parts complain of your doings. This time God has given us occasion to overcome you. Now the complaints of the people will cease. They turned to their brother and thanked him heartily: "It is you who caught him and liberated the country." I do not know, however, what they did to the prisoners. Probably they tortured them to death. That is all.

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 19. STEPMOTHER AND STEPDAUGHTER.<sup>2</sup>

There was an old man with his wife. They had one daughter. After some time the old woman died. He married another woman, and also had a daughter by her. The woman hated her stepdaughter and ill-used her in a thousand ways. As soon as the father was gone, the stepmother abused the girl with words and blows. Then she would push her out of the house, unfed and unclad. In the evening, the father would come home, and say, "O daughter! why have you such a tired look? Perhaps my new wife does not act quite fair toward you?" — "No," the daughter would say, "she does nothing wrong to me." Thus she would refuse to complain. They lived in this way, and the young girl suffered much. At last she could

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<sup>1</sup> Thirty-six pounds avoirdupois.

<sup>2</sup> This is a version of the well-known Russian tale, but with some details of local life.—W. B.



endure it no longer; so when the father came back in the evening, she said, "O father! take me away! I cannot live here any longer. Take me rather to the Unclean Idol."<sup>1</sup> The father said, "Why, my child, if you feel so badly, I will rather stay here and watch over you. Perhaps then life will become more bearable for you." So the next day he did not go hunting, but stayed at home. His wife, however, was so angry with him, that she began to ill-use both him and her stepdaughter. She even beat the latter worse than ever. The old man tried to stop his wife, but she struck him also. Then he said, "O child! you were right, I cannot bear to look upon your distress, and I have no power to help you: rather than have you stay here I will carry you away to the Unclean Idol. He shall eat you all at once, and there will be an end to this sorrow."

In the morning he attached his dogs to his sledge, and said to his daughter, "Now get ready! We will go to the Unclean Idol." His wife was very glad, and helped her stepdaughter get ready to depart. The old man said to the girl, "You must take from the fireplace some ashes and a few coals, and put them into a handkerchief. When you feel hungry, take a kettle and put into it some of these ashes and coals. This will serve you as food." So they went away and drove for a long time. They came to the house of the Unclean Idol. He was not at home. So the father said, "O child! I will go back and you must stay here and wait for the house master." He went away. The daughter stayed there, full of sorrow. Evening came, and she felt hungry: she took a kettle and put into it some ashes and coals. She put the kettle near the fire. After some time she looked into it, and it was full to the brim of cooked fat and meat. She put the food into a bowl of birch wood, on a shelf she found a horn spoon and went to eat. All at once a board of the flooring was lifted up, and from there appeared a great number of mice and toads, ermines, and all kinds of small vermin. They piped, "We are children of the Unclean Idol. Our father has not come back for several days, and we feel hungry. Give us some food too from your birch bowl with your horn spoon! We know those things very well. They are of our own house." So she fed the whole pack, giving to one a spoonful, and to another half a spoonful, and in the end nothing was left for herself. The vermin had enough, and went back under the flooring, and the girl lay down to sleep quite hungry.

Early in the morning there was heard a great noise and clatter. The Unclean Idol came flying with his broad paper wings, alighted, and entered

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<sup>1</sup> "Unclean Idol" (Russian ИДОЛЪ ПОГАННЫЙ) is usually applied in Russian stories to representations of heathenism. The word ПОГАННЫЙ (unclean) is derived from the Latin *paganis* ("pagan"). Here, however, it is simply a monster.—W. B.—See Bolte und Polivka, *l. c.*, vol. 1, 207.—F. B.



the house. "Oh, oh, oh! We heard nothing, we saw nothing, the little Russian bone came to the house of its own free will." All at once a board was lifted, as before, and his vermin children spurted out in all directions; and they piped, "O father! do not do her any harm! She treated us kindly, and gave us food to eat. You must reward her for this. Otherwise, we might have died of starvation." "Ah!" said the Unclean Idol, "she is clever." He brought a sable overcoat and a bagful of silver money. "This is my present to you. When your father comes again, you may take this and go home with him." He stayed for a while and departed again. In the meantime her father felt very sorry about her, and at last said to himself, "Let me go, at least, and have a look at the little bones of my dear daughter." So he set off, and came to that house. The Unclean Idol was not there. He entered the house, and his daughter was sitting there quite ready to depart. She was clad in a sable overcoat and had in her hand a bagful of silver money. She said, "O father! let us go back to our house!" They set off. The stepmother waited for them at home. Her small bitch, however, also waited near the entrance, and then she began to bark: "Bow-wow! the old man is coming, and he is bringing his daughter and her money is rattling in the bag." The woman struck the dog with a stick, and ordered, "You little fool! you had better say, 'The old man is coming and is bringing his daughter, and her bones are rattling in the bag.'" But the dog was quite firm. She would cease for a little while, but as soon as the woman stepped away, she would bark louder than before: "Bow-wow! the old man is coming; he is bringing his daughter, and her money is rattling in the bag." At last the old man came to the house, and the woman saw the sable coat and the money of her stepdaughter. She looked on with much envy, and then said to the old man, "Now, you must take my own daughter also, and carry her to the Unclean Idol's house. Let him give her too similar presents." He took the daughter of his second wife and carried her over to the Idol's house. He left her there and returned home. Evening came. She felt hungry: so she put some ashes and coals into the kettle, and put it near the fire. In due time the kettle was full to the brim with cooked fat and meat. As soon as she was about to eat, a board of the flooring was lifted up; and the vermin children of the Unclean Idol appeared from there, more numerous than ever. She grew very angry; and struck at them in all directions. She even broke the legs and arms and backs of several. So they scurried back, piping and crying. In the morning, the Unclean Idol came home. He asked the animals, "Well, now, children, and this one, how did she act toward you?" — "Ah! she beat us mercilessly. Our legs, arms, and backs are dislocated or broken. All of us are suffering." The Unclean Idol grew angry. He caught the girl and tore her in two. Then he swallowed

both parts, and vomited the bones into the corner. After a while her mother said to the old man, "Now, go and bring my daughter back. Take care lest you leave behind any of her presents." The old man went to the house of the Unclean Idol who was not at home when he arrived. He opened the entrance, but the girl was not to be seen. Only some bones were heaped in the corner. He looked at them, and recognized them as the remnants of his daughter. So he put them into a bag and started home. Her mother waited on them with great impatience; but the little bitch barked again: "Bow-wow! the old man is coming back, and the girl's bones are rattling in the bag!" "Ah, you little fool! rather say 'The girl's money is rattling in the bag.'" The old man came. She rushed out and caught the bag. It was filled with bones. "Ah, ah! where is my little girl?" "I found only her bones, so I brought them home." The woman wailed aloud, but it was too late. The end.

Taken down by Innocent Beresken, a cossack of Kolyma from the words of a Russian creole woman, Mary Beresken, in the village "Crosses" ("Кресты") in the Kolyma country, winter of 1895.—W. B.

## 21. SEA-WANDERERS.

On the seashore, upon an island, stood a village of the Maritime people. The village was very large, the houses were more numerous than the leaves on a tree. Several people began to talk among themselves. "Let us travel, that we may see all the wonders of the sea!" One of them was "a knowing one."<sup>1</sup> He knew all kinds of incantations, even the chief incantation of the Zyrian people. These Zyrian people were an ancient heathen tribe, who lived on the seashore.<sup>2</sup> All the other travelers were quite common people. They entered a skin boat and started off. After a long time the winds and the currents carried them toward an island. They landed at a safe place and walked along the shore. It was a broad strip of sand, and higher up was a steep bank of firm ground. On it were the houses of people. They climbed the bank, but the houses had disappeared. The entrances were not to be found. Only a number of willow bushes were scattered about and wherever they stepped, or wherever they put their feet a great clamoring of children came up from underground. The whole

<sup>1</sup> In local Russian ЗНАТЛИВЫЙ. This is nearly the same as "shaman," but of more indefinite character. Cf. also Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 472.—W. B.

<sup>2</sup> The Zyrian tribe is of Finnish origin. The Zyrians live on both sides of the Northern Ural Mountains, along the Pechora River, and also along some tributaries of the Obi River. A confused remembrance of them was brought into northeastern Asia by Russian cossacks and other immigrants, the greater part of whom came from northern European Russia and all along the northern parts of Siberia.—W. B.



bank resounded with the noise of their voices. At last they found an entrance among the roots of a willow bush, and entered a house, which lay entirely underground. The people bade them welcome, and gave them food and drink. These people were Polar Fox people. All of them were quite young and strong. Only one was an aged, decrepit old man who could hardly walk about, even with the help of his long staff. The other people soon went out; but the old man stayed behind, and immediately said to the guests, "O you Christians!<sup>1</sup> if you are such, indeed, do not stay here for a single night, but rather sail away. While walking above, you trod down ever so many Fox children. If you should stay here for a night, they would certainly kill you out of spite and revenge. Take warning and go away in time!" So they entered their skin boat and sailed away. They moved on for a long time, and at last they saw another island. On that island was a village and some people were living there. In front of the island, in the sea, stood a tree of gigantic size, full of boughs. These boughs and branches were so close to one another, that not even a finger could be thrust in between them; and in the middle of the trunk there was an excrescence, ever so large. They stopped their skin boat and gazed at the new wonder. The tree stood bolt upright; then all at once it bowed down lower and lower, and at last was immersed in the water, boughs, excrescence, and all — and vanished from sight. Then they saw on shore a number of people, all one-sided,<sup>2</sup> running to and fro, and catching fish. They were just like ordinary men split in two. The two halves would meet and stick together and would become whole men. Then they would part again, and each half would race along the shore so swiftly that it would outrun a flying bird. These halves of men were catching fish in the following manner. They spread their fingers, ran down into the water and vanished in the sea. After a while they came back on a run and to every finger a fish was hanging. They caught the fish with their fingers. After that the big tree would also emerge from the water, bough after bough, and stand straight up again, as before; but it would be thoroughly white from the mass of fish on it. Every little bough would have a fat fish hanging on it. The tree stood up and trembled, as if alive; and then all the fish were swung up to the excrescence, when they vanished.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Literally, "orthodox" (Православные), an invocation much used in Russian among the larger classes of people, meaning about the same as the English "gentlemen." — W. B.

<sup>2</sup> See Bella Coola (Boas, Franz, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pazifischen Küste Amerikas*, 256); Chipewyan (Petitot, Emile, *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*, 363); Tsimshian (Boas, Franz, "Tsimshian Texts" *Bulletin 27, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1902, 105.) — F. B.

<sup>3</sup> See the Eskimo tale of Giviok (references in Boas, Franz, "Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay" *Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 15, 36); Tlingit (Swanton, John R., "Tlingit Myths and Texts" *Bulletin 39, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1909, 317). — F. B.



The voyagers gazed upon these wonders, but, being afraid of the one-sided people, they did not land there, but sailed by. After a while they were carried off to still another island. They landed there, and walked along the shore. A village stood there, with numerous houses. They approached, and saw near the village, down the steep bank, a great mass of food lying in heaps higher than a man's stature. It was mostly meat of wild reindeer. The people had neither anus nor urethra. They killed many wild reindeer. Then they cooked the meat in huge iron kettles. When it was done, they put the kettle under their bare armpits and kept it there for a while. They lived on the steam they inhaled through their armpits. After that they would turn the kettles over and throw all the meat down the bank. The voyagers felt very hungry, and wanted to eat of this strange refuse; but all of a sudden there came from the houses men with long staffs, who shouted to them, "Don't touch that meat! It is bad. Rather come here! We will give you good meat, we will feed you with clean provisions. That is offal!"<sup>1</sup> They entered the nearest house. The people of the island gave them the choicest meat and dried fat and brought in large bladders filled with pure oil. They ate heartily.

An old man was sitting opposite them, and was all the time attentively watching their doings. "Ah!" said he, "so this is your manner of eating! It seems you relish it." The "knowing one," the man with incantations, wanted him to do the same. "Do try and have a morsel!" "I wish I could!" said the old man; "But you see yourself, with your own eyes that we have neither anus nor urethra. What, then, would become of me?" The other one, however, did not desist. "Ah, father! Do take a morsel! I will arrange that you may enjoy it without danger." "Ah!" said the old man, "I have lived long enough; so let me try it once, though I die from it!" He took a small bit and swallowed it. "Ah! it is sweet." He took another piece, and by and by had eaten a large and hearty meal, in the manner of human beings. In due time, however, he felt uncomfortable, and shouted, "My buttocks prick me, my buttocks prick me!" Tears started from his eyes from pain. The man with incantations took a splinter of drift larch-wood and made it round and sharp-pointed. He pronounced several incantations over it, and then thrust it through the old man's breeches, thus making an anus for him. In a similar manner he made for him also a urethra. At the same moment the old man eased himself in both ways, and became like an ordinary man. But the others were without openings, as before.

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<sup>1</sup> See references in Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology" (*Thirty-first Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1916), 773.— F. B.

The next morning, however, the visitors were requested to furnish the whole population with anus and urethra, for which they were paid generously with costly fur. Till then they had traveled among all these wonders and terrors without any provisions, but from here they took along plenty of dried meat.<sup>1</sup>

They sailed on, and reached another island. A single house, quite large, stood on the bank. In it lived an old man and his wife. Before the entrance a big brown bear was tied to a post. It was their watch-dog. Close to the house stood two racks of drying poles filled with human flesh. There were shoulders along with arms and hands in one piece; and the fingers glistened with rings, gold and silver. The heads were ornamented with earrings, and the legs with feet booted in leather and chamois. The travelers were much afraid, but they did not dare to say anything. The old man said to his wife, "Bring some cloud-berries for our guests." So she brought a dish full of rosy finger tips of women and children, cut off with great care. These finger tips, indeed, looked like so many berries. The "knowing one" said to his companions. "Do not eat this food. Hide it in the bosom of your clothes." They were all clad in fur shirts, and girt around with large girdles of many-colored stuff, as is the custom with our people. So they did as they were told, and after the meal they went out of the house as if to ease themselves. They loosened their girdles, and all these awful finger tips glided down to the ground. They went back. The old woman was already preparing beds for them. "These places are for you, and these also. Lie down and have your rest." They went out again; and the "knowing one" said, "We cannot stay here. The only way to do is the following. We will return, and I shall take my pipe and have a short smoke. That done, I shall knock the glowing ashes out of the bowl. Then all at once I shall howl like a wolf. You must be careful and hold on to me at that very moment. I shall rush out and take you along."

He had a smoke, and knocked the glowing ashes out of the pipe bowl. Then all at once he howled like a wolf. The bear in front of the door fell down at once and snored loudly. The old man and the old woman within the house fell asleep and slept like logs. The visitors went out and found the skin boat.

They gave up journeying farther, and turned homeward. On the return journey, they made almost no landings, but sailed steadily on. They revisited only those people whose intestines they had provided with openings, and obtained from them more provisions for the last part of their journey.

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<sup>1</sup> See Eskimo (Boas, "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay" *Bulletin American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 15, 170]); for other references, *Ibid.*, 360; Wishram (Sapir, "Wishram Texts" *Publications, American Ethnological Society*, vol. 2, 19).—F. B.



They were traveling, not for a single year, nor for two years, but for three complete years, of twelve months each. All of them had wives at home, some of whom had been left with child. These women had had time to give birth to their children, and the children were already toddling about and babbling lustily, though not very intelligibly. So they came home. Their wives were told by neighbors, "Come out! Your husbands have come back!" They almost lost their senses for joy, because they had believed that their husbands were dead and gone. As soon as the men came into the house, the women glanced at them and swooned. They remained unconscious for many hours, and could hardly be restored. After that they lived with their husbands exactly as they had in former times. The end.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Innocent Korkin, a Russianized Yukaghir man, in the village of Pokhotsk, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

## 22. THE TALE OF LA'LA.<sup>2</sup>

(*Kolyma Version*)

La'la was very rich in peltries. Among all the Chukchee people along the border he was known for his costly furs. He was also a great warrior, and lived all by himself; only with his own family. One time the Chukchee said among themselves, "Let us go and make war on La'la! We will take his peltries and kill the people." They went, and they were more numerous than mosquitoes, all young men and strong. La'la's father and mother were quite old. He had also a single brother, a mere lad, not yet full grown. This morning La'la walked on snowshoes and broke the one for the right foot. Therefore, after dinner, he went into the woods with his brother to hew out a new board for the broken snowshoe. While he was working the lad climbed a high tree, and was playing among the thin branches near the top. He played there, and looked homeward. From the top of the tree he could see their house and everything around. He played there for some time, and said suddenly, "Khadya,<sup>3</sup> there are the Chukchee, coming to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 87, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> This story is very interesting, because it treats of La'la, the tribal hero of the Chuvantzi, whose name is known to the present day among the last remnants of this tribe, and also speaks of the wars between the Chuvantzi and the Chukchee. It is probably only a fragment of a longer tale. The episodes composing it reappear in several other tales among the Russianized natives, Chukchee, and Yukaghir. The Kolyma version of this story, however, calls La'la and his brother Yukaghir. The interchange of these two tribal names, adds to the probability that the Chuvantzi were a branch of the Yukaghir tribe (Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 15).—W. B.

<sup>3</sup> This word was indicated as belonging to the Chuvantzi language. It is supposed to mean "elder brother".—W. B.



attack La'la!" La'la looked up, and asked, "What do you say?" — "Ah, nothing! I am only playing with twigs." After a while he said again, "Khadya, they are coming to La'la's house." La'la looked up, and asked again, "What do you say?" — "Ah, nothing! I am playing with twigs." A third time he said, "Khadya, they are coming!" And indeed, they had come. The old man ran out, and they followed him around the house. He said, "Khadya, they are going to kill him." Three times they chased him around the house, then one of them seized a piece of a sledge runner of birch-wood and struck the old man on the head. "Khadya," said the young brother, "they have killed the old man. The old man is gone." And after a while, "Khadya, they are breaking down the house and are looting the sledges. They are driving a long needle into mother's tongue and make her drag the tent poles. Now they are gone."

At last La'la had finished his snowshoes, "Let us go home!" They went home. "Why is it so quiet here? Not a voice is to be heard. And where is the old man? Why, the tent cover is torn off the poles! Are they going to move to another place?" Then he looked at the sledges, and they were empty. He came to the entrance. His father lay there in the house, close to the entrance. The old man's head was broken, like an egg. The mother was gone. "Ah, sorrow!" said La'la, "was it of this you spoke up in the tree?" — "Just so," answered the lad. "I saw from the tree, how they killed the old man, and looted the sledges, and drove a long needle through the old woman's tongue. Then they made her drag the tent poles." — "Ah!" wailed La'la, "what is to be done?" They thought and thought; but the bow and the quiver, the arrow and the spears,— everything had been carried off. They were unarmed, and he had only the snowshoes which he had mended in the forest. La'la put on the snowshoes, and they set off. His younger brother followed him. They walked on; then they came to a large lake, round and smooth, just like a frying pan. In the middle of it, on the smooth ice, was pitched the camp of the assaulters. They were distributing the spoils among themselves. La'la spoke to his younger brother, and said to him, "Listen! I am going to turn you into a fox. After that I shall go straight to them, and you must stay here and wait. I shall go to them and try to get my bow and quiver. You must watch me; and if I succeed in getting them, at that very moment you must appear, and run within shooting distance. Glide in among the sledges, turn in zigzag directions, and try not to be hit." — "How shall I do it?" said the young man. "Are you not a Yukaghir?"<sup>1</sup> said La'la. "You must know how to

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<sup>1</sup> But the word "Khadya" a little above was indicated as Chuvantzi. Cf. Anadyr version, footnote, p. 95.— W. B.

avoid arrows and spears. Run down the lake and lure them on, only mind not to lead them too far away, and I shall follow." He made a circuit around the lake, then he took off his snowshoes and left them behind. He went to the Chukchee camp from the north, along their usual way. He waded in the snow, pretended to stumble, and assumed the air of being very tired. Then he went over the beaten path, and boldly approached the camp. "Here, boys! What about La'la? Have you killed La'la?" — "Oh, yes, we killed him with a piece of wood, just like an old woman. He did not lift a hand in his own defence." — "Ah, ah! I thought he was a great warrior. I came here from afar merely to have a look at him. I was told several times that people would try to assault him, and he would wind in among the assailers like a wet nettle-cord." — "Ah, nonsense! he was an old man. He never struck a blow." "True, he did not, but at least his peltries were numerous." — "As to that," said the Chukchee, "there is no mistake about them. The peltries were abundant. We are ever so numerous, and every one of us had a share." After a while he said again, "See here, brothers! They say his bow and quiver are ever so large, and also his snowshoes. Show them to me! I have come from afar in order to have a look at them, because it is said, 'La'la's bow is a three men's bow.' Is it really so heavy and imposing?" They suspected nothing, and so brought forth La'la's arms. Two men were carrying his bow, two others his quiver, and two more his snowshoes. "Ah!" said La'la, "indeed, it is true! They are quite heavy." He took the bow and pretended to drop it. Then he tried the snowshoes and deftly put them on. At that moment, the small fox started off and ran away. All the young people rushed out, and crossed his path, far ahead of him. So the fox returned to the camp, and hid among the lodges. The Chukchee shot at it (as thick as rain fell the arrows), but nobody could so much as graze it. It turned again and ran away up the trail. The young men followed it, shooting and shouting. Two old men were sitting on a pack-sledge looking on at the chase. One said in his mother tongue, "He, he, he! La'la monia'lo khanidula,"<sup>1</sup> which means, "Be careful, boys! La'la will tear the stomach out of your bodies."<sup>2</sup> "Why have you given him the bow and the quiver?" His neighbor, however, nudged him with his elbow. "You fool! Hold your tongue!" The young people, however, did not listen to any one, and ran on. La'la followed in the rear, and one by one he killed the Chukchee, beginning with the one running farthest in the rear. He shot and shot. Not a single arrow missed its aim. After that he turned back to the

<sup>1</sup> These words were also said to belong to the Chuvantzi language.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> In dressing the hunting-quarry, the belly is ripped up, and the stomach and other intestines are immediately pulled out.— W. B.



sledges. These two old men were sitting there. He killed one,— the one who said, “Be careful, boys!” He struck him on the head with a piece of wood. He took the other one along and married him to his mother. He also turned his brother back into a man. To these three he gave everything he took from the Chukchee.

He went away from there, and arrived at another village. There he married the pretty daughter of the chief. He lived there with his pretty wife. They had two children,— a boy and a girl. The children were growing up. The girl already could carry water from the river, and the boy could fetch fuel from the woods. One time the father brought home a large heath cock, and said to his wife, “Cook that heath cock!” She cooked it, and they had a meal. After the meal she carried out the bones and the odd pieces in a large frying-pan, and then she vanished. They waited for her, but she never came back. La’la went out to look for her; but she was nowhere to be seen. There were left only traces in the snow, as if a giant bird had brushed it with its wings. From this he knew that someone with wings had carried her off.

One night passed. In the morning, he said to his children, “I will go and look for your mother. You must stay at home and not show yourselves outside. In three days, I shall come back. Whether I find her or not, I shall come to you.” After that he left. On the way, he met a Buzzard. “Here, Buzzard! have you not seen my wife?” — “I will not tell you. Every time you meet me, you shoot at me. Why, then, should I tell you the truth?” After a while he met a Bluejay. “Here Jay! who carried off my wife?” — “I will tell you. When you lived with your wife, you used to bring home all kinds of meat and other food. When I came and pecked at the food, you would not hinder me; so I will tell you the truth. He who carried off your wife is Raven-Son, with beak of iron, and tail of grass. You must go straight ahead in this direction, then you will find him.” La’la thanked the Jay and set off. He walked straight ahead, and came to a place where there was a round hole in the ground, just like the furrow of a fox. He looked in. A small old woman, wearing an apron of summer skins, was there, skipping about like a grasshopper. As soon as she saw him, she tore off a narrow shred from her apron, cut it into small pieces, which she put into the kettle. She hung the kettle over the fire; and after a while she took it off and invited La’la to eat, saying, “The meal is ready. Sit down and eat!” He tasted of the food, and it was fat meat of the mountain-sheep cooked with edible roots.

He went on, and after a while he came to another place. Smoke was coming up out of the ground. He looked down the hole. An old woman clad in a coat of autumn skins was skipping about like a jumping hare.



As soon as she saw him, she cut off a narrow piece of her coat, chopped it up fine, and put it into a kettle. She cooked it and invited him to partake of the meal. He ate of the food, and it was fat meat of wild reindeer. When he wanted to go away, the old woman said, "Go straight ahead, then you will reach a place where the ground is smooth as ice. There you will see a village. A number of children will be playing near the houses. Many of them will call after you. You must not answer, or go near them. Far off, alone by himself, a small boy will be standing, all covered with scabs. You must go to him. It is your own son." — "How can it be my son," shouted La'la. "My son is at home. I left him at home." "You did," said the old woman, "but meanwhile the Raven went back there and carried off your boy. You must wait there till sunset. After sunset, in the pale light of the night, when the moon is rising in the sky, Raven will be asleep. Then three women will come out of his house. They will walk around and cry softly in the moonlight. You must go to them. They are his wives, all carried off from their husbands." La'la went on and found the village. In the evening, when the three women appeared, he went to them. They saw him, and cried more bitterly than before. "Oh, cease crying! Better let us talk over what is to be done! Is there any way to kill Raven-Son?" — "How can you kill him? His body is iron. Unless, you succeed in setting fire to his house, so that he may burn with the house, being asleep, and unable to wake from fatigue." — "All right, let us try it!" They went to fetch fuel, and carried it to the house quite noiselessly, like so many mice, — green wood and dry wood, branches and sticks — all kinds of fuel. They surrounded the house with a wall of wood as high as the vent-hole. Then they set fire to it. The whole blazed up, and Raven-Son with it. He had no time to wake up and groaned only once in his sleep. The fire subsided, the coals burned out, and even the ashes grew cold. La'la gathered the ashes and let them fly to the winds. Then he went home, taking along the three women. He kept his own wife and sent the other two away to their former husbands. After some time he gathered all his goods and set off for his own country. The end.

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

## 23. THE TALE OF LA'LA.

*(Anadyr Version)*<sup>1</sup>

There were some Chuvantzi people, among them was an old man who had four sons. The middle one was of great strength. His name was La'la. He fought all the time against the Chukchee, and killed a great number of them, hundreds and thousands and more. The Chukchee sought revenge. One time La'la went into the woods to cut down a birch tree which he was going to use for making a new sledge. He took along his youngest brother. The latter climbed to the top of a birch tree and all at once muttered, "Ah! The Chukchee are coming!" La'la asked from beneath, "What are you saying? I cannot hear you." — "Oh, nothing. I only said 'Ravens and crows are coming.'" In truth the Chukchee were going to their father's house. After a while, the youngest brother muttered, "Ah! the Chukchee have attacked father and our brothers!" — "What are you saying? I cannot hear what you say." — "Oh, nothing. I say that some ravens and crows are attacking one another." After a while he muttered, "Ah! they have killed father and our brothers. They have driven off our herd; and mother is following in the rear, dragging the tent poles like a pack-reindeer." — "Ah!" said La'la, "let us go home!" — "Oh, oh!" answered the brother, "this time you did hear what I said."

They hurried home. Their father and their brothers lay there murdered. The herd had disappeared; and the ground had been trampled down by the feet of the invaders. "Let us make haste!" said La'la. They hurried along on their snowshoes. After some time they saw the Chukchee caravan. Their old mother, in the very rear, was dragging some heavy tent poles. She looked back and laughed softly. "Ah! now I am safe." The brothers saw that the Chukchee were stopping for the night. The women scraped the snow from the ground and pitched the tents. The brothers overtook their mother and said to her, "Mother, you stay behind here, and we will go on." They approached the Chukchee camp. Then La'la said to his brother, "You also stay here, and I shall go round about until I am in front of them. Then I shall come back to you. And when I make a sign with my first finger, thus, you must turn into a fox, and run about in full view of them. In this manner we shall vanquish them." He made a circuit, and boldly went straight to the Chukchee camp. "Who are you?" — "I live farther away than you. I came too late. I wanted, though to kill La'la." One man retorted, "La'la has been killed." Another

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<sup>1</sup> Inserted here for the purpose of ready comparison with the preceding tale.— W. B.



contradicted, "No, he has not been killed." An old man said, "I am not sure. His weapons though, have been taken,—his bow, quiver, and arrows." — "Show them to me!" said La'la. It took six men to bring the bow, so heavy was it, and eight men to bring the quiver. "Ah! here they are! He took the bow and tried to string it, and then he let it go. "It is too strong. I cannot string it." All at once he interrupted himself, and pointed at something far ahead. "Look there! What is that there?" It was his younger brother, who had turned into a fox, and was running about in full view of them. All the Chukchee looked at the fox, and forgot everything else. Then La'la seized the bow and shot them. In three hours he had killed five hundred people. Only a few were left. Then he laughed aloud, and said, "Ah! that is enough; but another time do not come here with such evil plans." The others, who were glad to be spared, immediately broke camp and drove away.

La'la went to his mother, and said, "O mother! now that our brothers are dead, how shall we live? I think I must look for a wife. You are too old. So I am going. Please get an overcoat ready for me of the worst shreds of skin. I want it for my journey." He put on his best suit of clothes,—trousers of white reindeer legskins, and a coat of spotted fawnskin, all embroidered around the skirts,—and over all this he donned a poor and shabby overcoat made of shreds of skin. He went along on his snowshoes, and came to a river. There was a village there of thirty houses. Near a water-hole he saw a number of women and girls. He went there and lay down close to the water-hole. When the women saw him, they laughed and scoffed at him. "What do you want, you shabby one, you dog of the springtime?" They spat at him, kicked him with their boots, and even poured water over him. Finally, three sisters came there too. The two elder ones also laughed at him, but the youngest did not laugh. They wanted her to ill-use him, but she would not do so. "Ah, ah! scoffed the others, "it seems that you like him! Perhaps you will marry him." At last they filled their pails and went away. "Who are you?" asked the girl, "and why are you lying here? Better get up and come to our house!" — "And how can I find your house? I do not know the way." — "Our house is the one farthest away, it stands by itself. It is the highest of all, and its skin cover is dazzling white. My father is the chief of the village. He is the strongest man, and the best hunter. If you want to do so, you may follow me." She went off, and he followed her. They came to the house. Her father said, "Who is it, so poorly clad, that you bring with you here?" — "He is to be my husband." — "Ah! if he is to be your husband, bid him welcome." She made him sit down, and brought reindeer fat and dried tongues. They ate heartily. After that she arranged the bed, and they lay down. He married her.



Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, and noted down by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, summer of 1900.

#### 24. THE WOMAN'S HEAD.

There was a village on the seashore which had ten or fifteen houses. One of the inhabitants had a lazy son. The father could not induce him to bring water from the river or to fetch fuel from the woods. All he did was to walk along the seashore, singing songs. There was no end of his songs. One day he left the village, and walked so far that he lost sight of the houses. He strolled on, singing lustily. All of a sudden, he saw a canoe of iron moving across the sea directly towards him. He stopped and waited for it. A young, pretty girl was seated in the canoe. She had in her hands a large double paddle, also of iron, but she did not paddle at all. Nevertheless, the canoe moved on, cutting the water like a living thing. It came to the shore. The girl extended the iron blade toward the man, and said to him, "Here, young man! put your pretty head upon the iron blade. I want to louse you with my gentle fingers." — "No," said he, "I have no lice, and so I do not want to do as you request." — "Ah! at least lay your pretty cheek upon this iron blade. I want to admire your gentle beauty." He felt flattered, and stooped down toward the iron blade. All at once his face stuck firmly to the iron. She drew the paddle back, and pulled him down along with it into the canoe. Immediately the canoe moved off across the sea, going back the way it had come. He prayed to the girl, "Oh, please, let me go! I want to go back to my father and mother, or at least to bid them farewell." — "No," said the girl, "I shall not let you go. In former times, whenever your parents sent you for water and for wood, or tried to urge you to go hunting, you were too indolent to follow their advice: now I shall hunt for you and fetch everything. You shall stay at home and be my husband." He cried aloud, and asked her to let him go; but she refused. They crossed the sea and went to another country. They arrived at a large house on the shore. It had three sets of drying poles, all well filled with human flesh, heads, and whole arms with heads, and legs with feet. He cried still louder than before, and refused to enter. She called to him; but he went away along the seashore, down the village, from house to house. The last house of all was small, a mere hut. A small old man lived in it, quite lean and bowed down. His head was white, like that of a polar hare. The old man addressed him, and said, "O, young man! are you also a human being, as I am? If you are, why did you come here? The people who live here are man-eaters. They feed on human flesh, and they even tried to induce me to do the same; but I refused. Therefore I am so lean, that they

will not even eat me." The old man continued, "This young woman is the worst of all. She feeds on her husbands after their bridal night. Bear this in mind: After supper you will go to sleep and she will try to induce you to lie down next to the wall, while she herself will take her place on the outer side. You must be firm and take the place on the outer side. Even though she should ask you with fair words, and abuse you with bad words, and push you and crawl over you, be firm and hold your place! If you succeed in keeping it, you will live; if not, you will perish, and I shall perish along with you. Then you will copulate. She will try to tire you out and put you to sleep; but you must be stronger than she, and tire her, in your turn, and make her sleep. Then you will know what to do to her. Now go home! It is growing late. She is looking for you, and she may come here also. Rather go of your own will. She will give you human flesh to eat. Be sure not to swallow even a single morsel. Try to hide the meat in your clothes or on your body. Otherwise you will also turn into a man-eater, and will never get back to your native place."

The young man went back to the house of his cannibal bride. She cooked plenty of fat human meat, and gave some to her father and mother to eat. Then she invited her husband to sit down to the meal. He took one morsel after another; but he ate none, and hid every one of them in the bosom of his coat. After the meal they prepared to lie down. Then began their struggle for places. Neither wanted to lie nearest the wall. They crept over each other; the girl scratched him in doing so, and he paid her in kisses. Still each time he returned to the outer side. At last she was conquered by his kisses, and let him stay. After that they copulated; and he proved so strong and untiring that he exhausted all her strength and made her sleep. As soon as she began to snore, he lifted his head and groped gently in the darkness beneath the pillow. He found just beneath the pillow, at the outer side, which the woman wanted for herself, two iron instruments,—a long awl and a very sharp and narrow knife. She used these to kill the men in their sleep. He took both, and pointed the knife straight at her heart, and the awl at her anus. Then he exclaimed, "Iron to iron," and both entered and met within her body. Iron scratched iron. The woman died instantly. He cut off her head, took a long narrow bag filled with odd shreds of skins and pieces of clothing, put this bag under the coverlet, and then placed the head on it. He tucked the cover in all around; then he made a fire, and cooked the flesh of the woman for the breakfast meal. When it was done, he cut it up carefully and laid it in a dish in good order. He skimmed off the fat from the soup, and put it in a cup close to the dish. This breakfast he carried off to the sleeping room of the old people. Then he crept out, and hurried to the shore. There on the sand lay two



canoes, one of iron, and the other of wood. He took the iron awl and pierced the wooden canoe in twenty places. Then he called the old man who had given him advice, and bade him go aboard the iron canoe. He himself followed, and said to the iron canoe, "O, canoe of iron! go to the place from which you brought us!" And the canoe rushed across the sea, going to the shore inhabited by human kind.

The old people heard him get up and work; but they thought it was their daughter, because she was wont to kill her husbands in the night time and to cook their flesh in the morning for breakfast, so they dozed again most quietly. Finally, when they awoke, they saw their breakfast close by, quite ready and waiting for them. "Ah, ah!" said the old woman, "our gentle child has made everything ready, but where is she? Why does she not come to eat with us? Go, man, and look into her sleeping room." He looked there and came back. "She is sleeping," said he. "The night must have been quite tiresome." So they took their meal. The old woman took one morsel, but she could not swallow it. "Ah, old man! I cannot eat alone. It is perhaps because our daughter does not eat with us. I am sure she is hungry. Please go and waken her! Let her eat, and then go to sleep again!" So he went once more to the sleeping room and to their daughter's bed. "Get up, child!" said he merrily and tugged at the coverlet. The head fell off the bed and rolled to the door.

It opened the door and rolled down the slope toward the sea. It rushed into the sea and rolled on over the billows in pursuit of the fugitives. The old people also hurried down to the sea. "Ah!" they shouted, "where is he? We will catch him, and swallow him alive." But the iron canoe was gone, so they took the wooden one and set off in it. After a while it filled with water. "Why," said the old man, "you old one! cease passing water!" — "No," said his wife, "it is you who are passing water." They quarrelled for some time and then sank to the bottom of the sea.

The two fugitives arrived safely at their own place. The woman's head followed behind; but, on coming to the shore it turned into a big round boulder, which is there even now, and is called "Woman's Head." The canoe is also there; turned to stone. The double paddle is broken in two. Whoever passes by must give a sacrifice to the owner of the place, then he will be successful in love-suit not matrimonial.<sup>1</sup> The end.

Told by Nicholas Rupatcheff, a Russianized Yukaghir man, in the village of Sukharnoye, the Kolyma country, winter of 1896.

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<sup>1</sup> The stone canoe and the woman's head are said to lie on the Arctic shore somewhere near the mouth of the Baranikha River, east of the Kolyma River, in a part of the country at present uninhabited. The natives say that in former times, before the coming of the Russians, a considerable village stood here, but at present there are no visible traces of it.—W. B.



## 25. THE BIG PIKE.

They say, in the district of Shigansk, near the Lena River, there is a lake. In that lake are some monstrous pikes, such as are able to swallow a man or even a reindeer. One time a big elk went there to drink, and the pike caught him by the muzzle. They fought, but neither was the elk able to drag the pike out of the water, nor did the pike succeed in drawing in the elk. So they both perished. Their bones were found in the shallow water. The cheek bones of the pike were used for a small hut which gave shelter to one man.

One time a chief officer of the country ordered a large iron hook to be hammered out. He baited the hook with elk brisket, and tied it to a strong cord plaited of three lines of tough elkhide and let it down into the lake under the ice. After a week, they went back to the lake and found that the pike had been caught. It was so heavy, that ten men could hardly pull it up. The strands of the cord snapped, until only one remained. They attached a team of twelve dogs to the line and continued to pull. The head of the pike came up to the ice; but the ice hole was too small, though they worked upon it for two days. The head butted against the ice, and the last line snapped and the pike was lost.

Another time they caught a pike, and found in the stomach fragments of a canoe which it must have swallowed together with the paddle.

A man traveled in a canoe on this lake. One time he cast his nets, and waited near them for a very long time. Then he looked down under water and he saw a big round eye, to the left of his canoe. He looked into the water to the right, and saw another eye, like the first one. They were the eyes of the big Pike. The distance between the eyes was about the length of the double paddle of the canoe. He was so badly frightened, that he paddled off, leaving behind him his fish nets; but the giant fish remained motionless, just as pikes are accustomed to do. The man came to the shore and brought a sacrifice to the whole family of pikes. After that he refused to eat of the flesh of pike, and so he was nicknamed Pike John. His descendants are still living. Their family name is Pike.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole, in the village of Pokhotsk, Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

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<sup>1</sup> In Russian ЩУКИНЪ. This name is quite common, and much in use also in European Russia. For giant pikes living in certain lakes, compare also the Chukchee story in Bogoras, "Chukchee Materials", No. 31, 129.—W. B.—Ainu (B. Piłsudski, *l. c.*, 232).—F. B.

## 26. STORY OF THE FISH-WOMAN.

There was a man who lived alone and was poor and destitute. He had no fish nets, nor even a single fish hook. So he went to the merchants, asking for a hook. The first and the second merchant gruffly refused him. A third one gave him an old hook, without point. He took it and prepared a long fishing-rod for it. Armed with this, he went every day to the sea to angle. He was fishing the whole day long, and caught nothing. The next day likewise he caught nothing. The third day he cast his fishing rod, and could not pull back the line, it was so heavy. "Ah!" thought he, "it must be some large fish." He pulled at it with all his might, and at last he brought to the surface Shérkala,<sup>1</sup> the fish-girl. "What is it?" said he to himself. "Is it my good luck, or is it my bad luck?" He was ready to throw her back into the water; but then he bethought himself, and said, "I am very poor. I can lose nothing by it, let me take her home!" He took Shérkala home and laid her down in the corner of his house. The next morning he went fishing again. He caught nothing at all; but when he came home, his house looked quite festive. Everything was well cleaned and in good order; a good meal stood ready on the table; but nobody was there, and the Shérkala-Fish lay in the corner just as before. From that time on everything continued in that manner. He caught no fish; but somebody kept the house in good order, and cooked excellent meals of nothing. When he stayed at home, the dinner would not appear, so that he was obliged to go out every morning. One day he pretended to depart; but, instead of going away, he lay down on the earth bench close to the window. He lay there very quietly; but after a while he lifted his head and looked through the window. The Shérkala-Fish arose as far as her tail, and then turned into a young pretty girl. She ripped up her own belly and took out fish-roe, which she put into the kettle. Then she swept the floor and put everything in good order. The man suddenly rushed in and caught the fish skin of Sherkala, which lay on the floor. He threw it into the fire, and it was burned. "What have you done," said the girl. "We lived so happily, and now I must go away." She fell down and melted away into sea water. The end.

Told by Innocent Korkin, a Russianized Yukaghir man, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

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<sup>1</sup> In Russian Шеркала. Compare this very curious fish tale with that of the Koryak (Bogoras, in Jochelson, "The Koryak" (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 6, 292), also with Indian tales of a similar character (Bogoras, "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia, as compared with that of Northwestern America," (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 4, 1902), 658.—W. B.



## 27. YUKAGHIR MANNERS.

In former times, the Yukaghir acted in the following manner. When the grave-box of a member of their own kind decayed on account of extreme age, they gathered the dry bones. They prepared a bag of harlot skin, and put the bones into it. That done, they built a small storehouse on wooden supports, in which to keep the bones. The bag of bones served them as a means of divination. In their hunting pursuits they wandered about in various directions. As soon as they were ready to depart, they spoke to the bone charms, "See grandfather! answer us! How is our present hunting trip going to turn out?" With this they would try to lift the bag. Whenever it felt heavy, it was a sign that the hunt would not be successful. The grandfather advised them not to go. Sometimes it felt so heavy that it was impossible to lift it from the ground. That foreboded misfortune and possible death, and they would stay at home. Another time, on the other hand, the bag would feel lighter than a feather. This foreboded good luck, and they would start off merrily.

The same was done when they wanted to go to Russian settlements for trading purposes. "Eh, grandfather, what is going to happen to us?" Sometimes the signs would urge them on, and at other times it would make them desist. Another day they would be ready to depart; but the "grandfather" would forecast ill luck, so that they would stay at home. After three or four days, they would go to the bag; and the "grandfather" might have changed his mind, and feel quite light when lifted. This meant that the bad influence had passed, and they went forth to resume their enterprise. In due time they would come back from their hunting; then they would visit the "grandfather," taking him the best morsel of meat and fat, marrow and blood soup, also tea and sugar, tobacco, and hard tack. They would put all this into the bag. About midwinter, it might happen that the people would lack tea or tobacco; then they would go to the "grandfather" for a loan from his stores. First of all, they would ask him, "Eh, grandfather, will you let us have a loan from your stores?" and then they would lift the bag. Sometimes it would consent, and feel quite light. Another time it would refuse the loan, and feel heavier than lead. Then they would go back empty-handed.

Every house and family had such a bag as their own protector. They would bring sacrifices to it, and it in turn would defend them and keep them in good condition.

My uncle told me one time how his "grandfather" saved him from an



evil spirit.<sup>1</sup> One summer my uncle went in a wooden canoe down the river to inspect his deadfalls. He came to his autumn fishing place, where he had a hut with racks for drying fish. He wanted to get some fishing nets from there. When he was entering the hut, he heard something stir behind him; and on looking back he saw a "fright" coming. He nearly lost his senses. What was to be done? The return was cut off, and there was no chance to run ahead. Moreover, his feet nearly refused to serve him. All at once it came to his mind that his "grandfather's" house was close by. So he rushed to it, climbed the ladder, tore open the door, and fell across the sill. "O granny! save me!" After that he remembered nothing. He came to himself late in the evening; and, lo, he was lying in the place of the bag of bones, and the "grandfather" lay close to the door and across the sill. The bag had moved the man to its own place, lain down near the entrance, like a sentry. My uncle felt quite uneasy, "Ah, grandfather!" said he, "What is to be done? Shall I go? I am sorely afraid. Please give answer! I will lift you. In case you want me to go, be light like feather down; but in case you want me to stay for safety, please be heavier than cast iron!" He tried to lift it, and it was lighter than a cobweb. "Oh, you permit me to go." He put down the bag, and put it back to its former place. Then he went down to the bank of the river, boarded his canoe, and paddled off. The "fright" never came back. So he reached home without any hindrance.

Told by Nicholas Vostryakoff, a Russianized Yukaghir man, in the village of Omolon, in the Kolyma country, summer of 1900.

## 28. A STORY OF MACHEKUR.

Machekur lived with his wife Machekur-woman.<sup>2</sup> Their neighbors were three Mice-Girls. The old man used to pay them frequent visits. Finally, the old woman grew angry, and said, "Cease going there! They will do something unpleasant to you." The old man, however, paid no attention to these warnings. One time the Mice-Girls offered him some fat pudding, made of fish-roe mixed with oil. He ate so much that he could not eat any more, and fell asleep. They took a large bladder and fastened it to the old man's anus. He awoke and went home, and on account of the quantity

<sup>1</sup> In Russian creole *чудинка* (literally, "phantom"), or also *пужанка* (literally, "fright"). Both these words are unknown in European Russian though they are clearly of Russian origin.—W. B.

<sup>2</sup> In Russian *Мачекуръ* and *Мачекуриха*. This tale represents only one of the well-known episodes of the story of Raven and the Mice. I give it here because of the names Machekur and Machekur-Woman, which have replaced the usual *Kutq* (*Ku'rgil*) and *Miti*. Perhaps these names belong to some Yukaghir version of the story.—W. B.

of oil he had swallowed, he had diarrhoea. So he would sit down and try to defecate; but when he stood up, no faeces were to be seen on the ground. In the meanwhile, after three or four attempts, he felt something heavy attached to his buttocks. He went to his wife, and said, "Machekur-Woman! I tried to defecate, but it seems in vain, for I saw no faeces on the ground. Meantime I feel as if my intestines had gone out of my anus." "Sit down!" said the woman. But he remained standing. "Sit down!" she again shouted, and he was much frightened, and flopped down upon a bench. The bladder burst, and the faeces flowed around. The end.

Told by Mary Korkin, a Russianized Yukaghir woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

## 29. THE MOUSE AND THE SNOW-BUNTING.

There was a Mouse and a Snow-Bunting. Winter came, the coldest season of the year. Mouse gathered plenty of provisions, stacks of roots, and heaps of grain; but Snow-Bunting gathered much less of everything. She found that the snow fell too thick, and the cold came too early. Then Mouse coiled herself up in her warm nest; but Snow-Bunting did not prepare her hut for the winter, and felt cold. Snow-Bunting came to Mouse, and said, "I should like to live with you." — "All right!" said Mouse, "then leave your cold hut and come over to my nest!" Snow-Bunting went to live with her.

The next morning Mouse brought a root for her breakfast, Snow-Bunting did the same. At dinner time Mouse brought a few grains and Snow-Bunting did the same. At supper time Mouse brought a root, Snow-Bunting did the same. Then Mouse said to Snow-Bunting, "Why, sister! I have plenty of provisions, and you have much less than I. Moreover, my provisions are of better quality than yours. At present, however, the days are short, let us feed on your provisions! Afterwards, when the days are longer, we will feed on my provisions." Oh, Snow-Bunting was very glad! "I am willing." She brought her provisions, and continued bringing them morning and evening, until everything was spent. A month passed, then another month. Snow-Bunting said to Mouse, "Now, sister, I have nothing more." — "All right!" said Mouse. She opened her storehouse. At first she brought the breakfast, then she brought the dinner and also the supper, for Snow-Bunting and for herself. A week passed, and Mouse felt annoyed thinking that she had to share her food with Snow-Bunting. Therefore, the next morning she brought a root for herself, and for Snow-Bunting nothing. About dinner time she brought some seeds for herself, and for



Snow-Bunting nothing. Then Snow-Bunting cried from grief. "Why, sister, you are acting unfairly toward me. You eat all by yourself, and give me nothing at all." — "Ah, the deuce!" said the Mouse, "I give you lodging, and now I must also feed you! If that is the case, I will drive you out into the cold. Snow-Bunting cried, more grieved than ever, "Ah, sister! even if you do not give me food, at least do not drive me out from a warm place!" So they continued to live. Mouse continued to eat of her provisions and Snow-Bunting ate nothing, and became very lean,—mere bones without flesh, a soul without a body. Perhaps she might have starved to death, had not the month of March come in, as good chance would have it, mild and quiet, and brought unusual warmth, the bright sun shining from a cloudless sky. Some bunches of grass and hillocks became bare of snow; so that Snow-Bunting could go there at mid-day and look for grains left from the preceding year, and peck at the berries safely hidden under the snow. At last summer came. The ice in the rivers broke up and then came all kinds of birds, large and small. The birds alighted on the lakes, rivers and sea. On the shore of a lake, in thick grass, lived a toad, which was a transformed girl, the daughter of a prince, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Nicholas Kusakoff, a Russian creole, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

### 30. A CHRISTMAS STORY.

It was in olden times that some girls went to wed the snow.<sup>2</sup> They came to a water-hole, sat down, and traced a magic circle all around themselves upon the snow. They were seated on a bearskin. One of the paws of the skin projected accidentally beyond the circle, but not one of the girls noticed it. All at once the skin under them began to move. The water in the water-hole bubbled as in a kettle, and something made its appearance out of the water. They were horribly frightened and rushed away. Nearest to the river stood the small house of an old woman. She was pious and wealthy. She had among other things a great number of saucepans, large and bright, made of solid copper. She met them in the entrance, and

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<sup>1</sup> This pretty tale is used as a kind of introduction to the well-known story of a young prince who married the transformed Toad-Girl. I omit the story itself, however, which treats throughout of princes and princesses, and has nothing whatever to do with the life of northeastern Asia.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> It is a kind of old Russian divination, practised on Christmas Eve or Twelfth Night. Young girls "wed the snow," and, according to the marks left on the snow by their fingers, foretell the future chiefly in reference to their possible marriage during the coming year.— W. B.



ordered them immediately to put the saucepans on their heads as caps. Then they sat down and waited. After a few moments the door was torn open, and in rushed a large stove, all of black iron, breathing fire from all its openings. All at once all the saucepans were pulled down with great violence. That done, the phantom departed. Most certainly the saucepans had been mistaken by it for the heads of girls, so the girls were saved. That is all.

Told by Mary Dauroff, a Russian creole woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, summer of 1896.

### 31. STORY OF A FOOLISH WOMAN.

Once upon a time, there lived a man who had a foolish wife. He beat her and chastized her in every way, but could do nothing with her. One time he said to himself, "Let me test her! Perhaps she will become more sensible." He had some deadfalls in the woods, and some fish nets in the water. He said to her, "Let us go and have a look at them!" They set off. The man examined a deadfall, and found in it a hare; then he found in a fish net a large barbot. He put the barbot into the deadfall, and the hare into the fish net. That done, he called his wife. They came to the deadfall, and she saw the barbot. "Oh, oh!" said the woman, "how is it now? Barbots are caught in deadfalls!" — "So they are," answered the man. They came to the fish net, and the hare was caught in its meshes. "And how is this?" said the woman. "Hares are caught in fish nets!" — "So they are," answered the man.

They went back to the village, and passed the chief officer's house. Some cows in the stable were lowing loudly. "Who is that crying?" asked the woman. "It is the chief officer," said the man. "His women flog him most mercilessly." — "Poor thing!" said the woman, "he cries so vehemently," — "Why, he feels pain, therefore he is crying."

They came home and found a treasure of silver money. "Mind," said the man, "do not tell any one about it, lest it should be taken from us." After a while, they had a quarrel. The woman grew angry. She went to the chief officer and told him everything. The chief officer gave immediate orders to bring the man. "Why, you scoundrel! you found a treasure and told me nothing of it." — "What treasure?" said the man. "I swear, I found nothing!" — "You did, you did!" said the woman. "You are crazy," said the man. "When did I find the treasure." — "Ah, when? Just at the time when we caught a barbot in a deadfall and a hare in a net." — "What did you say?" asked the chief officer, much astonished. "Yes, yes!" repeated the woman, "at that very time, when the women flogged

you in the stable. You cried most vehemently." The chief officer grew angry and turned her out of the house. Her husband gave her a severe thrashing.

However, she was in no way down-hearted. She ill-used the man worse than ever. "It is because you buy no good clothes for me," repeated the woman, "therefore the people set little value by me, and even turn me out of their houses; and when I pass on the street, no man greets me with as much as a bow." — "Why, you thrice fool!" said the man, but she would not stop at all. "Tomorrow is a holiday," said she, "buy me a new dress, or I will give you no rest or quiet." — "All right!" said the man, "I will buy you a new dress, very costly. You may put it on and go to church." — "What dress, what dress?" insisted the woman. "Be quiet!" said the man. "It is too late now. Go to sleep. Early in the morning I shall bring you that precious dress." She went to sleep. The man went to the stable and slaughtered a young bull. He took off the skin in one piece, horns and hoofs, muzzle and tail, and everything withal. This he carried home for his wife. Early in the morning the bells tolled for morning service. The woman jumped up and nudged her husband. "Get up, will you! Where is my new dress?" — "I will bring it presently," said the man. "Ah, here it is! The woman wanted to strike a fire. "O don't!" said the man, "listen to the bells! You must hurry! Come here! I will help you dress." So he helped her into the bull skin, and then sewed it up. He put the horns and the tail in their proper places. "Now you look quite well," said he. "Be off to church!" She hurried on, like a cow walking on her hind legs. Whoever met her fell down with fright. "Ah," said the woman, "see how they bow to me this time!" She came to the church, and pushed aside all the people with those heavy hoofs. She gored all the ladies,—the wife of the priest, and the daughters of the chief officer,—and took her place in front of all, close to the priest. All the people looked at her and were much frightened. Women ceased saying their prayers, and clerks and chanters stopped singing. The priest came out and said to them. "What is the matter with you? Why did you stop singing?" Then he saw the woman. "Oh, oh! is it the Devil. Who is there with horns and tail?" The people meanwhile one by one backed out of the church. The priest took the censer and tried to expel the Devil. He put plenty of incense into the censer and filled the whole church with dense smoke. The woman sneezed violently, and muttered, "Too much honor, too much honor!" Then she left the church and went home. "Ah!" said she, "this time it was just as I wanted it. The people gave me the best place, in front of all; the children on the street fell down before me; and the priest in the church never ceased bowing before me, and he filled the whole church with clouds of incense in



my special honor." The husband said, "You are not my wife, you are a cow. Your talk is like the lowing of a cow." He put a halter on her neck and led her into the stable. There he tied her to a post, took the heavy horsewhip that he used on the old bulls and stallions and flogged her with all his might. He cut the bull hide into strips, so severely did he flog her. He chastized her so long that she swooned; then he let up and poured cold water over her head. After that he flogged her again, so that she swooned a second time. At last the whole bullskin fell from her body in mere shreds. "Now you are again a woman!" said the man, and he led her back into the house.<sup>1</sup>

Told by John Sukhomyasoff, a Russian creole, the clerk of the church in the village of Nishne-Kolymsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

### 32. STORY OF THE FOREST DEMON.<sup>2</sup>

There was a forest-being, a hairy man, who lived in the woods and roamed about the country. He married a Russian girl and had a son by her. The boy grew up and in his turn married and had two children. One time he said to his wife, "My father calls me to his place, but I do not wish to go. Let us rather go away from here." He took a barrel of alcohol (a barrel holding three pails<sup>3</sup>), and they set off. They went throughout the day, and came to a dense forest. He said to his wife, "This evening my elder brother will come to fetch me; but I shall not go. Probably you will hear a noise and clatter in the night time. Be sure to stay in the tent! Not a single look outside, nor the faintest call!" He drank from the barrel as much as one pail, then he went out. The woman remained in the tent, but could not sleep. At midnight she heard much noise and clatter, but she did not dare to look out. In the morning, however, she went out. All the trees around the house had their bark peeled off and their branches were broken off. Her husband was sleeping on the bare ground, very tired. They moved off. In the evening he said to his wife, "This time my eldest brother will come to fetch me. I shall obey him as little as I did the other one. You must keep in the tent and wait until morning." He drank another pailful of alcohol and went out. At midnight she heard louder noises than before, shrill whistling, clapping of heavy blows, and the thud

<sup>1</sup> See Bolte und Polívka, *l. c.*, vol. 1, 527.— F. B.

<sup>2</sup> In Russian ЛѢШИЙ which means also the master of the forest. Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 285.— W. B.

<sup>3</sup> A Russian "pail" is equal to 2.70 gallons. A barrel of three pails forms one side-pack of the usual load of the pack horse.— W. B.



of falling branches. In the morning she went out. All the trees had been cut down to the very roots, and her husband was lying on the ground, half dead and senseless. She nursed him and dressed his wounds, until he came to. The next evening he said, "This time the old one will come; and even if he should murder me, I shall not go with him. Keep this well in mind. If I am killed, do not stay here in the forest; take our children and go away to your own father." He drank the last pail of alcohol and went out. In the middle of the night, the woman heard noise and clatter ten times worse than the two previous nights. Even the tent was torn from its supports and carried away. They fought the whole night long and then throughout the day, and the whole of the following night. This time it was the woman who lay like dead. After sunrise she came to and looked up. Nearby was a big larch tree, as thick as a man can embrace. The old forest-demon wound his son around the tree as he would a strip of leather. In this position he left him dead and disfigured. The woman took her children and went back to her father. The end.

Told by John Sukhomyasoff, a Russian creole, the clerk of the church in the village of Nishne-Kolymsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

### 33. STORY OF TRANSFORMED BEARS.

Two bears, male and female, swam across a large river. The current was so strong that it caught them and carried them on. The male bear succeeded in getting ashore, but the female was drowned. The male bear waited on shore for the body, and then dragged it up to a safe place. A Christian hunter was wandering about there. In the evening he stopped for the night, made a fire, and prepared some tea. All at once he saw a large male bear coming toward him. He caught up his bow; but in the bright light of the fire he saw that the bear was weeping like a man, so he laid down his bow and waited to see what would happen. The bear lay down near the fire and did not move. Early in the morning, with the first gray light of dawn, the bear arose and approached the man. He tugged at him with his paw, and nudged him, wanting him to get up. Then with his head and muzzle he indicated the direction in which he wanted him to go. The man was afraid, but at last obeyed the bear. They came to the river. The body of the female bear was up on shore, hidden in some moss. The bear pulled it out of the moss up to the middle of the breast, and then looked up at the man. He pushed her right foreleg upward with his muzzle and in every possible way tried to explain his desire. At last the man understood that the bear wanted him to skin this leg. He took off the skin, and on the

second finger of the paw, under the skin, was a gold ring with engraved initials on a seal. The bear ordered him to take off the ring and put it on his own finger. After that the bear dug a hole in the ground. It looked like a grave and the man helped him. The two worked together. The man dug with his ax and the bear with his mighty claws. When the grave was ready, the bear brought a number of tree trunks and arranged a framework within the grave. Then he lay down before the man, breast upward. He roared most piteously and stretched out his paws. He wanted the man to kill him and to bury them both in the same grave. He showed likewise with his paws that he wanted to have his breast bared. The man refused at first; but the bear was so insistent, that he gave in and stabbed him with his knife. He ripped up the skin of his breast, and saw a gold crucifix fastened to a thin silver chain, finely wrought. He took this off, and then buried both bears in the same grave. The name of the male bear was engraved on the chain. They were two lovers of the merchant class who used to meet in the form of bears; but one time, for some unknown reason, they were unable to assume human form again. That is all.

Told by John Sukhomyasoff, a Russian creole, clerk of the church, in the village of Nishne-Kolymsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

IV. CHILDREN'S STORIES.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. STORY OF AN OLD WOMAN AND HER THREE DAUGHTERS.

An old woman had three daughters. One was Stone-Scraper, another was Scraping-Board, and the third was Whetstone. The old woman sent Stone-Scraper to the Bad Merchant. She said, "Go to him and ask him for some food." Stone-Scraper said, "I will not go." Stone-Scraper refused to go. The old woman gave her a flogging, and said to Scraping-Board, "Go to the Merchant." Scraping-Board said to Stone-Scraper, "Let us go together!" They went out, and stood for some time outside. Then they came back. They did not enter the Bad Merchant's house. They said to their mother, "The merchant was not at home." She sent Whetstone, "Go to the Merchant, ask him for some food." Whetstone went out, and also stood for some time outside. Then she went back, "Why did you come so soon?" cried the mother. "He is not at home." The old woman went herself, and said to the Merchant, "Were my girls here, have they lied to me?" He said, "They were not here." She went back and gave them a thrashing. She flogged Whetstone to death, and sent the other back to the Merchant. They went and stood at the door, without speaking. "What do you want?" said the Bad Merchant. "Go away!" So they went. They told their mother, "The Merchant drove us away." She grew angry, ran to the Merchant and reproached him with tears. "Why did you drive away my little girls?" — "They had nothing to do here," said the Merchant. "And now I will drive you away too. Be gone!" She went home. There she sat down on her bed and cried bitterly. She cried for a long time, then she jumped up and killed both her daughters. She struck them on the head with a club. After that she sat down again on the bed and cried more bitterly than before. She took her knife and stabbed herself through the heart. That is all.

Told by Annie Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl aged twelve years, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, winter of 1896.

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<sup>1</sup> The children of Russian creoles and Russianized natives (chiefly girls) in the Kolyma country have their own stories, which they relate to one another. These stories are mostly simple, short, full of reiteration. They consist partly of the usual folk-tale material, and partly of the details of real life. The latter is the case with this story. It is sad to think that young girls should compose stories exhibiting such dejection of spirit; but I must say that episodes like this fully correspond to the circumstances of life of the lower people in the Kolyma country, of Russians as well as Russianized natives. On the other hand, it is possible that all these incidents of hungry children choked to death by the first morsel swallowed, old men and old women dying or killing each other, etc., represent elements of a cycle of stories more ancient than the advent of the Russian, and belonging to the Yukaghir inhabitants of the country. — W. B.



## 2. STORY OF KUNDARIK.

There lived an old man and an old woman. They had a little son, whose name was Kundarik.<sup>1</sup> One evening they made a fire in the house and noticed that somebody was sitting on the roof, close to the chimney-opening. It was Yaghishna. They were much frightened, but Yaghishna said, "Give me your boy, otherwise I shall swallow you." They ran off, leaving the boy who was sitting on the window-sill. Yaghishna called, "Kundar, where are you?"—"I am here in the house." She entered the house, but he was not there. "Kundar, where are you?"—"I am here, outside the house." She went out, and he was not there. She took the woman's scraper and the whetstone and wanted to kill him with them, but he turned into an ermine and fled. She went in pursuit, and soon overtook him. Then she said, "O my boy! I want to defecate." He answered, "Heretofore, when father wanted to defecate, I used to bring from the woods a big elk head, and we would defecate all around it." She said, "All right! bring it here." He went into the woods and brought back a stump with many roots which were sharp-pointed like so many spikes. "Here it is." She seated herself over the stump; but just then the boy pushed her over so that she fell back and was impaled on one of the roots. Then the boy ran off again, but Yaghishna followed him, stump and all, and, overtook him. Then she said, "I want to sleep." The boy answered, "When father wanted to sleep, he would dig a hole in the ground and sleep in that."—"All right! Dig a hole for me." For three days they dug the hole, the boy with his knife, and Yaghishna with her nails. The hole was deep, just like a grave. Yaghishna descended into the hole, and soon was snoring loudly. When she was fast asleep, the boy began to cut down green wood, and he threw it into the hole. In a very short time he had covered Yaghishna quite well, and she could not get out. After that he fled to his father and mother, and they continued to live together. That is all.

Told by Mary Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

## 3. STORY ABOUT YAGHISHNA.

There lived an old man and an old woman. They had a small girl still in her swaddling clothes. They swathed her tightly and put her upon the bed. Then they heard Yaghishna coming. They were frightened, and ran

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<sup>1</sup> Kundarik or Kundirik (in the Anadyr), a small bird (*Acanthis exilipes*) (cf. p. 139).—W. B.

off, leaving the girl behind. Yaghishna came in shuffling over the floor with her bristle-soled frozen boots.<sup>1</sup> She seized the old man and the old woman, but forgot to take the girl. Then she came back and felt with her hands on the bed. She found the girl, put her into the corner behind the chimney, and covered her with a large dish. Yaghishna kindled a large fire, then she put a cast-iron frying-pan upon the fire and said aloud, "O girl! get up!" And the girl got up. Then she said again, "Take off your swaddling clothes." And the girl did so. "Now, come here!" And the girl went to her. She slapped her upon the face, and asked her, "For what did your mother bring you forth?" — "She brought me forth to carry water for you."—"I am strong enough. I shall carry it myself." She gave her another box on the ear, and asked again, "For what did your mother bring you forth?"—"She brought me forth to chop wood for you." — "I am strong enough. I shall chop it myself." She gave her another box on the ear, and asked the same question, "For what did your mother bring you forth?"—"She brought me forth to make fire for you." — "I am strong enough. I shall make it myself."

She put out the fire in the chimney, leaving only one small spark. Then she said, "Stay here and watch this spark. If it should go out, I shall tear you in two when I get back home." She prepared to go away, and warned the girl. "Keep house and take good care of everything. You may open and visit all the storehouses. There is only one which you must not open. It is the one tied with a bark thread and sealed with excrement. This storehouse is forbidden to you." Yaghishna flew away. The girl thought, "Why should I not examine this storehouse?" She went straight to it, tore off the bark thread, and broke the excrement seal. The storehouse was filled with charmed reindeer, neither living nor dead. She led all these reindeer out of the storehouse, and tied them one after another to a long heavy line. Then she pulled in one end of the line and threw it across the river. It flew off and carried her along with it. She dragged the reindeer across, and waited for Yaghishna. In the evening Yaghishna came home, and saw the storehouse open and empty. She went to the river, but the girl was on the other side. Yaghishna asked, "You opened my storehouse?" — "I did," said the girl. "You took my reindeer?" — "I did," answered the girl. "You fled across the river?" — "I did," still answered the girl. "And how did you do it?" asked Yaghishna eagerly. "I drank up all the water and dried up the river," said the girl. Yaghishna stooped down and drank of the river. She drank and drank, and became full like a water-bag; but the river still flowed on, as before. "I shall cross," said Yaghishna angrily. "Ah! it is too sticky here." Indeed, the river bank was

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee", 239.— W. B.



covered with slime. "Say! what did you take hold of when you left this bank?" — "I took hold of a tree and then of a bush, and last of all of a small weed," said the girl. Yaghishna caught hold of a weed, and it broke off. She fell into the water, and her belly burst. A stream of water came out of it and carried her off to the middle of the river, and downstream. "Ah, ah! help me out!" cried Yaghishna. "No, I will not," answered the girl. Then Yaghishna shouted to the girl when passing by:—

"Take my head for your cup,	"Мою тебѣ башку на чашку,
Take my fingers for your forks,	Мои тебѣ персты на вилки толсты,
Take my joints for your supports,	Мои тебѣ суставы на подставы,
Take my buttocks for your mortar,	Мою тебѣ жопу на ступу,
Take my legs for a stone-scraper handle,	Мои тебѣ ноги на камень-деревы,
Take my backbone for your scraping-board."	Мою тебѣ спинну костку на скобелъну доску."

Told by Mary Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 4. STORY OF HUNGRY CHILDREN.

There lived an old man and an old woman. They had two sons and two daughters. They sent the younger daughter to get provisions. "Go to the roof and bring the reindeer leg that is there." She brought it. They took off the skin, broke the bone and extracted the marrow. They put it on a plate and ate it. Then the old woman sent the younger son: "Go and bring the reindeer tongue that is outside." He brought the tongue. They cut it up small and ate of it. One morsel stuck in the throat of the younger daughter, and she died. The mother cried much. Then she sent the elder boy to get from the roof the remaining food; but he found nothing there, and came back empty-handed. The mother cried more bitterly than ever, "How shall we live now? We have nothing to eat. The old man said, "Do not be afraid! We shall find something. Till now we always have found something." He went into the storehouse and found a piece of bread. He brought this to his wife. She was very glad, and ate it. The children, however, whimpered again, "Mother, we are hungry!" She said, "I have nothing. Go ask your father." They went to their father. "Father we are hungry!" The old man was furious. "I have nothing at all for you! Go away!" The younger boy cried louder than the others, so the father caught him and gave him a flogging. "I have nothing. Go and look in the storehouse!" He took the other boy and gave him a flogging. The old woman seized the oven rake and struck the old man on the back. He fell



down and died. The night passed. In the morning the children awoke, but the old woman slept on. They wanted to waken her, but were unable to do so. One of them took up an ax and struck her on the loins. The old woman was cut in two. After that they cried again; but the older boy said, "Why do you cry? We did it ourselves, so there is no reason for crying." The younger boy quarrelled with him, until he took him by the neck and thrust him into the oven which was burning brightly. He shut the door, and the younger boy was burned to death. The little sister cried, so he put her too into the burning oven. She tried to creep out, but he struck her on the head. Then he said, "Now I am left alone. I will go away from this place." Then he saw a cloud of dust coming down the road. It was Yaghishna. She came to the house and entered it. Then she took that boy by the nape of his neck. With her large knife she struck him on the head. The head jumped off and rolled away. Yaghishna went home. So they have lived till now, but get nothing good whatever.<sup>1</sup> The end.

Told by Mary Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

## 5. STORY OF FIVE BROTHERS.<sup>2</sup>

There were five brothers. Two of them were walking about, and saw on the trail some wolf's tracks, quite fresh, but covered with a little snow. They were frightened, and hastened home; but their three brothers were not there. They sat down on the bed and cried bitterly. Then they went out and saw someone coming. It was their eldest brother. They hugged him and kissed him. Then all three fell down senseless. A snowstorm came and covered them up. They almost ceased breathing. The eldest one, however, succeeded in getting up. He crept home, but a blast of wind carried him off to the river. Then he fell down again, and became senseless as before. He was frostbitten all over and as cold as ice. The wind was so strong that it broke the ice on the river. All the ice moved onward down the river, and the eldest brother moved with it. The other two were also there. They were nearly dead. The ice crumbled to pieces. They fell

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<sup>1</sup> One of the usual final refrains of the Russian folk-stories: The most frequently used are: "They live and live and get much of the good." (*Живутъ, поживаютъ, добра наживаютъ*); "They lived and lived, and live till now." (*Жить да быть, до теперева живутъ*). But in northeastern Asia, with the ill-starred creoles, the first refrain changed to a negative "They live and live, and get nothing good whatever." (*Живутъ, поживаютъ, никакого добра не наживаютъ*).—W. B.

<sup>2</sup> I am not sure that this story belongs to the children's cycle. It looks much more like some mutilated version of a longer story of considerable interest. To my regret, however, I could find no other version of it.—W. B.

into the water, and were rocked to and fro by the waves and at last carried to the shore. There was a steep bank, where the flow of the water rushed by with great force. They were dragged to the bank, and then under the wall of earth overhanging the water. It fell down on them and nearly buried them. They were carried off however, back to the open water. The river was now free of ice. Two boats were paddling by; and all at once the bow of one of them split and the boat filled with water. The paddlers had to swim for their lives. Everything floated to the surface and the boat sank to the bottom. In ten days the river froze again. The three brothers who had been buried by the fall of earth and carried off by the water were frozen into the ice. They stuck there quite firmly, and stayed there until spring. In the spring the ice began to melt from the heat of the sun. The three brothers melted with it. One of them opened his eyes and looked up. His eyelashes were full of ice. So he died again, worse than ever. That is the end.

Told by Mary Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 6. STORY ABOUT A CRAZY OLD MAN.<sup>1</sup>

There was an old man and an old woman. The old man was a good hunter: so he filled three large storehouses with the game he killed. One storehouse was full of reindeer and elks, another of seals and walrus, and a third was full of fish. They had plenty to eat. One morning he awoke, and said to his wife, "Listen, old woman! I dreamed last night that we were going to die. If this is so, then there is no need of all these stores of food. I want you to go to the first storehouse and throw all the food out to the ravens and the crows." The old woman refused; but he was so angry that she finally went and did as she was bidden. She worked all day long, and was very tired. Then she went back to the old man. The next day she emptied another storehouse; and the next day she emptied the third one, and threw all the fish back into the water. "Let us swim off," said the old man. The fish, however, was dead and dry, so it could not swim. The following morning they awoke quite early. Neither was dead; and, moreover, both felt very hungry, but all their food was gone. "Ah!" said the old man, "You, old woman, go to the storehouses and look among the rubbish. Perhaps you will find some scraps." The old woman really

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<sup>1</sup> This story is based on one of the episodes of the well-known story of the Raven Kutq.—W. B.



found some scraps, and brought them home. A few of them were reindeer meat, others were seal blubber, and a third kind were some heads of dried fish. They put all this into a large kettle and prepared a soup. They ate of it. All at once a fly settled on the brim of the kettle. Oh! both felt alarmed. The old woman seized her culver-tail, and the old man a hatchet, and both attacked that nasty fly. The old woman struck at it with the culver-tail, and overthrew the kettle. The old man threw his hatchet at it, but the hatchet hit the old woman and broke her head. She fell down dead. The old man ate the remainder of the soup, and a fish bone stuck in his throat of which he also died. The end.

Told by Marie Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 7. STORY ABOUT TWO GIRLS.

There were two girls. They had plenty to eat, and knew nothing bad. One time they were walking about, and saw some men on horseback ride by. They went home, and found five men in their house, before the burning fire. "Who are you?" — "We are people from the Upper Land. We came from on high, and Yaghishna is also coming. She is not very far off." — "Ah! we are afraid. Take us along!" — "How can we take you? Our horses are few, and we are too many for them." Indeed, only two horses were tied to the posts opposite the entrance. The girls cried from fright. Meanwhile Yaghishna came. She took both girls and laid them down on the ground. Then she struck them with a big knife; but the knife could not cut them, and not a single wound was inflicted upon either of them. She raised her knife again; but one of the girls snatched it out of her hands, and struck her directly in the heart. She died. The girls started for home. They arrived there and wanted to have some tea. They prepared it, and were going to drink it. The elder sister said, "I am very hungry. Go and look in the storehouse. Perhaps you will find at least a dried fishskin." Indeed, she found a piece of fishskin, and they ate of it. In the meantime they heard the clattering of hoofs outside. They saw horses that were breathing fire, and that sought revenge for the death of Yaghishna. They struck at the girls with their iron hoofs, and trampled them down; but they could not inflict upon them even the slightest wound. So they went away, all covered with foam and even their breath of fire was extinguished.

The girls wanted to thank God for their salvation. The elder one took a thin wax taper and wanted to light it; but with the taper her own finger flamed up. She was burnt to death, and her sister with her. That is all.



They live and live, and get much that is good. I visited them recently. They washed their house.

Told by Mary Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 8. STORY OF THE TOM-CAT AND THE COCK.<sup>1</sup>

There lived a Tom-Cat and a Cock. The Tom-Cat went to fetch fuel, and ordered the Cock to bake pancakes. Meanwhile there came a She-Fox and sang:—

“O Cock, my Cock! let me in!  
We two shall play with little gold rings.”

But the Cock refused to let her in. Then she sang again:—

“O Cock, my Cock! the golden crest,  
The battered head, the silken beard,  
Permit me at least to warm one single nail.”

The Cock felt compassion, and pierced with a needle a little hole in the window-skin. The She-Fox thrust her nail in through the hole, and tore off the window-skin. Then she caught the Cock and carried him off through the window. The Cock sang aloud:—

“O Cat, my Cat!  
The Fox is carrying me off  
Beyond the dark forest,  
Beyond the high mountains,  
Beyond the white rocks,  
Beyond the round lakes.”

“Котъ, мой котъ,  
Несетъ меня лиса  
За темныя лѣса,  
За высокія горы,  
За бѣлыя каменья,  
За круглыя озерья.”

But the cat heard nothing and the Cock cried again:—

“O Cat, my Cat!  
The Fox is carrying me off  
Beyond the dark forest,  
Beyond the high mountains,  
Beyond the white rocks,  
Beyond the round lakes.”

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Kolyma version of the well-known Old World story. Among the Russians of Europe several versions of it are known, mostly in rhymed prose. The Kolyma version is also in rhymed prose; but its form seems to be more ancient, and some of its details are not without interest.— W. B.

The Cat heard this time, and chased the Fox. He swung over her head his mighty sword, but she slipped into her furrow and was gone. So the Cock went to market and bought for himself a fine dulcimer. Then he came to the Fox's house, and sang thus:—

“Jingle, jingle, my fine dulcimer,  
 My golden one, my sonorous one!  
 Are you at home, O my red fox!  
 In your warm nest?  
 The first daughter of yours is the Small-Stuffed-One,  
 The second daughter is Palachelka.<sup>1</sup>  
 The son is Valorous.<sup>2</sup>  
 He went up the sky  
 Clap my little staff  
 At the oaken door-sill.  
 Bring me, O fox!  
 An oven-baked cake.”

“Брянъ, брянъ, гусельцы,  
 Золотыя, звончатыя,  
 Дома ли лиса красна  
 Во тепломъ гнѣздѣ?  
 Перва дочь Чучелка,  
 Другая Палачелка,  
 Сынъ хороберъ  
 Подъ небеса ушелъ.  
 Стукъ черешекъ  
 О дуеовый порожокъ:  
 Подай, лиса,  
 Подовый пирожокъ.”

So the Fox said to the Small-Stuffed-One, “Go and give him this oven-baked-cake.” She went with the cake, but he struck her on the head and killed her.

“He hid the carcass under the sand,  
 And the little skin under a heavy stone,  
 Lest the people see anything.”

А куреньгу подъ песокъ,  
 А кожишку подъ тяжелый камешокъ,  
 Чтобъ люди не видали.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this name is unknown. Both names are of local, probably Yukaghir, provenience.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following line are probably inserted from an ancient conundrum. “The mother is thick, the daughter is red, the son is valorous, went up the sky.— Oven, fire, smoke.” (Мать толста, дочь красна, сынъ хороберъ, подъ небеса ушелъ).— W.B.

Then he sang again:—

“Jingle, jingle, my fine dulcimer,  
My golden one, my sonorous one!  
Are you at home, O fox!  
In your warm nest?  
You are  
Quite fair of face,  
But your husband is unfair.  
Clap my little staff  
Upon the oaken door-sill,  
Bring me, O Fox!  
An oven-baked-cake.”

“Брянъ, брянъ, гусельцы  
Золотыя, звончатыя,  
Дома ли лиса  
Во тепломъ гнѣздѣ?  
Она сама  
Лицомъ красна,  
У ней мужъ не хорошъ.  
Стукъ черепокъ  
О дубовый порожокъ.  
Подай, лиса,  
Подовый пирожокъ.”

“Ah,” said the Fox, “go, Palachelka, and give him this oven-baked cake.” She went with the cake but he killed her likewise. Then he sang again:—

“Jingle, jingle, my fine dulcimer,  
My golden one, my sonorous one!  
Are you at home, O fox!  
In your warm nest?  
You are  
Quite fair of face,  
But your husband is unfair.  
Clap my little staff  
Upon the oaken door-sill,  
Bring me, O Fox!  
An oven-baked-cake.”

“Ah!” said the Fox, “Go, little Cock, and give him this oven-baked cake!”

The Cock went with the cake, but the Tom-Cat caught the Cock and hurried back to his home.<sup>1</sup> He gave the cock a sound thrashing. “Another

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<sup>1</sup> According to another version, likewise from the Kolyma, the Tom-Cat killed also the mother Fox. He found the Cock firmly frozen in a block of ice, lying in the corner. He broke the ice, and thawed the Cock's body before the fire. The Cock came to life, and crowed lustily.— W. B.



time, whoever comes, you must not forget to keep the door tightly closed." After that they lived happily.

Told by Mary Shkuleff, a Russian creole girl, aged fourteen, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.

#### 9. STORY OF ELK'S HEAD.

There were an old man and an old woman. They had one daughter. They said to her, "Go to the roof and bring the elk's head." She brought the elk's head. They chopped it up small and cooked it in a kettle. They ate of it, and in one day they finished it. Then they said again to the girl, "Go to the roof and bring the mare's tongue." She brought the tongue. They cut it up small, and then fried it in a frying-pan. Then they wanted to eat of it; but the first morsel stuck in the throat of the girl, and she fell down, with the rattle of death in her throat. The old man and the old woman cried for grief, but the girl soon died. The old woman cried so much, that she brought forth a boy. The old man felt joyful, so he wanted to celebrate the birth. He kindled a large fire, and went to the roof to get a leg of elk; but before he came back, the old woman had died along with the boy. The old man was frantic with grief. He cried at first; then he struck the old woman, and said, "Why did the 'black ruin' take you this time? You never even felt slightly indisposed." The old woman was so angry, that she jumped up, struck the old man on the head, and died again. The old man fell down and scattered all around in their ashes. The end. They lived and lived, and live till now, but get nothing good whatever.

Told by Marie Dauroff, a Russian creole girl, aged fifteen, in the village of Nishne-Kolymsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1896.

#### 10. STORY OF A SMALL GIRL.

There was an old man and an old woman. They had no sons or daughters so they prayed to God, and he sent them a son. He grew up quickly, and was useful in their household work. One morning they ordered him to start a fire. He climbed to the roof and pulled the skin stopper out of the chimney. Then he kindled the fire, and it flamed up brightly. He wanted to put the teakettle on the burning coals; but the kettle was set awry, and reclined to one side. Some of the scalding water poured out on the boy's hand. He let go of the kettle, and it was nearly overthrown. The father and the mother grew angry and gave him a severe spanking. "In vain was

it that we prayed to God for you. Better were it if we had prayed for a little girl." The old woman wanted to put the kettle in order, but she could not even move it from its place. Then the boy put the teakettle upon the hearth, at a safe distance from the fire. The old woman said again, "Bring some wood. We will cook the elk head." He brought the wood and the elk head, and she cooked it; but the head remained tough, however long she cooked it. Meanwhile the old woman did not feel well. She lay down on the bed and brought forth a girl. This girl grew up in a couple of days, and was able to work. The old man said, "Thank God, we have a girl now! She shall work for us and do everything." Again the girl cooked the elk head, and when it was done they ate of it; but the boy had a bone stick in his throat, of which he died. The old man and the old woman cried from grief, and repeated, "Ah, ah! we have a girl now, but the boy is gone." — "It was you, old fool! who complained of the boy," said the old man to his wife. After that he went chopping wood, and in his grief he cut his foot. He came back to the house; and the old woman said, "I always knew you were very clumsy." He grew angry, and struck her neck with his ax. Both fell down and died. The girl also died. The end.

Told by Kitty, called the Lamut girl, a Russian creole girl, aged twelve, in the village of Nishne-Kolymsk, summer of 1896.

#### 11. STORY ABOUT YAGHISHNA.

There was a young girl. She walked about, and saw two boys coming. She shouted to them, "Who are you?" — "We are your brothers." — "And where are you going?" — "We are going to your house." She sat down on the ground and sank through it. The brothers came to the house, and cried bitterly. Then they went down the road the girl had descended before them. They came to the girl, and cried again, "Why should the earth refuse to carry you? You are probably too clumsy to walk upon it." She felt very angry. Therefore, she jumped up to the earth's surface, and struck both boys on the face. Then she went home. Not a single piece of wood was left there. The two boys, while crying, had burnt up all the fuel, to dry their tears before the fire. She left the house and went away. After a while she met Yaghashna. The she-monster said, "I want to take you for my daughter. Would you like to be my daughter?" "I should like it on one condition." — "What is that? Speak!" — "On condition that you die very shortly." Yaghashna was very angry, and struck her face. "If I die shortly, I want no daughters." She first slapped her right cheek, and then the left,— and flew away snorting with anger. The girl fell

down and was scattered about as gravel. After a while Yaghishna came back. She looked for the girl, but she was not to be found. Only some gravel lay scattered all around. "Is it you?" But the gravel was silent. "Who made you fall down?" The gravel was dumb. That is all.

Told by Annie Korkin, a Russianized Yukaghir girl, aged fourteen, in the village of Pokhotsk, the Kolyma country, summer of 1895.



## V. MARKOVA TALES.

1. LAMUT TALE.<sup>1</sup>

There was a Lamut man, who traveled about looking for a wife. One time he found a stone in the likeness of a person. He took it home and put it near the fireplace. He awoke in the morning, and said to the stone, "There, wife, cook some food!" Since the stone never stirred, he got up and cooked the food himself. Then he went off to look for game. He came back in the evening, and said again to the stone, "Wife, cook some food!" But since the stone never stirred, he cooked the food himself. He awoke next morning, and, lo! the stone wife was cooking food. They lived together as husband and wife.

After a while he went to a river and walked along the bank. He felt thirsty; he found a water-hole and stooped down. When about to drink, he saw a girl down below, who was combing her long glossy hair. "Ah, come here! let us play!" She came out, and they played shooting at each other with bow and arrows. At last he looked up. The sun was already setting. "Ah! it is late. I must go home. He went home, but his wife pouted at him. "Why are you so late? Before this you used to come in time." — "I have been tracking a fox." The following morning he arose early and went to the river. The water girl was already down there in the water, combing her hair. "Come along, let us play!" They played again till sunset. When he came home, his wife was very angry. "Why are you so late?" He gave no answer, thinking of the girl, and promising himself, "Tomorrow morning I shall get up still earlier." The wife, however, caused a heavy sleep to fall upon him. Early in the morning the stone woman arose. She put on her husband's clothes, took his bow and arrows, and on snowshoes went to the river following her husband's tracks. She came to the water-hole and looked down. The girl was there, combing her hair. "Come along, let us play." — "Ah! my heart is in a flurry. I feel as if we had never played before." — "Oh, nonsense! Well, at least come up a little! Let me have a look at you." The other one appeared out of the water up to her armpits. Then the stone wife shot at her and pierced her breast with an arrow. Blood spurted from her breast and from her back. The girl dropped back, and the stone woman returned to her home. She

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 21.

put her husband's clothes in their former place, also his bow and snowshoes. Then she removed the sleeping-spell from him. He jumped up, and saw that the sun was already high up in the sky. He took his bow, put on his snowshoes, and hurried to the river. The girl, however, was not to be seen. "Ah!" said he with many lamentations, "she is no more! I do not want to stay here either." He jumped into the water and sank down. His ears rustled, his body tingled all over. Then he found himself in a new world. He found a beaten track, and walked on. After a while he came to a city. All the houses of the city were covered with black calico. Apart from the others stood a little house in which lived a little old woman. He entered. The old woman asked, "Where do you come from?" — "I am from the other world. What has happened here! Is anybody sick? Why all this black calico?" — "Our chief's daughter is sick. Somebody hit her with an arrow." — "I want to heal her." The old woman hurried to the chief: "A man has come to our city who offers to heal your daughter." The chief ordered that the visitor be brought in. As soon as he entered the house, the girl moaned aloud, "Aah!" He touched the arrow, and in a moment she was dead. Then he asked for some men's clothes. These he put on her body, and on himself he put her clothes. "Well, father and mother, take your last farewell. I will watch the body all by myself." After sunset there came two young birds, two spoonbills. Two high larch trees stood there. The spoonbills alighted on the trees.

"O sister! get up!  
Let us play, and let us flutter about!"<sup>1</sup>

"O sisters! I cannot play,  
I cannot flutter.  
O sisters! my wings are broken,  
My feathers fell down."

"O sister! who broke your wings?  
Who plumed your feathers?"

"O sisters! he who broke them.  
He lies down like one dead."

The spoonbills alighted on the ground, and turned into young girls. They came to the one who was dead. The first girl blew upon her, the second girl spat upon her. Then she jumped up, and exclaimed, "Ah, ah, ah! I slept very long! Now I am up again." "Ah! without our aid, you would have slept forever." They stayed there till the following morning. When

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<sup>1</sup> In Russian this is a kind of rhymed prose.

the other people awoke, they carried her to her parents. The mother immediately fell in a swoon. She came to herself only in the evening, and they married the girl to the visitor. They lived together. One time he said, "I want to visit my former wife." As soon as the stone wife saw him, she jumped up. "Ah! my husband is coming, my husband is coming!" She whetted her teeth, ready to bite; but the man strung his bow and shot her. She fell back. "Ah! so it is. I wanted to devour you, but you got ahead of me." He built a great fire and burned the woman. Then he went back to the water girl and lived with her.

Told by Anne Sosykin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

## 2. A LAMUT TALE.

There was a Lamut camp. An old Lamut had three daughters, who were not married. Another family made their camp nearby. I do not know whether they were men or spirits. They attacked the Lamut, and killed all of them. The three sisters fled. The strangers dried the flesh of their victims. They split the bones and extracted the marrow. The sisters were very hungry. The oldest one said, "I will go to them. I am very hungry. Perhaps they will not kill me."

They bade her welcome and offered her meat. It seems, they gave her flesh of one of her own people, for she could not eat it. The master of the house was the shaman of the camp. In the evening he said to his wife and the visiting girl, "I will sleep this night with both of you." So they lay down side by side. The shaman copulated first with the one, then with the other. When they lay there tired, the girl asked the mistress, "Do you live on the flesh of those Lamut people?" — "It is so," she answered. The shaman suddenly jumped up. "Ah! my heart is throbbing. It forbodes something." — "What does it forbode?" asked his wife. "Is there anybody stronger than you are?" — "Lie down!" said the guest, "since you are my new husband." He lay down. The guest asked again, "Eh, sister, do you ever suffer from any illness?" — "Never," answered the mistress. "In the valley down there is a reindeer that belongs to my husband. Its liver is full of reindeer fly maggots. Whoever gets this liver kills all of us. This is our only fear." — "Ah, sister!" answered the guest, "it is time to sleep."

Soon they slept. The Lamut woman crept out of the tent. She took the bow and arrows, put on her snowshoes, and went to look for the reindeer. She saw it in the valley, close to a group of larch trees. It was



spotted, and its antlers stood upright. She tried to approach, but it ran away. At last she came within range of it and killed it. Then she opened it and extracted the liver. It was full of maggots. She destroyed these one by one. Soon there was heard a great lamentation from the camp of the invaders. "Arai, arai."<sup>1</sup> She came to the shaman's tent. He jumped up; but when she destroyed the largest maggot, he fell back dead. Then she went to her sisters. "Ah, sisters! I have killed them all." — "How is it possible?" said the sisters. "It is not true." — "Indeed, let us go and look at them!" They arrived at the camp. All their enemies were stone-dead. They carried out the bodies, and took everything in the camp for themselves. The end.

Told by Anne Sosykin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

### 3. YUKAGHIR TALE.

There were two sisters. One time they walked about and met Kose-tóka.<sup>2</sup> The first sister saw him, and immediately let herself fall down, pretending to be dead. He came to her and investigated the body. He found an aperture in the hind part, and said, "Ah! this is the wound." Then he put his finger into the wound and smelled of it. "Ah!" said he, "bad odor. Probably she was killed long ago." Then he stooped down and smelled of the pretended wound. "Too bad!" said he, "I will not eat of it."<sup>3</sup> The other sister was deaf, and did not hear his words. All at once she looked back and saw the monster. "Ah, ah!" said he, "this is fresh meat. I will cook some of it for today." She retorted, "Better let us go and have a little play! After that you may eat me." They went to a lake which was frozen. "Let us have our play here on the ice." The woman had two round stone scrapers concealed in her bosom. "Here, sister! what shall we play!" asked the monster. The woman put her hand into her bosom and took out one of the scrapers. This she jerked out suddenly, and threw it on the ice. It rolled down with much noise. "Ah sister! you have there some very nice playthings." — "You also have similar playthings between your legs. There are two of them. You may tear off one and throw it on the ice." He put his hand between his legs and roared with pain. "Quick!" said the woman, "tear it off and throw it down!" He threw his testicle

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<sup>1</sup> In the Lamut language, "Alas, alas!" — W. B.

<sup>2</sup> The narrator said that this was a Yukaghir "bad spirit." She knew nothing more about this spirit. — W. B.

<sup>3</sup> See references in Boas, "Kutenai Tales" (*Bulletin 59, Bureau of American Ethnology*), 296, No. 16. — F. B.

down on the ice. It made a shuffling noise and stuck to the ice. "Ah, ah!" roared the monster, "now it is your turn!" The woman jumped up and jerked out the other scraper. Doing this, she also roared feigning great suffering. "Go along! It is your turn now!" — "Ah, sister! it is too painful." — "For shame, I, a woman, can stand as much." He tore off the other testicle, and immediately fell down on the ice. He was dead and the woman ran home. "Ah, ah!" said she to her sister, "I have killed him. We tried a new game, all of my own invention, and I killed Kosetóka." The end.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Anne Sosykin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

#### 4. A MARKOVA TALE.<sup>2</sup>

There was an old man and an old woman. The old man used to catch hares and bring them to his old woman. She cooked them, and they ate together. One time the old man brought a fat reindeer. The old woman jumped for joy. "Ah, the fat reindeer!" She skinned it and dressed it and chopped it; and then she put some of it into a large kettle, which she hung up over the fire. The meat was nearly done. Then the old man said to himself, "This old woman will consume all my meat. Eh, old woman, fetch some water!" The old woman took a pail and went down to the river. The old man in a moment secured the door on the inside and waited in silence. The old woman came back and could not open the door. "What is the matter with this door?" — "Oh, nothing! I have fastened it on this side." — "Why did you do so?" — "Oh, I was afraid you would eat all my fat meat." The old woman climbed to the roof. "Old man, I put the foot of a hare behind the chimney. Please throw it out to me." He did so. The old woman took the foot and went away. After some time she grew weary and sat down to rest. A magpie was flying by. "O magpie! please tell me where there are human people." — "I will not tell you. When you lived with the old man, each time that I wanted to perch on the fish racks, you would hurl sticks at my head, I will tell you nothing."

The old woman went on and after a while sat down again. A raven was flying by. "O Raven! please tell me where there are human people." — "I will not tell you. When you lived with the old man each time I wanted

<sup>1</sup> See notes in Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology" (*Thirty-first Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1916), 680.

<sup>2</sup> This tale like some others, was indicated as a real Markova tale, in contrast to others which were indicated as Lamut, Yukaghir, or Chuvantzi tales, or again, as Russian tales coming from Russia. It represents, however, a mixture of elements, Russian and native.—W. B.



to perch on the fish racks you would hurl lumps of earth at my head. I will tell you nothing. He flew off, and the old woman went on. After a while she sat down to rest. A snow-bunting flew past. "O, Snow-Bunting! please do tell me, where there are human people." — "I will tell you. When you lived with the old men and whenever I perched upon the fish racks, you would do nothing to me; and when you were dressing fish for drying, you would leave for us some pieces of roe and liver. Follow me, I will show you the way."

The snow-bunting flew away, and the old woman followed. After some time she saw a village. She entered one of the houses. The people bade her welcome, and gave her shelter and food. After the meal they said, "O old woman! we have prepared a couch for you on which you may sleep." The next morning they gave her a goose, because they had a plentiful supply of wild and tame geese. They also showed her the way. She went on and came to other people. "Old woman, this couch is for you. Go to sleep." She looked around, and saw that these people owned many swans: so she said to them. "Please give my goose a place among your swans." Next morning she asked them, "Where is my little swan?" — "How is that. Did you not have a gosling?" — "No, I swear I had a little swan. I call God and the King to witness that I had a young swan." So they gave her a swan. She took it and went on until she came to other people who had plenty of does. "Please put my swan among your does. It wants to be among your does." They put it among the does. The next morning she asked, "Where is my doe?" — "Why, mother, you had a swan." — "No, I swear I had a doe." They gave her a doe and she went out. The next time she slept she stole a sledge and a reindeer-harness. She attached the doe to the sledge, and, seating herself on the sledge, drove on, singing lustily,<sup>1</sup> "On, on, on! Run along the track, harness not mine, on without stopping! Other man's sledge will never break down." An arctic fox jumped up. "Here, granny, take me along on your sledge!" — "Sit down, you S — of a B —, your anus on the stanchion!"

She drove on. A wolverene jumped up. "Here, granny, take me along on your sledge!" "Sit down, you S — of a B —, your anus on the stanchion."

They drove on. A bear jumped up. "Here, granny, take me along on your sledge!" "Sit down, you S — of a B —, your anus on the stanchion!" The bear sat down on the sledge and it broke. "Oh, goodness! Go and bring me some wood. I will repair the sledge." The arctic fox went and fetched a rotten log. "That is good for nothing," said the old woman.

<sup>1</sup> In Russian all this is rhymed prose, though this rhymed version is somewhat different from the usual rhymed versions of the latter half of this tale as known in European Russia.— W. B.



The wolverene went and brought a crooked pole. "That is good for nothing," said the old woman. The bear went and fetched a whole tree forked at about the middle. "That is too bad," said the old woman. She went herself, and meanwhile they devoured the doe and ran off. The old woman came back, and there was no doe, nor any of her companions. So she left the sledge and went back to the old man. He had eaten his reindeer, and was catching hares again: he took the old woman back and they lived as before. The end.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Anne Sosykin, a Russianized Chukchee woman, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

## 5. A MARKOVA TALE.

There was a duck who called herself White-Cap. She asked her granddaughter to louse her. "O granny! there are no lice on your forehead, but plenty on the back of your head." — "Géte, géte!" said the old woman in duck language. "There are none on the back of the head, but quite a good many on the forehead, géte, géte, géte!" — "O granny! Why do you talk like that? You never did so before." — "Géte, géte, I always talked like the gray geese that pass high above me. They made me lose my wits, géte, géte, géte!" The girl was frightened and ran away.

For some time she remained alone, then she felt lonely and sat down on a high stone. A snow-bunting perched on a cranberry-bush. The girl asked it, "What do you want?" — "Pitititi do you feel warm?" — "I do feel warm." — "Pitititi, why do you not bathe in the river?" — "I am afraid, lest I should drown." — "Pitititi, why do you not hold on to a willow." — "I am afraid to get a splinter in my palm." — "Pitititi, why do you not put on mittens?" — "I am afraid, lest they should be torn." — "Pitititi, why do you not mend them?" — "I am afraid the needle might break." — "Pitititi, why do you not sharpen it?" — "I am afraid the whetstone might split, and brother would blame me."

"What is your bed?" — "A dogskin." — "What is your pillow?" — "A dog's neck." — "What are your spoons?" — "Dog's paws." — "What are your forks?" — "Dog's claws." — "What is your kettle?" — "A dog skull." — "What is your sledge?" — "Dog's cheek-bones." — "What are your ladles?" — "Dog's shoulder blades." — "What are your titbits?" — "Dog's tongue." — "What are your cups?" — "Dog's teeth." — "And where is your fire?" — "A jay passed by and extinguished it." — "And

<sup>1</sup> See Bolte und Polívka, *l. c.*, vol. 1, 293; vol. 2, 147.— F. B.

where is the jay?" — "It flew away to the mountain to peck at the larch gum." The end.

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

#### 6. A MARKOVA TALE.<sup>1</sup>

There were three brothers. One was Grass-Leg, another was Bladder, the third was Little-Finger. One time they ate blood-soup. Little-Finger saw some marrow, and wanted to take it; but he fell into the soup and was drowned. Grass-Leg wanted to help him, but in his hurry broke his leg, seeing which, Bladder laughed till he burst of laughter. Their father went and asked his wife, "Where are our children?" She told him. He was so angry that he killed her. The end.<sup>2</sup>

Told by Katherine Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi girl, twelve years of age, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

#### 7. SISTER AND BROTHER MARRIED.<sup>3</sup>

There was a sister who wanted to marry her brother. One time while the brother was out hunting she sewed a new tent cover and prepared new poles also. Then she dug a long underground passage away from their house, and at the end of it she pitched her new tent. She said to her brother, "A strange woman has come to our camp. You should marry her. After that I will go away." He said, "Better stay with us." — "No, I will go and look for a husband; but you must go and visit that woman." As soon as he was gone, she changed her clothing, and arranged her hair in a different manner. Then she dived into the underground passage and made off to the new tent. There she sat down and when her brother came in he saw her working on skins. He went back home; but she was there before him, and put on her former dress. She asked him, "Did you see her?" — "Yes, I saw her. She looks very much like you." — "Don't be silly! Women are alike, just like larch-cones; you hesitate too long. Marry her, the sooner the better. I will go and look for a husband."

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<sup>1</sup> This tale is met with in European Russia in several versions. Some details, however,—for instance, blood-soup with marrow in it,—belong to northeastern Asia. See also p. 144.—W. B.

<sup>2</sup> See Bolte und Polívka, *l. c.*, vol. 1, 135, 204.—F. B.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bogoras, "Chukchee Materials", No. 59, 171.—W. B.

The following morning he went to the woman's tent, and spent the whole day there. He paid his suit and married her. The sister pretended to go away, but she had gone to the new tent and stayed there. There they lived. In due time she brought forth a boy, who grew up and became able to shoot. His father made a bow and arrows for him. The boy shot at a Snow-Bunting, which grew angry, and said to him, "You good-for-nothing! do not shoot at me! Better think that you are the child of a brother who married his own sister." The boy went to his mother, and said, "The Snow-Bunting is abusing me. It says that I am the child of a brother who married his own sister." She only said, "Do not say that to your father!" When the man came home, the boy wanted to tell him; but just as he began and said "Father!" his mother gave him a spanking and drove him away. This was repeated several times. Then the father took notice and said, "Wife! bring me some wild sheep meat." She went to the storehouse. Then the boy began again, "Here, father!" — "What is it, child?" — "Snow-Bunting said to me that I am the child of a brother who married his own sister." — "Ah, ah!" said the father. He took his big ax and ground it well on the whetstone. Then he hung it up just above the entrance. He laid a spell upon it and said to the ax, "If she is really my sister, fall down and split her head." The woman entered smiling; but, as soon as she had shut the door, the ax fell down and split her head. So she died, and he prepared for her funeral. They lived on, he and his boy. The end.

Told by Anne Sosykin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

#### 8. A LAMUT TALE.

There was a man or perhaps a Monster. He prepared a fish trap of willow, and made a weir across the river. He put the fish trap in a suitable place and waited for the catch. After a while he listened, and heard the fish trap whistle. "Eh, fish trap! are you whistling?" — "Yes, I am whistling because the water runs through me." After a while he asked again, "Eh, fish trap! are you choking now?" — "Yes, I am," said the fish trap. So the man drew out the fish trap, and it was full of the choicest fish. He constructed a drying rack, and hung up the fish. Then he asked again, "Eh, fish trap! are you choking?" Again he pulled out the fish trap, and it was full of the best fish. Thus he worked for nine days. He built nine fish racks and filled every one with the precious fish. Then he built nine storehouses and stored his dried fish in them. After that he began to live on the fish. The first day he consumed one storehouse full. The second



day he finished the second storehouse. Thus in nine days he was through with all his stores of dried fish. Then he said, "I have nothing to eat, so I will go and try to find a dwelling."

He walked about, and after a while saw a village. He felt full of joy. "Oh, now I shall have a meal!" Then he sang aloud, "Nia'hu, nia'hu, there live some people! I shall have a meal, and I shall have much joy from it!" Some Lamut boys were kicking a football. A needle case shouted from within a work bag, "Take care! The Monster is coming. Hear him roar!" "What do we hear! It is you that roar." And the Monster sang again, "Nia'hu, nia'hu, there live some people!" They heard his voice, and ran away. Only the needle case was left among the offal. The Monstrous old man came to the village and passed from house to house. Not a soul was there. Only a gray jay was skipping from one drying rack to another. "Here, grandfather! come play with us! Let us have a skipping-match!" — "I cannot skip." He skipped once and once again. The third time he tried he broke one of his legs. He drew out a small knife and cut off his leg. "See here!" said the Monster, "my marrow is quite fat." At that moment the Needle Case jumped up from the heap of offal and sang, "Goldiá, goldiá, nesoyá, koroyá. The monstrous old man has broken his leg! Ub-čub, čub!"<sup>1</sup> "Oh, oh! stop your shouting! Take this little knife." "I do not want it." "Then take a little marrow of this bone." — "I do not eat it, Ub-čub-čub!" As soon as the people heard his voice, they came with knives and axes and attacked the Monster. Some struck him with axes, some cut him with knives. At last they killed him. They turned the body over and examined its back. They found that a long whetstone had entered his anus fully a foot. The end.

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, winter of 1900.

## 9. A YUKAGHIR TALE.<sup>2</sup>

There was a Yukaghir man and his wife. He was exceedingly lazy. He was all the time lying in his tent, and did not want to go out. The woman chopped the wood and looked after the traps and snares. She also

<sup>1</sup> These words represent probably an imitation of Lamut talk, though they have no particular meaning. The last word, ūbču, is in the Russian-Chukchee-Lamut trading jargon, and means "food," to "eat."

<sup>2</sup> The tribal name "Yukaghir" is mentioned in the title as well as in the text of this tale. Still the unknown words occurring in it were indicated as belonging to the Chuvantzi language, though nobody was able to translate them. The Chuvantzi may have been a branch of the Yukaghir. (Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 18).— W. B.

prepared their food. He would lie on the skins in the tent. She would come home and cook the dinner. Then she would ask, "Will you eat?"—"Why! If I must! čeméčina!"

One time the woman went out, and saw somebody coming. It was Yaghishna, the unclean idol.<sup>1</sup> The woman came back, and sang out:—

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke.  
Čomúnda galúnda  
Bátkina déka  
Comúnda ritéka!"

"Oh!" said she, "old man, there comes Yaghishna!" He remained lying down. She went out again, and the female enemy was already nearby. She entered again. "Oh, she is here! Get up, old man! or I shall leave you." He remained lying there, as before. The third time she entered, and sang out:—

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke,  
Bátkina ta'lik  
Čomúnda ričálik!"

"Oh, there, old man! get up! She is at the door. "Ah!" said he, "I shall get up and čeméčina, I shall put on my breeches and čeméčina, I shall put on my coat and čeméčina, I shall put on my boots and čeméčina, I shall take my quiver and čeméčina, I shall take my bow and čeméčina, I shall take my arrow and čeméčina." So he got up, took his bow and arrows, and rushed out of the house. He tried to shoot at the monster, but all his arrows that hit her body rebounded as from hard stone. The woman sang again:—

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke,  
Čomúnda galúnda!"

"Old man, do not aim at her body: try as hard as you can to take aim at her anus, then you will kill her."

He had only one arrow left, so he aimed at her anus. The arrow pierced her, passed through the body, and came out at the mouth. She fell down like a big mountain. They ran to her, and chopped up her body with a broad spear and with an ax. The old woman said, "Old man! Let us pile up some wood. Let us burn her." They heaped up a pile of wood. Then they put her on top of it and burned her up. They threw the ashes to all four winds. The old man went back into the tent and wanted to lie down. "Oh, old man! don't lie down! Oh, old man! don't lie down! Let us rather go and see whether she has left anyone behind in her house. They may come here and destroy us unawares."

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<sup>1</sup> Yaghishna, cf. No. 6 of the Kolyma tales, p. 52.— W. B.

They followed in her tracks, and finally found a house. They stole up to it. Nobody was stirring there. They found a chink and looked through it. The house was empty: so they entered and looked about. There was nothing of any use, mere rubbish and dirt. A large wooden dish stood in the middle of the house, bottom upward. The old man stumbled over the dish, and it turned right-side up. A number of small children jumped out of it, like so many peas, and ran about:—

“Oh, oh, máma ta kákača,  
Máma ta vákeca!”

They broke the heads of all of the children. Then they set fire to the house and went home. From that time on the old man became quite active. He went hunting and brought back food and clothing. They lived in good style and had everything desired. So they have lived up to the present time.

Told by Anne Pleskov, an old Russianized native woman, in the village of Vakarena, the Anadyr River, autumn of 1899.



## VI. ANADYR TALES.

10. A CHUVANTZI TALE.<sup>1</sup> (*Anadyr Version*).

There was a man, Látka by name, who had an assistant who was called Póndandı. When Látka died, his daughter remained alone with Póndandı. Póndandı worked for her as he used to do for her father. One morning she arose and saw that there was no fire in the house. She walked out, and saw the assistant sitting on the other bank of the river, quite motionless. "Eh, Póndandı, Póndandı, why do you not make a fire? We are cold." He said nothing, but sat as before, looking at her quite steadfastly. So she made the fire herself. "Here, Póndandı, fetch some water!" He did not stir. She went for water herself. "Here, Póndandı, cook some food! We are hungry." He paid no attention. She cooked the brisket of a wild sheep. "O, Póndandı, Póndandı! what do you want?" He did not answer. "Come and have a meal!" He did not stir. She ate all alone, and went to sleep. The next morning she went out of the house. He was sitting on the very same place, looking at her more steadfastly than ever. She herself performed all the household work, and said nothing to him. When all was finished, she called, "Ah, Póndandı, Póndandı! what do you want?" He did not reply. "Perhaps you want a handsome suit of clothes. I will prepare them for you." He sat as before without answering, looking steadfastly at her.

She had a meal and went to sleep. The next morning she looked at the river, and he was sitting there as before. "O Póndandı, Póndandı! what do you want? Perhaps you want to take me for your wife?" He jumped up like a football, and danced about. After one tour he sat down again, and looked at her as steadfastly as before. She said nothing until the next morning. Then she went to the river, and said:—

"O Póndandı, Póndandı!  
If you want to marry me,  
Go and kill a big brown bear  
For a blanket for me."

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<sup>1</sup> This tale is probably of Chuvantzi provenience. It is remarkable from the fact that some fragments of verse have been arranged in the form of an old Russian lay, although the life it describes is of native color. In the Kolyma country this tale has been transformed into a similar lay, more coherent in character, used chiefly as a lullaby. See No. 11, p. 138.—W. B.

He jumped up and danced about, and then started off like an arrow. She said to herself, "Oh, let him go! - Perhaps the bear will devour him, and I shall be rid of him." The next morning she went to the river, and Póndandı, was sitting there as before. "Ah!" thought she, "he is still alive." But when she came back to her house, a big bear's carcass was lying near the entrance.

"O, Póndandı, Póndandı!  
Go and kill a big elk  
For trimming my dress."

He jumped up again and danced off. In due time she went to sleep, saying to herself, "No he is surely dead." She arose in the morning and went to the river. Póndandı was sitting there, but a big elk's carcass lay near the entrance.

"O Póndandı, Póndandı!  
If you want to marry me,  
Go and kill a big mountain-sheep  
For our wedding roast."

He jumped up and danced off. She said to herself, "Now perhaps he will fall down the cliff and be killed." The next morning she went to the river. Póndandı was sitting there, and a big mountain-sheep carcass was lying near the door.

"O Póndandı, Póndandı!  
See there the big stone!  
Go and bring it here  
For our future children to play with."

He jumped up and danced off, "Ah," said she, "now the end is coming. The stone is too heavy. He will desist from his marriage projects."

The next morning she went out of the house; and a big mountain which had stood away back from the river had changed its place, and stood before the entrance.

"O Póndandı, Póndandı!  
If you want to marry me,  
Take a bow with arrows  
And shoot an arrow up to the sky,  
Then you must follow it,  
As swift as your arrow."

He jumped off and caught his bow. He strung it and shot an arrow up to heaven. Then he jumped upward and followed the arrow. She looked up and followed him with her eyes, until he was lost out of sight. She waited and waited, but he did not fall back, and never descended. "Ah," said she, "surely he fell down at some other place. No doubt he is dead." She went

to sleep, and in the morning she went again to the river. Nobody was there. "Ah!" sighed she, "it is all over," and went back to the house. At that moment, however, a man came driving a team of reindeer. It was Póndandı. He fell down somewhere among a big herd of reindeer: so he caught a pair of reindeer, and after attaching them to a sledge, he drove off. Now he arose from his sledge. He was quite handsome, and his clothes were fine. He entered the house and sat down on the bed of the girl.

"O you visitor!  
Do not sit down on my place!  
My bridegroom will come,  
And he will blame me."

"I am your husband," said Póndandı. "No," said the girl, "you are not. His coat is of the worst kind of skins, and he himself is no more than a snotty youth." — "If you do not believe me, come out, and I will prove it to you." They went out, and he showed her his former clothes and the skin of a snotty youth in the tree. "Look there!" said Póndandı, "down the valley. My father and mother are passing there with a few of their herds." She looked down, and the whole valley was alive with reindeer,—bucks and deer, and small fawns. The old people came nearer, and their herd proved much more numerous than the herd of the girl. They joined their herds and lived there. Látka's daughter married Póndandı. The end.

Told by Anne Chain, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, summer of 1896.

## 11. LAY OF BÓNDANDI.

(*Kolyma Version*).<sup>1</sup>

"Bóndandı, get up, get up!  
Go and kill an elk  
For our bedding,  
For child's coverlet.  
A boat comes from upstream  
With such nice girls,  
With such long-nosed ones!  
I saw the girls  
And hid in the cabin.  
The girls came there,  
They tugged at me,  
They pressed me down."

"Бонданды, встань, встань,  
Поди звѣря-то убей,  
Намъ на постельку,  
Дитѣ на одѣялку.  
Сверху карбасъ плыветъ.  
Таки дѣвки хорошія,  
Таки большеносыя.  
Я дѣвокъ увидалъ,  
Въ балаганчикъ ускочилъ.  
Пришли дѣвки,  
Стали меня дергать,  
Стали меня тискать."

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<sup>1</sup> Inserted here for more ready comparison.



“‘We girls we have come  
To cook fat soup for you,  
To pick berries for you.’  
He repulsed the girls,  
And hid in the cabin.  
The girls wept aloud,  
The girls whimpered low,  
They were much frightened,  
And cursed their luck,  
‘Bóndandı drove us off,  
Bóndandı drove us away.’”

“‘Мы, дѣвки, пришли  
Тебѣ кашу варить  
И по дгоды ходить.’  
Онъ дѣвокъ прогонилъ,  
Въ балаганчикъ ускочилъ.  
Стали дѣвки плакать,  
Стали дѣвки хинькать,  
Стали тутъ страститься:  
‘Бонданды выгонилъ  
Бонданды прогонилъ.’”

Told by Helen Dauroff, a Russian creole woman, in the village of Pokhotsk, winter of 1900.

## 12. STORY ABOUT KUNDIRIK.<sup>1</sup>

There was an old man with an old woman. One time they prayed to God, asking Him to give them a child. God granted their prayer, and they had a son. The old woman said, “What name shall we give to the boy?”—“Ah!” said the old man, “let us call him Kundirik.”

The old man went to hunt wild reindeer. When on the way, a bear attacked him and wanted to kill him. “O grandfather! spare me!” “Unless you promise to give me your son Kundirik, I shall kill all of you.” He promised to give him the boy and the bear let him go. The old woman saw him come covered with blood. “Ah!” cried she, “Pičini’č, pičini’č,<sup>2</sup> my husband is bringing reindeer meat!” “Do not make so much noise! It is my own blood. The grandfather wanted to kill me. O wife! he asked for our little Kundirik. Otherwise he said he should come and kill all of us.” The old woman cried much, then she prepared some dolls for the boy. She put him on the window sill, and put the dolls by his side. Then they left the house and departed forever. The Bear came, and entered. “Kundirik, where are you?” — “I am here, outside, playing with dolls.” The Bear went out, “Kundirik, where are you?” — “I am here, within, playing with the dolls.” He was on the window sill, now within, and now outside. The Bear broke down the wooden wall and seized Kundirik. “When we were traveling, father and I, he used to carry me on his shoulders.” So the Bear put the boy on his shoulders and walked along. They came to a big hole in the ground. Two poles of aspen wood were protruding from it, and a sleeping place made of green branches was arranged on them.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 2, p. 112, of the series of Children’s Stories.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> These words were indicated as belonging to the Chuvantzi language.— W. B.

"This is our sleeping place," said the boy. "We used to sleep here, father in the hole, and I on the branches." The Bear entered the hole, and immediately went to sleep. The boy gathered a number of heavy stones and brought them all to the edge of the hole. "Bear, Bear! are you sleeping?" — "Yes, I am. And are you?" — "I am not. My stomach is aching. I am afraid. I am going to defecate stones." Then he pushed the stones, and they fell down and hit the Bear. He was squeezed down, and his bowels came out of his belly. "Kundirik, Kundirik, help me get out! I will take you to your father and mother." — "No, I am afraid you will eat me up." And the Bear died.

Kundirik left him and went away. He saw a house and entered. In this house lived a man and his three daughters. The father awakened the daughters. "Get up, daughters! A stranger has come. Give him food and drink." — "Ah! let him look for it himself!" He refused to do so, but went out of the house and said softly, "Kundirik, Kundirik! let those girls' buttocks stick firmly to the flooring!" In the morning the girls wanted to get up, but the boards of the flooring were lifted along with them. "Ah!" said the father, "Something has happened. Go and fetch my old mother. She will give me counsel." Kundirik went to the old woman, who lived far off, and asked her to come. "Ah!" said the old woman, "you must first help me with my wraps." He wrapped her up. "Now you must help me to my sledge." So he carried her to the sledge. They departed. After a while she said, "Kundirik, Kundirik, now help me defecate." He put her down and took off some of her wraps. "Kundirik, Kundirik, now help me wipe my anus." — "There is a horse," said Kundirik, "go to him, he will clean you." She approached the horse. The horse seized her naked buttocks with his teeth and tore her in two. Out of her lacerated anus came a quantity of mice, ermine, spermophile, toads, grubs. Kundirik went to the old man, and said, "The old woman died on the way. She was indeed too old." The old man said to him, "Please find help for us if you can!" Kundirik promised to do so. He went out of the house, and called aloud, "Kundirik, Kundirik! let these girls be detached from the flooring!" He went back and said, "Get up!" and they were free. They gave him the youngest daughter in marriage. He took her along and went home. His father and mother were living in a small hut. A small fire was burning in this house. A small tea kettle was bubbling over the fire. His parents were full of joy, but he only knit his brows and said nothing. The same day he went back to his father-in-law, who was much better off than his own people. He slept there. In the morning he went out and called aloud, "Kundirik, Kundirik! let my father and mother come over here!" And there they were. After a while his father-in-law also went out and



saw the new house. "Ah, ah!" said he, "some new people have come here, together with their house." The end.

Told by Barbara Karyakin, a Russian creole woman, at Marinsky Post, the Anadyr country, fall of 1900.

### 13. A MARKOVA TALE.

The people of a village began to vanish, and nobody knew what happened to them. There was a shaman. He traveled through that country and came to the village. The people were quite sad and sorrowful. "What is the matter with you?" — "We do not know. Every night somebody vanished. We have tried to watch, but cannot discover anybody." — "Oh, is that so? Let me try to keep watch over you." Evening came, and it was time to go to sleep. The people were hiding in boxes and bags. "Oh, have no fear! I shall keep a vigilant watch over you." He took a sword and waited in the darkness. The people snored soundly, partly freed from their fear. All at once a black dog glided noiselessly in through the window and seized a workman, a fellow-traveler of the shaman. He struck the dog with his sword. The dog had torn off the man's one arm with the shoulder blade, and the shaman cut off the corresponding limb of the dog. In the hurry of the moment, the shaman took the limb of the dog and applied it to the body of the man, and it stuck to his body.

In the morning he saw that the new arm was not the leg of a dog, but a woman's arm, white of skin and with rings on the fingers. "Ah!" said the shaman, "let me try to find that dog." He went out and followed the bloody tracks. They led to the house of the chief of the village close to the church. It was the house of the parish priest. The shaman entered, and saluted the priest with civility. The priest looked sad, "Ah, my friend! please sit down! I am not able to treat you as is becoming. My wife is sick." — "Ah, is that so! And what is the cause of her suffering?" — "We do not know. She is alone in her room and does not want us to enter. All we know is that she is not well. Please do help her if you can!" The shaman went to the room of the patient. The entrance was locked; he said nothing and suddenly broke the door and entered.

The woman was lying on the bed well wrapped up in a thick blanket. He pulled that off, and she lay before them quite naked. Her right arm was gone, along with the shoulder blade. Close to her side lay the bloody arm of a man, which would not stick to her body. "Ah, here you are!" said the shaman. "Reverend father, it is your wife who destroyed half of the village. Had it not been for me, she would have taken you also." — "Ah, ah!"



exclaimed the priest, "Mother what is the matter with you. Now, I understand it. She would give me of her enchanted drink, so that I slept throughout the night like one dead, and she would steal away in the darkness." So they took her and tore her in two.

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, winter of 1900.

#### 14. STORY OF A STEPMOTHER AND HER STEPDAUGHTERS.

There was an old man and his wife. The old woman died leaving a single daughter. The old man sought another wife, and married a widow, who had a daughter of her own. This widow was a Yahga-Witch. The stepmother had a violent dislike for her stepdaughter. She used to strike her hard and gave her nothing to eat. One day she sent her to the water-hole to wash some old nets.<sup>1</sup> While the girl was washing it the swift current carried it away. She cried bitterly. Then she looked down the water-hole and saw a road. She descended and came to the lower world. She walked and walked, and then saw a horse stable. Several horses stood in it, and the place was quite unclean. So she cleaned it well, plucked some grass from under the snow among the tussocks, and brought it in for fresh litter. Then she continued on her way.

After a while she saw a cow barn. Several cows stood there. The barn was more filthy than the preceding one. She cleaned it well, and brought in some grass for fresh litter. Then she milked the cows and went away. After some time she came to a little house. It was so dirty that the rubbish covered the sill. She entered and cleaned the house. Then she made a fire and sat down on the bed. Sitting thus alone, she cried bitterly. All at once a noise was heard outside, and the shuffling of old feet clad in bristle-soled boots.<sup>2</sup> There entered a small old woman. "Ah, my dear! whence do you come?" — "I have no mother. The Yagha-Witch was very hard on me. She sent me to the water-hole to wash an old net, and the current of water carried it off. So I thought, 'She will surely kill me. I may as well descend to the lower world of my own free will?'" — "All right!" said the old woman, "you may pass this night in my house; and in the morning I will give you a net to make good your loss."

In the morning the old woman gave her a net made of pure silver and

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<sup>1</sup> Old nets are used in the households of the Russian and the Russianized natives instead of towels and napkins.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee", 239.— W. B.

also a small box with an iron cover. She said to the girl, "Give this net to the Yagha-Witch. She will thank you for it ever so much. You must keep the box for yourself. Everytime you feel hungry, you may call your father. Then open that box unseen by your stepmother. The box will give you food and drink." She took the presents and went home. She gave the silver net to the Yagha-Witch. Oh, the witch was so glad! She called her own daughter and gave her a piece of a new net, quite clean and white. Then she said, "Go to the water-hole. Perhaps they will give you something too."

The daughter of the Yagha-Witch came to the water-hole. She washed the net. The current carried it off. She looked down the water-hole and saw a road. She followed it and came to the lower world. After some time she saw the horse stable. Several horses stood in it, and the place was unclean. The girl grumbled, "Oh, what a filthy place!" and passed by. Then she saw a cow barn. Several cows stood in it, and the place was dirtier than the preceding one. She passed by with much aversion. After that she came to the little house. It was so full of dirt that the rubbish covered the sill. "Oh, what awful dirt!" said the girl. She entered, however, and she sat on the bed in the cold and among the heap of rubbish, singing lustily. The old woman came in, and asked, "Oh, my dear! where do you come from?" — "My mother sent me to wash a net, and the current carried it away. I looked down the water-hole and saw a road. I followed that road and came here." The old woman gave her a net, the very same she had dropped into the water-hole, and also a large box with a cover of larch wood. She warned her also, "Be sure not to open this box in the presence of anyone! You must open it only when you and your own mother are together." The girl went back and came out of the water place. "Mother," she called to the Yagha-Witch, "I have a box, ever so large." — "Do not open it, will you?" said the mother. They took the box and hid beneath a bush. Then she opened the lid. A flame came out and burnt them both. So they were destroyed. The old man and his daughter left that place and departed for the under world. They came to the old woman. The old man married her, and they all three lived together. The end.<sup>1</sup>

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman, in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, winter of 1900.

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<sup>1</sup> See Bolte und Polívka, vol. 1, 207.



15. STORY OF MAGUS.<sup>1</sup>

There was a man, Magus by name. He had four sons. One of them had legs of grass, another a head of bladder, the third a brisket of leaves, the fourth a voice of hair. Magus said to his sons, "Children! let us go and hunt elks!" They killed a big elk and carried it home. Magus said to the elder sons, "You, Legs-of-Grass! and you, Head-of-Bladder! — go and bring some water from the river." They went to the river and put the water tub near the water-hole; but they were so slow in filling it with water, that it was frozen to the moist ice. They tugged at it, but could not move it. Then Legs-of-Grass kicked it with his foot. He broke both of his legs and was dead. Head-of-Bladder was much troubled, and scratched his head. His nails cut through the bladder, and he dropped down dead. The other ones waited and waited, but nobody came: so they went to the river, and found the two dead. "Ah!" said their father, "let us arrange their funeral! We will cook a funeral meal. Brisket-of-Leaves go and bring the elk's brisket from the drying-poles." He wanted to take it down, but it slipped from his hands and fell down upon his own brisket and smashed it. He also dropped down dead. "Ah, woe! what is to be done?" — "Now, you must go, Voice-of-Hair, and fetch that brisket." Voice-of-Hair brought it and cooked it; but when he was tasting the meat, his throat of hair burst open, and he died. So Magus remained alone.

"Now, I will depart from here. I will go traveling." He walked on for several days and came to Kosetóka.<sup>2</sup> The evil spirit was not at home: only his children were there. He killed them all, and cut off their heads. Then he spread a large blanket, and set the heads close to it, in a row. It looked as if they were asleep side by side under the blanket. He also took a large bag and filled it with their meat and bones. He wrapped the bag in his own overcoat, and attached his cap to one end of it. Kosetóka went home carrying some human carrion as food for his children. "Ah!" said he, "they waited so long that they have fallen asleep." He made a fire and cooked the meat; but when he tugged at the blanket, the heads rolled off and out of the house. Kosetóka was wild with anger. "Who has done this?" He looked about and saw the bag. "Ah! it was you, Magus! it was you!" He rushed at the bag and trampled it down with his heavy feet. All the bones broke, and the blood of the children spurted through the holes. "I have killed you!" shouted the spirit; but from underground a voice answered, "I am here." It was Magus, who had found the under-

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 131.<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 3, p. 127.— W. B.



ground storehouse and entered it, blocking the entrance behind him. "Ah! where are you?" — "I am here." The spirit ran out of the house and back again. The entrance was blocked; but he found a round hole, and tried to squeeze himself through it. His body was tightly wedged in and could move neither forward nor backward. Magus said, "O hole! you are round and tight, turn now into a circular knife and cut Kosetóka in halves." And thus it happened. He took everything he found, and went home.

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, winter of 1900.

#### 16. STORY OF GEGE-WOMAN.<sup>1</sup>

There was an old man and his wife. They had three sons. The old man said to his sons, "Listen, my children! Do not climb the roof, do not climb to the upper beam." The next morning the elder son climbed to the roof and mounted the upper beam. He saw from there, on the seashore, that a young woman was catching fish with her own breeches. He descended and went to the shore. Gege-Woman was there catching fish with her breeches. "Ah, you have come!" — "Yes, I have." — "Do you want to take me for your wife? If so, I will cook some food for you." — "All right!" They went home. Gege-Woman cooked some fish, and offered it to her future husband; but he pushed it off, and the fish fell to the ground. "Who wants to eat of your nasty fish, Breeches-Caught?" He left the house; but Gege-Woman followed him, and called aloud, "Gege, wolves, gege, bears, gege, wolverines, poz, poz, poz!"<sup>2</sup> So the wolves, the bears, and the wolverines came and devoured him. The old man had lost the first son.

The second son, mounted the roof, and saw Gege-Woman catching fish with her breeches. He went the same way, and came to the shore. "O young man! take me for your wife. If you are willing, I will cook some food for you." — "All right!" They went home, and she cooked some fish and offered it to her visitor; but he pushed it off. "Who wants to eat of your nasty fish, Breeches-Caught?" He left the house; but she followed him, and called aloud, "Gege, bears, gege, wolves, gege, wolverines, poz, poz, poz!" Bears, wolves and wolverines came and devoured him. The old man had lost his second son.

The third and the youngest son mounted the roof, and saw Gege-Woman.

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<sup>1</sup> In Russian, Гегейка Баба which probably means "woman who cried 'gege, gege!'" — W. B.

<sup>2</sup> One of the calls addressed to the dog-team (Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 111).

He went to the seashore. "O young man! take me for your wife. I will cook some food for you." "All right!" He ate of the food. So they lived together. She forbade the bears and the wolves to devour the young man. Meanwhile the old man built a number of deadfalls and other traps. He caught all the bears and wolves and wolverines one by one. Then he said to his boy, "You may go away. There is nobody left to destroy you." That very night he fled from there. Gege-Woman followed him. He saw a small stream of smoke coming out of the ground, and plunged down. It was the underground house of Haihai-Woman.<sup>1</sup> "Oh, oh! give me back my husband!" "I will not. He shall be mine." So the two women fought and killed each other. He went out, and fled to his parents' house. They visited the houses of the dead woman, and took everything there was. So they grew rich. That is all.

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, winter of 1900.

#### 17. STORY OF HERETICS WITH IRON TEETH.<sup>2</sup>

There were three brothers who were married to three sisters. The oldest brother was married to the eldest sister, the middle brother to the middle sister, and the youngest brother to the youngest sister. When fall came, they set off to examine their deadfalls. Their wives and children stayed alone in their settlement.

The eldest sister had three children, the middle sister, had only one, and the youngest, none at all. One day the middle sister, who had been outside, came back saying, "Our husbands are coming home." The other said, "Why, it is too early. You are mistaken." She ran out again, and instantly came back: "Our husbands are coming home." So the others were quite angry. "Stop talking! Nobody is coming. It is sinful to talk such nonsense." But she would not obey, and repeated the same thing. In the evening, after sunset, they heard the rattling of runners and the yelping of dogs. Sleigh-bells jingled merrily, and voices rang with laughter. Their husbands were coming back from the forest. Oh, they felt quite joyful, and busied themselves getting supper ready. The eldest sister prepared tea for them; the middle sister brought in plenty of meat, and cooked the meal; the youngest sister had nothing particular to do. She looked at them from the sleeping compartment through a chink in the

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<sup>1</sup> In Russian Гайгайка Баба "woman crying 'hai, hai!'"—W. B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 69.—W. B.

partition. All at once she noticed that the teeth of the men were quite black. She was astonished, and said to the middle sister, "Ah! sister dear, why is it that our husbands have such black teeth?" — "Oh, don't!" retorted the other one. "They are our own husbands. What can we say about their teeth. Maybe they have eaten some blackberries in the forest." — "It is cold weather now. There are no blackberries." — "Perhaps you gave them burnt meat." — "It is you who gave them meat, and it was juicy and not burnt." — "Or perhaps it is because they have iron teeth." At this time, the teeth of the men were half a foot long. They protruded from their mouths, sharp-edged, and bright like so many daggers. The youngest sister rushed out of the house. "Catch her, catch her!" cried the middle sister, but she was gone. She ran through the dense forest straight on, like a frightened doe; and in the end when she could run no more, she stopped at a small opening and started a fire. She found the stump of a tree that was similar to her in bulk and size. She cut it off and put it near the fire. She took off her clothes and wrapped them around the stump. She also put her cap on it. Then she took a stake as strong as a spear shaft and burnt its point in the fire until it became hard and sharp. With this wooden spear she concealed herself behind a bush. Oh! a noise was heard in the forest, a gnashing of teeth, and cracking of branches, which snapped off and fell down. It was the heretic coming in pursuit of her. He rushed toward the fire, and with his terrible jaws he instantly seized the stump about the middle. His iron teeth stuck in the wood and he could not disengage himself. The woman sprang from the bush and stabbed him from behind with her wooden lance. The burnt point entered his anus and came out at the mouth. He was there like a fish on a roasting rod. She ran the other end of the stake deep into the ground, and left him there. She was afraid to return home, and went to another settlement not far away. When she had told her story the men took their spears and axes and went in search of the monsters. When they came to the house, the heretics had gone. The women and children had also gone. They looked for the bones, supposing that the monsters might have eaten the people, but they found nothing: It is not known what they did to their captives. Perhaps they carried the women away and married them. The real husbands of the women came home after a week, but their house was empty. The end.

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras, in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, winter of 1900.



18. STORY OF THE FOX AND THE WOLF.<sup>1</sup>

The man pursued Fox with dogs, but Fox succeeded in plunging into the nest of a polar owl.<sup>2</sup> The man chopped at the trunk with his heavy ax. "O gossip! I want to fly out." — "Ah, gossip! do as if you have too; but before doing so please pass water upon my neck," said the Fox. Owl passed water upon Fox's neck. When the man caught Fox by the neck, she slipped out of his fingers and ran off. The dogs followed her. She ran to and fro, until she was tired. Then she called to Owl, "O gossip! teach me how to fly." — "All right! Sit down on my back!" The owl alighted and carried off Fox. They flew up high into the air. "Oh dear!" said Fox, "I know how to fly, but I do not know how to alight." Owl pretended to throw her down. "O Lord! let it be upon the moss! O God! let it be upon a soft place!" Owl threw her down and Fox was killed.

Told by Mary Alin, a Russianized Chuvantzi woman. Recorded by Mrs. Sophie Bogoras in the village of Markova, the Anadyr country, winter of 1900.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the usual Old World story telling how Fox pretended to fish through a hole in the ice, and then tempted Wolf to do the same: wolf lost his tail in the ice.

Fox feigned death, and was picked up by a passing farmer, etc. I give here only an episode which seems of local character.— W. B.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the nests of these large owls are said to be placed within hollow trunks of trees, or among piles of driftwood which are found at certain places all along the arctic coast. (Cf. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," 97.)— W. B.

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# ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

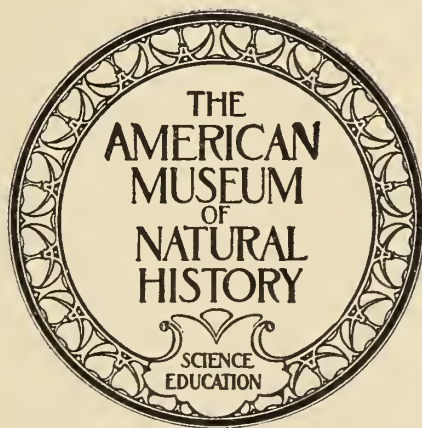
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BASKET DESIGNS OF THE MISSION INDIANS OF  
CALIFORNIA

BY

A. L. KROEBER



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By A. L. Kroeber.



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## THE "MISSION" TRIBES.

The so-called Mission Indians of southern California include the Southern and Northern Diegueño; the Cupeño; the Desert, Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla; the Luiseño; the Juaneño; and the Gabrielino and Fernandeño. The Diegueño are Yuman; all the others Shoshonean. The several Serrano divisions, whose habitat adjoined that of the foregoing groups on the north, were also more or less brought under the missions; but so far as basketry is concerned, their affiliations have not been determined. The more remote of the Serrano, such as the Kitane-muk, made baskets of the San Joaquin Valley rather than southern California type, as might be anticipated from their location. In general, the Mission Indians comprise all the groups in American California south of Tehachapi Pass except the Chemehuevi and the Yuman tribes of the Colorado River.

The Chumash to the west of the Gabrielino adhered to the southern California culture, and their basketry is similar. It presents certain distinctive traits, however, and as it is a dead art represented by a small number of preserved specimens, whereas most of the other southern Californians still make baskets in numbers, a separate subjoined consideration of Chumash ware and designs seems advisable.

The basketry of the groups enumerated as Mission tribes in the preceding paragraph is so substantially uniform as to allow of its treatment as a unit, without consistent reference to provenience of pieces.

There were five missions—San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, and San Fernando—in the territory of what are now popularly known as the Mission Indians. Or, if the Chumash are included, the number becomes ten. The number of Franciscan establishments in California however was twenty-one. The Indians attached to the eleven from San Miguel northward—Salinan, Costanoan, Coast Miwok, and other groups—are not known today as Mission Indians: they have died out or become obscure through insignificant numbers. The term which appears in the title to this paper is therefore historically rather unjustified and misleading; but it is fixed in public, governmental, and trade usage.

## CHARACTER OF THE BASKETRY.

Mission basketry is marked by a certain paucity in every trait except several aspects of decoration. The weaves and materials are remarkably limited. The forms are not numerous. The texture is often mediocre. The art is plainly a half-slighted one; not always on the part

of the individual, of course, but as a social development. As compared with the remainder of California, this condition is an approach to the status of basketry in the Southwest, and only one of many indications that native southern California must be regarded as culturally affiliated with Arizona and New Mexico rather than with central and northern California. The causes of the decadence or lack of development of basketry among the Pueblos are not far to seek: an old and flourishing pottery industry; textile proficiency carried primarily into loom manufactures; town life; and an expansion of schemes of social and religious systematization as contrasted with mechanical interests. With the non-Pueblo tribes of the Southwest, and still more among the southern Californians, these influences begin to diminish in strength; but something of the Pueblo cultural attitude has undoubtedly carried over to them; besides which the pottery art prevailed. The mere non-use of baskets for cooking purposes must have reacted unfavorably on a high development of basketry among the Mission tribes as compared with the other Californians.

#### MATERIALS AND THEIR RELATION TO DECORATION.

The materials of southern California are substantially only three. The grass *Epicampes rigens* is almost invariably the foundation of coiled ware. For wrapping, either sumac, *Rhus trilobata*, or a *Juncus* rush—the species is variously given by botanists—are employed. The rush is also occasionally made use of as a foundation material. Among the Chumash this is the prevalent practice. The rush is also the normal material for both warp and weft in twining. The palm, *Neowashingtonia filamentosa*, is sometimes used as wrapping. This may be a modern practice. If ancient, it was probably chiefly confined to the Cahuilla of the Palm Springs region. It is to be noted that willow, which many other peoples find so serviceable both for warp and weft in twining and coiling, is not used by the tribes under consideration, although it is a common material among the Chemehuevi and Panamint who adjoin them on the northeast, and was used for certain types of vessels by the Chumash to the west.

The *Juncus* rush comes in a variety of colors. This fact is made use of in Mission basketry decoratively as well as technically. One of the outstanding traits of this ware is the prevalence of mottled surfaces. This device appears to be made use of more frequently in modern baskets, especially those intended for sale to Americans, than formerly; but it is not wholly a recent development. The varieties of the *Juncus*



stems provide a variety of colors: cream white, buff, light brown, dark brown, lemon yellow, a distinct red, and an olive. The only color, in fact, which these tribes found it necessary to produce artificially was black. This was obtained either from the elder tree or from a species of *Sueda*. These dyes seem to have been applied rather to sumac than to the rush wrapping.

Many mottled baskets show half a dozen or more perceptibly different shades of *Juncus*. So far as definite patterns are concerned, three colors seem to be the usual limit in any one vessel. This allows two colors for the pattern proper and one for the background. At that, baskets made by the southern Californians for their own use more frequently show only two colors—one for background and one for pattern—than three. But the triple combination does occur in old pieces, and is fairly frequent in those which may be considered as having been made primarily for display or sale.

There would be nothing remarkable in this use of color were it not that in other respects Mission basketry is so restrained in its means. Tribes in central California that manufacture a much finer ware than the southern Californians, and use basketry for a greater variety of purposes, often refrain consistently from employing more than one pattern color in one vessel. Thus the Pomo, Maidu, Washo, and Miwok, while they use both black and red on a white or buff background, make a point of not introducing both the black and the red materials in the same basket. The Yokuts use black and red patterns with effect, but on baskets that are much neater and finer than those of southern California. The overlaid twining of northern California also shows double color patterns, but restricts them to definitely decorative pieces: the great majority of vessels show only one color besides the background. We must conclude therefore that the use of double color patterns among the Mission Indians is significant of a flourishing of the æsthetic side as compared with a poverty of the technical and practical aspects of their basketry; and, specifically, that they were stimulated by the unusually convenient opportunities afforded by the diversity of shades furnished ready to hand by the *Juncus*.

### TECHNIQUES.

Technologically, southern Californian ware is remarkable for its limitation to one of the many possible varieties of twining and one only of the numerous types of coiling. Coiled ware is much the more important. Twining is employed only for seed-beaters, leachers, and rough

household utensils. It is never patterned, and at least normally is openwork. All this ware seems deliberately crude. The majority of these plain twined vessels double or multiply or zigzag or cross the warp somewhere or other, but rarely follow any of these plans consistently. They seem rather to prefer to shift from inch to inch, or stitch to stitch, from one of these modifications to the other, or to the use of single straight warps. The guiding motive appears to be to work as rapidly as possible while preserving the interstices approximately equal in area. In connection with the present decorative examination, the twined basketry can therefore be wholly eliminated.

Coiling is invariably on a foundation of multiple stems, to which use the long slender *Epicampes* grass lends itself admirably. There is no coiling on three rods, single rods, combinations of rods and welts, nor in fact on any woody materials. This is again a positive and significant limitation, whose interest in the present connection is that it appears not to have extended its influence upon design development.

An occasional woman's cap twined diagonally furnishes an exception to the rule just laid down that Mission basketry is wholly in plain twining or multiple foundation coiling. These diagonally twined caps were undoubtedly made by the Mission tribes, but there can also be no question that they are due to the influence of the Shoshoneans of the Great Basin, conveyed to the coastal regions of southern California through the Chemehuevi. The typical cap among the Mission tribes is coiled. At least some of the tribes seem to possess distinct names for the two types of headgear. There is little doubt that the coiled cap, in addition to being the standard form, is also the older one. In fact the diagonally twined one may prove, if ever the point is looked into, to have been introduced within the span covered by native tradition.

Although southern California is a country of cane, whose readily made splints so often stimulate a development of checker and twilled weaves, the Mission tribes are not known to have practised these quick-working techniques.

#### TYPES OF BASKETS.

The forms or types of southern California baskets are few but present several points of interest. The twined varieties may be dismissed briefly. The commonest at the present day are a small globular basket and a small tray, both of course in openwork. The latter may be the same as what has been called a leaching basket. The seed beater is made of a few wooden rods with its textile construction reduced to a minimum. It is in fact a basket only by the utmost stretch of the term.



A small-necked bottle is reported to have been used by the Cahuilla and very likely extended to the other tribes. No specimen seems to have been preserved. It may be inferred that this was a twined vessel, but its precise type cannot yet be reconstructed. The Chemehuevi and people to their north and east make a water jar which is diagonally twined and has a pointed bottom. It is evidently intended primarily for transport. The Chumash water bottle was flat-bottomed, plain twined, of willow, coated inside with asphalt, and undecorated on the exterior except for occasional courses of three-strand twining. This vessel evidently served essentially for the storage of water. The other Mission tribes may have made their water bottles in either the Chemehuevi or Chumash style, or may have differed locally among themselves. Being a pottery-making people, it is likely that they did not much depend on basketry in this connection except perhaps when they went on journeys; in which case the Great Basin type of vessel would more probably have been the kind which they made.

Among coiled baskets there are two varieties which are of interest because they are lacking in central California but reappear in the northern part of the state. This distribution might lead to the hasty inference of the diffusion of the utensils from north to south or south to north, and their subsequent going out of use in the middle region. Analysis, however, reveals that the case is not so simple.

#### THE BASKET HAT.

Thus the typical southern California cap or hat is coiled, large, and high. The northern California cap is twined, pliable, rather low, and barely large enough to fit the crown of the head snugly. The styles of decoration of the two regions are thoroughly diverse. The use also is different. The northern cap is worn only by women, and has become a habitual article of dress. Thus the Yurok woman often keeps her cap on indoors, and certainly would not think of going off anywhere without it. The southern California cap is a direct reaction to the pull and chafe of the carrying-net across the forehead. It is probably for this reason that it is stout and stiff and comes pretty well down over the eyes. It is not an article of dress, being put on only when a load is taken up. Carrying being essentially woman's work, the cap has feminine associations, but these have remained uncrystallized. When the Mission Indian man slings a load on his shoulders, he puts on his wife's cap.

At every specific point therefore the northern and southern caps are so different that any offhand derivation of them from a common source



is out of the question. They may possess completely independent origins and developments. On the other hand it is possible that they go back to a common source from which a defunct cap of central California and the surviving cap of the Great Basin were also derived. Even if such were the case, however, it is clear that the southern California caps must have followed an independent history for a long time past. On the whole the pronounced use of hats and caps in the North Pacific Coast region points to an origin of the custom there, with perhaps a diffusion up the Columbia into the Plateau and Great Basin area; and that the southern Californian cap is either a local modification of the idea derived at some time in the past from the Great Basin, or an entirely independent development.

#### THE BASKET MORTAR.

The basketry hopper or rim for the stone mortar is another utensil made by the peoples of southern and northern California but not used in middle California. Here again independent origins, or at least a long separate course of development, must be inferred. The southern mortar is coiled, the northern one twined. Like the northern cap, the northern hopper is pretty definitely a part of the overlaid twining art. It extends little farther than the technique, materials, and shapes of this art. The one notable exception is provided by the Pomo, whose basketry is quite distinct but who yet use the hopper. So far as tribes like the Maidu and Yana use the hopper, it seems to be an outright borrowing from the north, as the recurrence of the northern materials and technique indicates. Occurrence of the hopper among the Pomo may also be due to an extension from the north, but with a modification of the implement due to the fact that the introduction of the idea encountered a more vigorous and diversified art among this group than the Maidu possessed.

The distinction between the northern and southern types is further accentuated by the difference in use. The southern Californians fasten the hopper to the edge of a more or less globular mortar of stone by means of asphalt. The northern Californians do not use mortars. They pound acorns and seeds on a flat slab on which the hopper is loosely set. It will be seen that this northern method of pulverizing food makes the hopper indispensable. Without it the particles would scatter widely. The southern hopper is more or less supernumerary, especially since the hole in the stone is usually rather deep. In fact many more southern mortars are used without the basketry hopper than with it.

The entire history of the hopper is closely linked with that of the mortar and metate throughout California. In general it may be said that while portable mortars of stone were at one time extensively used in all parts of the state as shown by archaeological discoveries, they are not and have not been employed by any of the historic tribes except those of southern California. Their place is taken in the greater part of central California by mortar holes in bedrock granite, and in the Pomo and northwestern regions by the flat slab and basketry hopper. This pounding slab is probably in a way related to the metate, which occurs over the whole of the state except in the area of which the pounding slab is characteristic. In short, it would seem that the portable mortar and the undressed metate are generic elements of ancient Californian civilization, the mortar perhaps being the older of the two, inasmuch as it alone has been found in prehistoric northwest sites. For some reason the mortar went out of use everywhere except in the south, being replaced over the greater part of the state either by the bedrock mortar or the metate or both. The Pomo and northwestern tribes however adopted neither of these devices outright. Instead they accepted the idea of the slab but continued to pound rather than rub their acorns and seeds, devising the hopper to make this process feasible on the unholed stone. Southern California probably accepted the metate at a remote period, retained the portable mortar alongside of it, and then more or less hesitatingly added the basketry rim to the latter. In view of this history it would seem that the probability is fairly strong that the southern Californian hopper originated rather independently; possibly without even a suggestion of the idea from the north.

#### DECORATED BASKETS.

In spite of their significance for developmental problems, neither the cap nor the hopper of southern California evince any considerable tendency toward ornamental treatment. They need not therefore be further considered in the present discussion. Four other types of coiled Mission basketry can be recognized, all of them normally decorated with patterns. These may be designated as a shallow, a flat, a large truncated, and a small spherical basket.

The flat, circular tray and the shallow, bowl-shaped basket differ in use, but show no perceptible difference in design or design arrangement. The flat tray is considerably used for sifting; the bowl-shaped form is rather a container and serves for parching. Both forms are occasionally made oval, but this form is unusual, and no oval pieces have been noted in actual service in Indian hands.



The deep basket has the form of a truncated cone, is from one to two feet across the opening, and from a half to two-thirds as much across the bottom and in height. It has the approximate shape of the baskets which in central California are used for cooking food, but it is not ordinarily used for this purpose, pottery taking its place. It serves as a general receptacle and for transportation. In this latter capacity it is the equivalent of the conical basket which, either in open or close twining, is the normal burden carrier throughout north and central California. The southern deep basket differs radically in being flat bottomed and coiled. Slung behind the shoulders by a mere packstrap passing over the forehead, it would be most unsatisfactory. On account of its comparative shallowness, it would work up or down and fall out of the strap. It can be employed for burdens only with the added device of the carrying net, a sort of hammock-like enlargement of the carrying strap, within the bag of which the basket is held. It would seem therefore that this type of southern basket is an ancient cooking vessel, which on account of a simplification of the basketry art or a failure of specific development, came also to be used for carrying. Whether the carrying net represents a reaction to this reduction in the number of basket types, or is itself a cause of the disappearance of the specialized burden basket, is difficult to determine. In any event, the introduction of pottery was no doubt responsible for the loss of its cooking functions by the combined cooking-carrying utensil; with the result that this vessel now has a shape which everywhere else is associated with cooking-baskets and a use which elsewhere is associated with baskets of quite different form.

The globular basket is much smaller than the type just described, and serves to contain various small articles about the house. It may be described as having the shape of a sphere with the top and bottom sliced off. The mouth is therefore smaller than the belly. The greatest diameter is sometimes at the middle of the height, in other cases nearer the bottom. The constriction at the mouth suggests that this type is the equivalent of the so-called bottle-necked basket made by the Yokuts and adjoining tribes. The Chumash furnish the transition that connects the two extremes. The Chumash vessels are flatter than those of the southern Mission tribes; that is, they retain the same base and opening and height with an augmented diameter in the middle. There is also often a slight neck consisting of one or two or three courses of coiling. The Yokuts bottle-neck, again, may be looked upon as the Chumash shape modified by having the lower part of its belly straightened into a truncated cone, the upper part into a horizontal shoulder, whereas the



neck is lengthened and caused to flare. The historical unity of this morphological series is confirmed by the fact that the coiling of all flat, shallow, or truncated Mission baskets winds clockwise, as the hollow of the basket is looked into, whereas in the spherical baskets it turns anti-clockwise. The same distinction is observed among the Chumash and Yokuts, whose bottle-necked types also differ from all other ware in being built on an anti-clockwise coil.

These three or four standard basketry shapes might be expected to have developed somewhat distinct types of pattern disposition. On the whole however they run rather uniform. There is some tendency for the flat and truncated forms to be decorated with concentric or horizontal pattern bands. The spherical baskets evince a greater proclivity toward diagonal designs and detached masses or blocks of figures. Nevertheless, if a sufficient number of pieces is examined, it will be found that every kind of pattern arrangement appears on every type of basket.

#### TEXTURE AND DESIGN.

The finish of southern California ware is variable, but the work must be described as rough. Coils are almost always from one-sixth to a quarter of an inch thick. The wrapping comes in fairly wide strips, and is rarely crowded closely together. It is an exceptional basket in which the grass foundation does not show plainly between stitches of wrapping. The number of stitches per horizontal inch runs from 5 to 18. The stitches, it must be admitted, are put in fairly evenly, and the coils preserve their thickness with steady uniformity. All that this means, however, is that some care is taken to split the sewing material into strips of even width. To maintain uniformity of the diameter of the coil is of course easy when this foundation consists of a large number of slender stems whose number can be added to or diminished at will.

Pima, Papago, and Apache basketry is usually built of even heavier coils than that of southern California, but directs more effort toward having the edges of the sewing material in contact. It is usually difficult to see the foundation in the ware of these Southwestern tribes, whereas in southern California the foundation material can generally be identified by inspection without the aid of a knife. Chumash ware also surpasses that of the Mission tribes in this respect; in addition to which it usually employs somewhat finer coils. The basketry of the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada Yokuts and their adjacent Shoshonean neighbors also runs to thin coils and closely contiguous stitches of sewing. The Chemehuevi, too, although they work in other materials, have a feeling for neatness in these respects.

The result of this comparison is to stamp southern Californian basketry as coarse and slovenly. This tendency can almost certainly be connected with the poverty of weaves, materials, and shapes. It also affects ornamentation to the point of tending to produce larger figures than are customary elsewhere. It has not however influenced the imaginative qualities of design nor their complexity. In short, Mission basketry is self-limited and stunted in every technical aspect, but has retained definite vitality and accomplished a number of innovations on the aesthetic side.

The cause of this differentiation is hard to understand, especially inasmuch as the southern Californians are not known to have developed any conspicuous interest or success in decorative treatment of other objects. Their pottery, for instance, is of the Yuma-Mohave type, slightly inferior technically, and very inferior, in fact almost negative, decoratively.

About the only explanation that it seems possible to suggest for this isolated flourishing of the decorative impulse, is that it may be connected with the very coarseness of stitching and with the peculiar qualities of the *Juncus* material. It is characteristic of Mission basketry that it avoids the use of solid masses of color. Tribes whose baskets and patterns are absolutely smaller, do not hesitate to introduce larger design areas. However great the surface over which a Mission design or pattern spreads, it tends to be broken up by the introduction of patches or smaller areas of the shade of the background or in a second color. The naturally varying shades of the *Juncus* seem to have pointed the way here. A worker who did not take particular pains to the contrary must frequently have produced mottled baskets. The habit of seeing vessels of this appearance would accustom the southern Californians to the effect, and unless there were a positive inhibitive tendency—and of this there is no evidence,—the wontedness might sooner or later lead to effects in mottling being deliberately sought. This mottling effect might remain irregular and confined to the background, or again, be directed toward definite effects in the pattern proper.

In the same way the largeness and wide spacing of the stitches must have given the Mission weavers a feeling for the influence of the individual stitch on the æsthetic appearance of the basket as a whole. Such a feeling would scarcely be acquired by a woman operating on a finer scale. In fine ware, the single stitch is too small to affect the eye and mind other than on a minute examination; and to this baskets are not ordinarily subjected. A single stitch in fine ware, in other words, if it showed



at all, would tend to appear as an irregularity or blemish. In the coarse ware of the south, on the other hand, there is enough mass to each stitch to give it an identity. This fact would probably lead, now and then, to a utilization of the single stitches or small groups of them for purposive effect, in breaking a monotonous background. From this it would be only a step to breaking up or internally elaborating designs. The mental habits established by seeing and operating in mottled effects would of course come more or less to coincide and work in the same direction.

### DESIGN ELEMENTS.

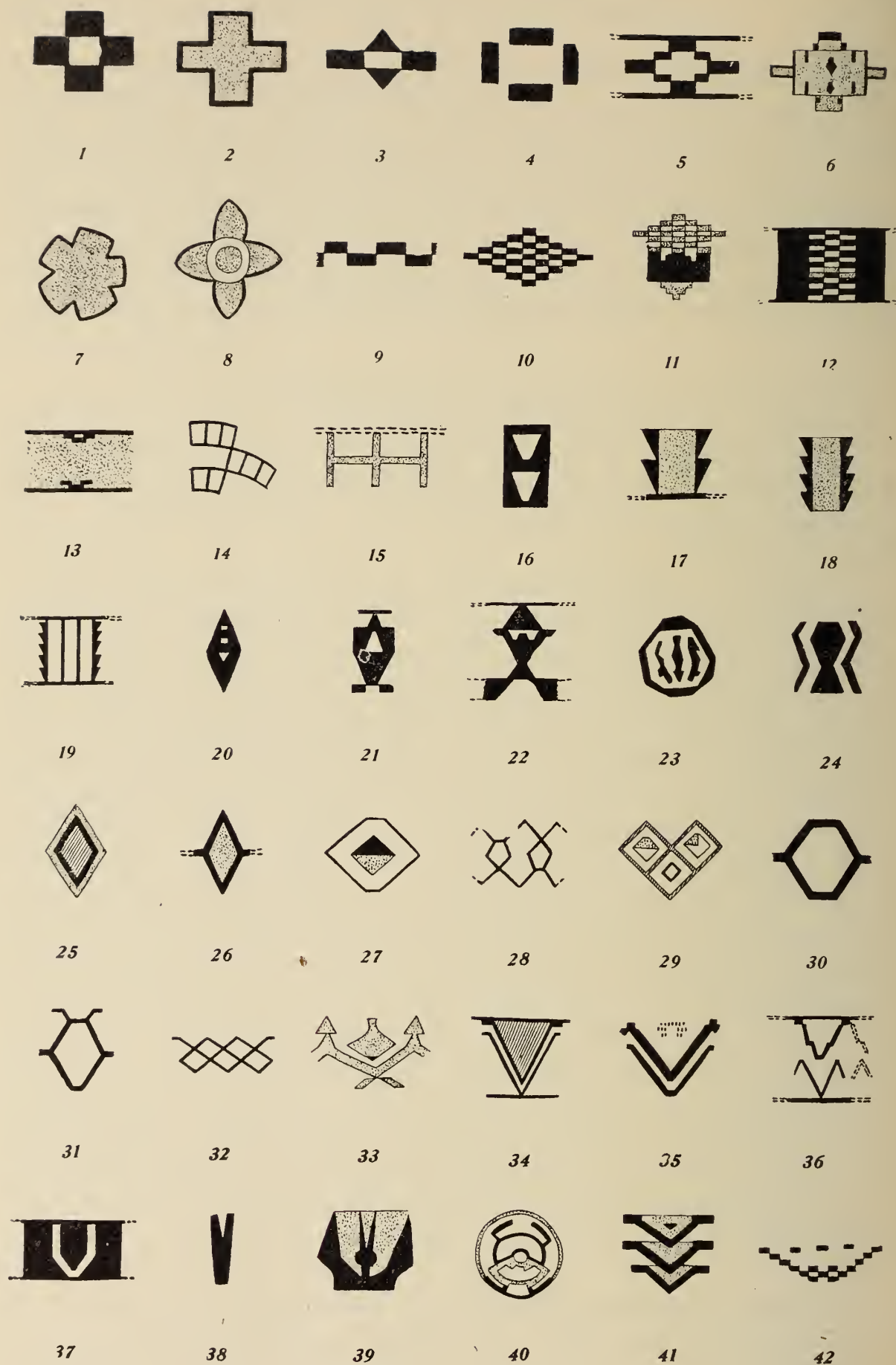
Herewith follows an examination of the decorative designs of southern California basketry, first along the lines of an analysis of the design elements as such, and secondly with reference to the combination and disposition of these.

*Crosses and Related Rectangular Figures.* The cross is a fairly abundant design on Mission baskets. Figs. 1-8 give some idea of the variations which it manifests. The influence of Catholic conversion may possibly have increased the frequency of occurrence of this element; but the design is surely a native one. This is shown by the fact that it is always a heavy block figure. Had it originated as a Christian symbol, it could be expected to appear now and then in the form of two light lines. No such crosses have been noted. Moreover, while a solid cross occurs, as in Fig. 2, the normal and probably original form has a hollow center. Fig. 1 shows the basic type: four colored rectangles grouped around an uncolored one. The native designer is likely to have felt such a figure as a disposition of rectangles rather than as the cross which its periphery immediately calls to our minds. The same concept reappears in Fig. 3: the upper and lower rectangles are here converted into triangles, but the central hollow remains. Fig. 4 confirms the interpretation: the outline can still be viewed as that of a heavy cross, but the design is really four rectangles failing to quite enclose a quadrilateral space. Fig. 5 follows the same idea elaborated to use eight rectangles. A final development is Fig. 6, in which the pattern is in two colors, the central hollow disappears, and what might be called design embroideries are added.

In continuous patterns, Fig. 84 also shows the cross as essentially an arrangement of four colored squares about an uncolored one.

Cross-like figures at the center of flat baskets are shown in Figs. 7 and 8: one five ended, the other with pointed arms.





Figs. 1-42. Design Elements.

*Other Rectangular Designs.* A variety of elements and patterns may be grouped here, although most of them are probably unrelated in origin. A double row of alternating rectangles, Fig. 9, occurs occasionally as an inner or outer ring; Fig. 10 is an enlarged quincunx; parts of patterns 11 and 12 are similar. All these patterns use the same elements as the crosses that have been reviewed. The same holds of Fig. 13, although this may also be construed as an abbreviated design of the "flare" type discussed below. Figs. 14 and 15 call for no comment except that Fig. 15 is found in the middle of three zones on a flat basket. Fig. 16 seems to be a rectangular variation of the "eyed diamond." The patterns of the present group will be seen to adhere mainly to the type of the rhomboidal checkerboard—an elaborated "cross" or quincunx.

*Rectangles Flanked by Right-Angled Triangles.* This type is sufficiently characterized by Figs. 17, 18, 19. The borders of black triangles outweigh the central square; nevertheless each of the designs is a decorative unit.

*Eyed Diamonds.* The essence of this design is a colored rhomboid stood on end and containing one or more small uncolored areas. Fig. 20 may be taken as the type; Figs. 21 and 22 are elaborations; and Fig. 23 is probably related, since the hexagon or octagon seems usually to be a development from the rhombus in this as in Yokuts basketry. Fig. 24 can possibly be included as a diamond cut in half and reunited at the points.

*Simple Diamonds.* Simple diamonds are more common, and occur as rhombuses, rhomboids, and flattened to pentagons and hexagons. Occasionally they stand alone, as in Fig. 25, which is three-colored; but generally they unite into a band pattern, as in Figs. 26–30. Sometimes the interior is divided into an upper and lower triangle of contrasting color: see Figs. 27, 29.

*Flare Designs and Patterns.* These are not only common but characteristic. A feeling for them has thoroughly impressed the basketry decoration of southern California. The essential concept is that of a figure spreading from below upward and terminating in what might be called horns. Fig. 13 contains the rudiments. Fig. 31 makes the idea plainer: what is basically a repeated diamond is provided at the top with the horns giving the spread or flare effect. Fig. 32 applies the same device somewhat less conspicuously to a group of hollow diamonds. In 33 the separating arms embrace the diamond.

In some cases patterns that in origin are likely to be nothing more than zigzag bands are influenced by the flare suggestion (Figs. 34-36). The upper angle of the zigzag may be flattened slightly more than the lower; the lines that separate upward may be accentuated by having their contained space filled with color, or with a heavier subsidiary pattern: or there may even be a break in the continuity of the pattern that compels its mental reception as a series of V's. Fig. 36 is particularly convincing on this point.

Isolated V-shaped figures that seem related in concept to the foregoing are presented in Figs. 37, 38; and Fig. 39 is almost an elaborated combination of these two.

Fig. 40 is an application of the horn idea to the center of a basket.

Fig. 41 is the pure flare element worked into a pattern of its own by triple vertical repetition. It is interesting that the pattern as a whole carries out the idea of its elements in that the lowest of the flat V's is the smallest and the uppermost contains an increment. Fig. 42 elaborates the last suggestion, and 43 is interesting as being itself the "filler" of 35. Fig. 44 seems more doubtfully related.

Figs. 45-50 develop the concept much more elaborately. The first three occur on the same basket, Fig. 45 being the standard, and Figs. 46 and 47 reductions due to carelessness or lack of space. A relation between Figs. 50 and 17-19 seems probable. The semi-realistic tree or cactus in Fig. 85 may be influenced by concepts such as Fig. 48.

The general idea of the flaring pattern is also fundamental in many of the asymmetrical designs considered below.

*Diagonal and Other More or Less Asymmetrical Designs.* A number of designs of little intrinsic or developmental relationship are grouped together here on the basis of not separating symmetrically when divided by a line vertical to the edge of the basket or the pattern as a whole. This grouping seems justified as an approach to the marked inclination of southern California basketry to employ positively asymmetric designs, as discussed in a subsequent series of paragraphs.

The simple oblique quadrilateral or parallelopipedon, one of the most conspicuous design elements in the basketry of northern California as far south as the Pomo, is rather rare among the Mission Indians. Fig. 51 shows one of the sporadic examples. It is notable that this element is used as a separate unit, and not in self-combination as in northern California.

More common is a diagonal consisting of a series of rectangles arranged corner to corner, step-wise, as in Figs. 52, 53, 54. A similar





Figs. 43-84. Design Elements.

device inheres in the asymmetrical patterns Figs. 73–76, although in the last three of these the element is a bar or solid quadrilateral instead of a hollow rectangle. The stepped effect is common in basketry of the Yokuts region and among the Chumash. With the latter people it is perhaps the most characteristic pattern of small-mouthed baskets, although the steps consist of vertical as well as horizontal bars and repeat in close parallels instead of standing isolated. In spite of these local differences, the Yokuts, Chumash, and southern California step designs must have a common historical source.

Other designs that may be classed as semi-asymmetric are the zig-zag, Figs. 55, 56, which divides evenly on a horizontal but not on a vertical line; and an occasional fret or meander, Figs. 57, 58: the latter construable as a continuous pattern development from the former. This Fig. 57, if carried on downward, would give the typical Chumash step pattern; but the southern Californians preferred the relatively free-floating design, as is clear from Plate III, Fig. 2, which shows the whole basket from which Fig. 57 is taken.

*Asymmetrical Design Elements.* With this group we enter a series of decorative devices which constitute perhaps the most distinctive trait of southern Californian basket ornamentation and are certainly imbued with the faculty of decorative stimulus. The common factor is a deliberate lack of symmetrical balance. Where this relates to simple figures standing alone, it throws them into attention. Not only is the mental impress greater than could be obtained from any but the most skilfully devised symmetrical elements, but originality seems itself to be evoked in the designer. Figs. 59–63 illustrate these qualities. Excepting perhaps Fig. 59, all of these are unusually pleasing as well as odd.

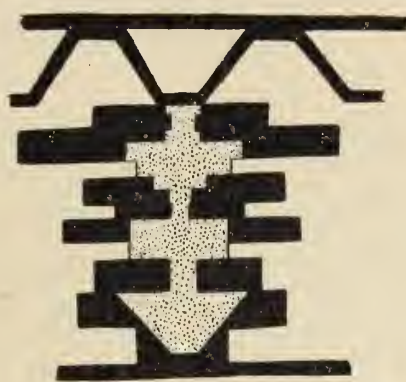
Fig. 64 must also be included. Although it appears to be a semi-realistic representation of a church worked into a diagonal pattern (see Pl. I, Fig. 2), all its traits—the rectangle containing another figure, the arrangement of the rectangles, the block cross, and the asymmetry produced by this—are in typical native style.

Fig. 65 is hardly a simple design and approaches those next to be considered. There is something tantalizing in the way in which its balance is thrown out. Fig. 86 shows that its repetitions on the same basket are never identical, but that they all contain something asymmetrical.

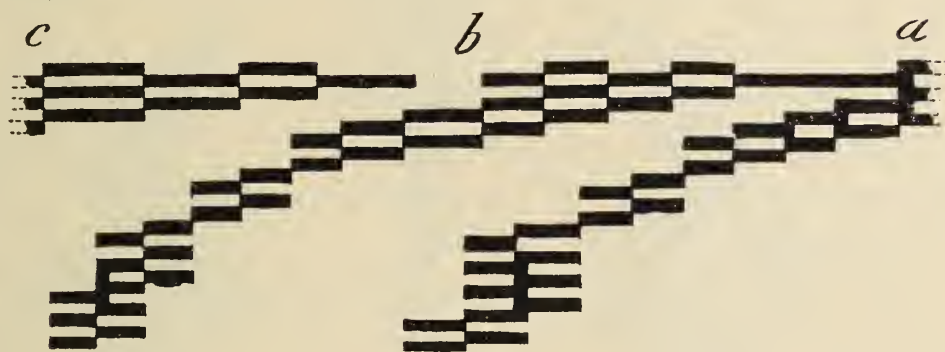
*Flares Made Asymmetrical.* The same provoking effect is obtained in Figs. 66 and 67. These are typical “flares,” symmetrical in their body, and then deliberately thrown out of complete balance by an adjoined minor element that runs skew.



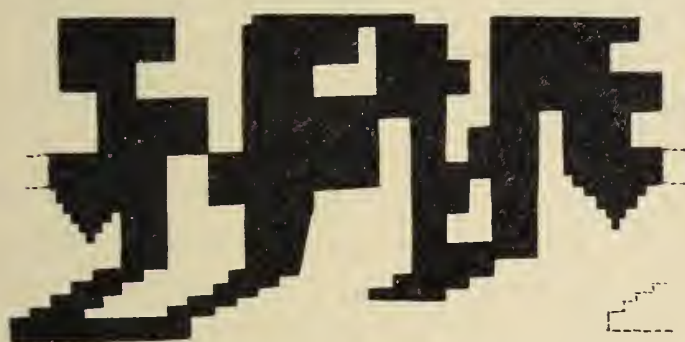
48



49



75



77



84



78

Figs. 48, 49, 75, 77, 78, 84. Elaborated Designs.



*Asymmetrical Diagonals and Drifts.* In this group the acme of skewness is attained. In the element shown in Fig. 68—the entire basket appears in Pl. I, Fig. 5—the asymmetry is slight enough to pass for a crudity of execution if it occurred as a sporadic example. Fig. 69 allows of no doubt. In Fig. 70 a diagonal pattern is deliberately thrown off its regularity by having a rectangle substituted for a trapezium (a very rare element) in the fourth of its five repetitions. In Fig. 71 a descending zigzag terminates in an extra horizontal one. Similar in plan is the line that protrudes at the base of 54; and similar in form, the supernumerary black zigzag in 72. It is manifest that one concept pervades all three disturbances of balance.

Fig. 73 may be construed as a step diagonal with an added element at the top, or as a simple flare with a skew projection below: in either case, the effect lies in the clever integration of the unilateral diagonal and the bilateral flare.

Fig. 74 is a simple form of a type which genetically perhaps began as a step diagonal, but added further bars or rectangles until the effect is one of drifting lines of elements more or less converging to a point. In Fig. 75 the idea is carried out more intricately. The element is the step-diagonal of bars, hung five times from a horizontal pattern of bars: a, b, c are three of the five points at which the diagonals begin to detach. It is obvious that a definite type of effect is sought without serious attempt at mechanical regularity.

Figs. 76–78 can be viewed as more or less elaborate flares with one side developed beyond the other; but they all, and especially 76, suggest the drift feeling of 74–75. Their conjoint intricacy of outline, irregularity on repetition, and marked asymmetry stamp them as quite extraordinary patterns. The irregularity seems only natural in view of the two other traits. Yet its degree is after all surprising. The actual Fig. 76 has been chosen as representative from among sixteen occurrences on the basket shown entire in Pl. IV, Fig. 2. No two repetitions are even approximately alike in detail. Granted the difficulty of carrying an element of this elaborate shape with regularity around the alternation of curved and straight stretches given by the oval of the basket, one nevertheless gets the feeling that the maker could have attained greater consecutive correctness had she cared very much; especially if she had simplified her basic figure a little. Instead, she either renounced the attempt altogether, or reveled as frankly in the irregularity of her pattern as she did in the skewness of her element.

Fig. 77 has a fairly simple organization underlying its apparent elaboration. Two-thirds of the pattern is a skew flare which is very similar to Fig. 76 except for having the main notch opening upward instead of turned to the side. The effect of the combinations of the repetitions of Fig. 76 as they appear in Pl. IV, Fig. 2 is even more similar to Fig. 77. To this major or lefthand unit of Fig. 77 is attached, on the overdeveloped side, a minor one, also notched from above and also

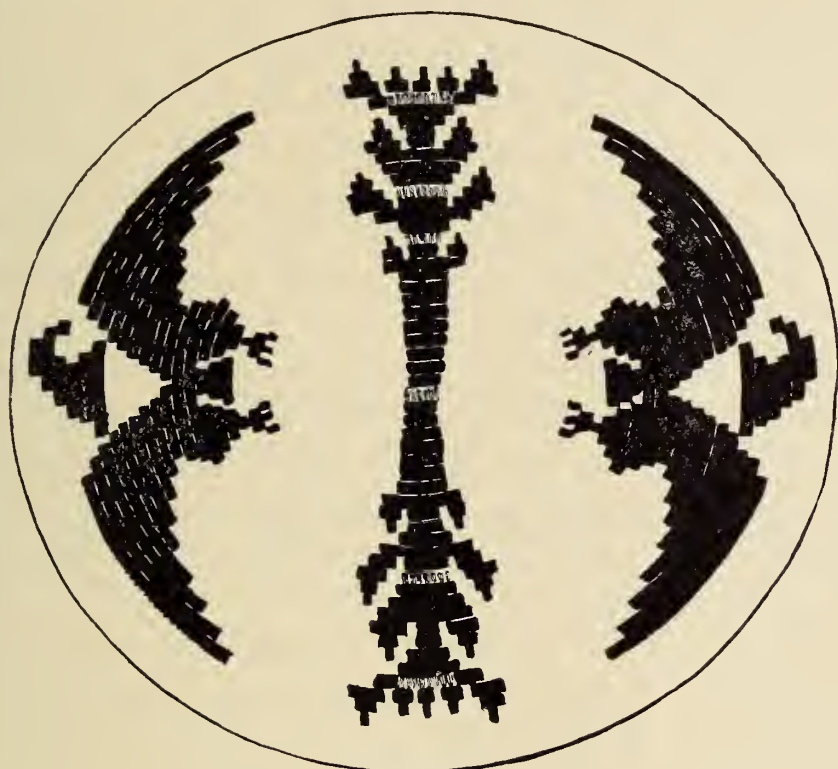


Fig. 85. Semi-Naturalistic Pattern.

springing from a stem or root; although, this base lying a trifle higher in the field of design, the adjunct does not appear so much to be rising separately out of the field, as to hang from the same invisible upper plane as the main portion of the pattern, or to be an outgrowth from its more active flank, attained to semi-independence. The larger and smaller parts of the pattern thus reënforce each other conceptually without anywhere exactly repeating; and the effect of the doubled ramifying flare, and of a drift from two unaccented but inevitable roots or focal points, is delicately blended. For sheer subtlety of compositional development of a basically simple idea this pattern is a masterpiece.

Fig. 78 repays analysis with the same richness of aesthetic discovery. It looks as if it might be the final evolution of an originally simple or possibly realistic representation of a plant, bird, or butterfly. The upper portion is symmetrical. The second pair of wings begin to



differentiate in projection as also in their setting on the central stem. In the third the dissimilarity is still greater, while the lowest, longest, and lightest tier is wholly unilateral, but ever so slightly compensated for by the thickening of the stem on the opposite side. The effect is clinched by the disparity of the two subsidiary figures: but—unexpectedly—the heavier one floats below the side that preponderates, instead of being a mere device to fill the larger vacancy on the left. The whole is like a melody with a rhythm whose sought irregularity is its essence. There is not only feeling but achievement in the asymmetry.

*Various Triangular Designs.* Figs. 79–83 may be grouped together for the external reason that they contain triangular elements: they carry little if any intrinsic decorative kinship to one another. The idea of Fig. 79 recurs in Figs. 80, 83, and Pl. II, Fig. 2. Fig. 81 is rather effective; and Fig. 82 is distinctly so. It is repeated on the two long edges of a small oval vessel.

Triangles are on the whole less important as design constituents than in northern and central California. The Yokuts group with the southern Californians in this matter. Still, triangular elements can scarcely be avoided in basketry, it would seem; and Figs. 3, 16–19, 21, 22, 24, 50, 53, 60, 63, 73, Pl. II, Figs. 2, 3, Pl. III, Fig. 1 furnish examples besides those just discussed.

A trapezium may be a truncated isosceles triangle in origin, or a true quadrilateral. It is more common in Mission ware than the parallelopipedon: Figs. 16, 22, 38, 49, 50, 65, 70, 72, 81, 83. The parallelopipedon, besides Fig. 51, can be recognized in Figs. 55, 66, 72.

Polygons of five, six, and eight or more sides seem almost invariably to be the result of corner clipping on diamonds. Compare the pentagons visible in Figs. 7, 28, 29, 31, 66, 83; hexagons in 24, 27, 30, 83; octagon (approximate) in 23.

A distinctive pattern idea runs through Figs. 52, 53, 64, 70, 73, with a suggestion appearing in Fig. 16: colored rectangles arranged step fashion, each containing an uncolored triangle. The latter may modify to angle, rectangle, or trapezium.

The hollow rectangle divided by two vertical bars is allied to the last series in Fig. 54, more hesitatingly used in Fig. 14, part of a wholly different effect in Fig. 19, and through this allied to Fig. 50.

*Double or Alternating Designs.* These, as exemplified in the pairs, Figs. 11–89, 12–37, 18–83, 32–41, 38–80 and in the alternation of 22 with two superposed triangles as shown in Pl. II, Fig. 2, might be conceived as theoretically asymmetrical units; but a better interpretation would



accord primacy to the whole zonal pattern in which they are alternating elements. The result at any rate is pleasing, probably because the two conjoined elements differ definitely in type. It is perhaps worth noting that in four or five of the six cases one or both of the paired members are of the flare variety or approach it; and that superpositions of triangles occur three times and the elongated checkerboard twice in the other member.

A very slight degree of pairing is found in Fig. 67, where on each alternate occurrence the uppermost element loses the diagonal stem and is reduced to a minute square.

### IRREGULARITIES OF COLOR AND SHAPE.

Gross irregularities of spacing and of form in the repetition of patterns appear to be distinctively less offensive to the Mission basket maker than to most Indians. They can be attributed to a slovenliness encouraged by the bulky foundation and wide stitching, which tends to foster a disregard of fine detail; to the color irregularities of the rush used as wrapping both in pattern and background; and perhaps to the liking for asymmetrical designs already discussed—although these asymmetrical inclinations may just as well be the outcome as the cause of the breaking down of habits of regularity.

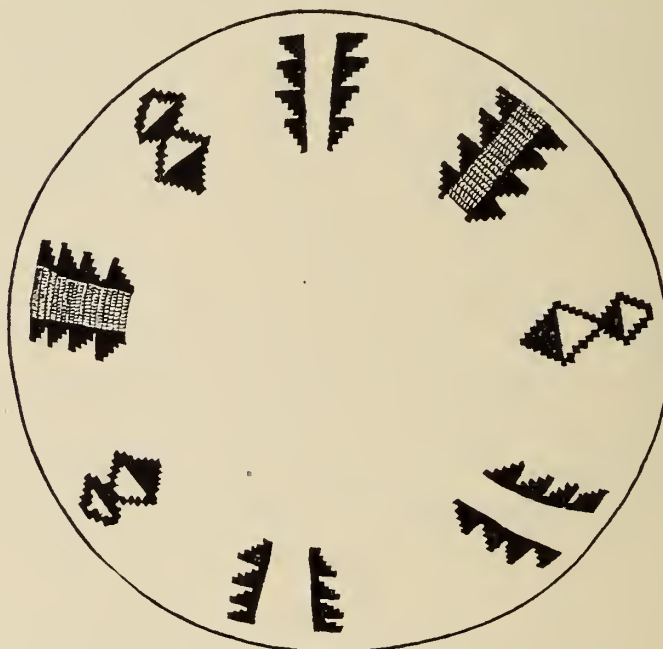
As the *Juncus* colors are all rather non-actinic—yellow, buff, brown, red—they are largely lost in photography unless a special effort is made to bring them out. Some clear examples appear in Pl. I, Fig. 3, where the element, Fig. 73, is scarcely recognizable; Pl. II, Fig. 3, in which the mottling is beautifully effective, especially in the background; and Pl. III, Fig. 1, where it is confined to the pattern. Other examples of pattern variegation by color are afforded by Pl. I, Figs. 1, 5, Pl. II, Figs. 2, 4, Pl. IV, Fig. 2.

Of actual irregularities a good example is afforded by Figs. 45–47, of which the first is the fuller standard form, 46 a reduced one, and 47 a mere hasty skeleton—asymmetric at that—on one basket.

Another instance is Fig. 86, on which Fig. 65 is four times repeated in different form and irregularly spaced. It is true that one pair of opposite figures is smaller and three-footed, the other four-footed. But closer examination shows that the two figures of each pair are far from identical. In addition they are not placed diametrically, which is evidence more probably of indifference than of incompetence, since the basket is well manufactured.



Fig. 86. Asymmetrical Designs unevenly Arranged.



87

Fig. 87. Pattern Arrangement with Broken Balance.

Fig. 87 proves a similar case. Element 18 appears five times—twice with its middle colored, three times uncolored; Fig. 83 occurs thrice. It would have been just as easy to have four of each alternating around, and the two colored 18's opposite.

This looks almost wilful. Oval baskets sometimes bring real difficulties in pattern disposal; but these problems are rarely met, the worker

apparently preferring to drift along and trust to distortion bringing her out somehow. Compare Pl. IV, Figs. 1 and 2 (elements 20 and 76). A simpler problem confronted the maker of Pl. I, Fig. 4. The outer figure (60) she repeated rather evenly. The double H (15) in the middle band however came out quite unevenly and unequally spaced; while the innermost and first-made zone contains eight diagonal bars as against seven occurrences of the figures in the middle and outer zones.

The same sort of thing happens in the round. Compare the use of design Fig. 57 in Pl. III, Fig. 2; the discrepancies in Fig. 75 between the diagonal drifts beginning at *a*, *b*, *c*; and Fig. 72, in whose three repetitions the upper parallelopipedon once has five instead of four bars.

Somewhat akin is the asymmetry of the center patterns Figs. 7 and 40. Fig. 23 is not a center design, but is repeated five times. As might be imagined, this proved a difficult task, except in the rough, and none of the four other figures have come out exactly like the one reproduced in Fig. 23.

With 29 and its respectively halved and quartered upper diamonds, we are back in the realm of deliberate negligence, of a seeking for the odd and unsymmetrical.

### PATTERNS AND THEIR ARRANGEMENT.

The prevailing pattern arrangement is a horizontal one on truncated and globular baskets, and correspondingly a ringed or concentric effect on flat and shallow vessels. Vertical or radiating and diagonal patterns are distinctly less common; but the former are far from rare on flat baskets and the latter on spherical ones. An alternating diagonal with a zigzag effect is most frequent on spherical baskets.

As regards blending of the design elements into a continuous pattern, or their discrete employment, shape of the vessel partly determines. Truncated and plate-form baskets are most given to continuity in horizontal or circular bands. Separate figures or block patterns are commoner in shallow than in flat baskets and in globular than in truncated ones. Many of the designs that produce a more or less vertical effect are really of the separate block type, as in Fig. 87. This use of comparatively large free-standing figures is characteristic of southern California baskets. The Chumash do not follow the practice, and everywhere to the north it is untypical. The Washo, Miwok, and to some degree the Yokuts, employ free figures rather liberally; but these differ from the Mission block designs in being much smaller in area and lighter in effect. Besides, most commonly, they consist of two or more repetitions of a simple



design element treated as a free-standing group. The Mission block design may be intricate or simple, but is normally a unit. Even if it can be analyzed into several elements, these are connected or fused into a single massive figure. Some examples are Pl. II, Figs. 1, 4; also Figs. 2, 6, 11, 23, 25, 32, 38, 39, 41, 44, 48, 62, 63, 67, 72, 78, 82, 83, 85-87. As compared with these, Figs. 24 and 59 would be rather typical of the simple and Fig. 69 of the complex patterns on Miwok baskets; except that these rarely favor the asymmetry of Figs. 59 and 69.

On the other hand, the southern California block effect is often only slightly impaired by a binding of the separate figures into a zone by means of a continuous line above or below or both. Of this type are Figs. 5, 12, 15, 17, 19, 36, 37, 45-47, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 60, 66, 76.

Continuous or banded patterns composed of fairly large elements, and in this way related to the block concept, appear in Figs. 22, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 75, 77, 84, Pl. III, Fig. 2.

The generally large calibre of the designs is borne out by a count of the number of occurrences of each in the round of a basket. For figures that stand wholly or partly free, this number is most often from three to six.

Twice each—all double figures: 12-37, 32-41, 85.

Three times: 72, 73, 77, 78; 53 diagonal; double figure 24 and two rectangles.

Four times: 2, 6, 17, 19, 25, 33, 42<sup>1</sup>, 59, 62<sup>1</sup>; 65, 66; diagonals 54, 71, 74; double figure 38-80.

Five times: 4, 5, 23, 49, 61, 69; diagonals 64, 75.

Six times: 13, 44<sup>1</sup>, 48, 50, 81<sup>2</sup>; diagonal 70; double figure 22 with two triangles.

Seven times: 15, 60.

Eight times: the element of 82.

Ten times: 67.

Twelve times: 63.

Thirteen times: 20 (= Pl. IV, Fig. 1).

Sixteen times: 76 (= Pl. IV, Fig. 2).

Twenty-five times: 68.

In banded patterns the number of elements is somewhat larger.

Five times: 35 ?

Six times: 29 ?, 34<sup>2</sup>.

Seven times: 27, 58.

Eight times: 36, 56, 79.

Ten times: 84.

Double bands contain hexagons (Fig. 30) respectively 9 and 17 times and simple angles 14 and 22 and again 55 and 74 times, on the same basket.

<sup>1</sup>Five times?

<sup>2</sup>Seven times?

These numbers average distinctly low in view of the fact that they refer to design figures more often than to patterns. However complex some of these figures are, they are generally units, not repetitions of units. In northern and central California a design mass may also recur only three or four times on a basket; but it is then mostly a regular compound. Thus a typical Yurok cap design, appearing only three times, consists of two or three diagonally superposed parallelopipedons each terminating in several vertical teeth and traversed by a rectangular step. But such a figure resolves into simple elements—quadrilateral, triangle, zigzag—out of which it is built up into a pattern by regular reduplication. Similarly with all the twined overlay basketry of northern California, and with the sometimes elaborate Pomo and Maidu diagonals. So too the Yokuts and Chumash diamond bands and step diagonals are true patterns, such as occur in southern California also, but are less typical there than the large unit designs repeated a small number of times.

#### CHUMASH WARE.

The basketry of the Chumash of Ventura and Santa Barbara counties and the northern Santa Barbara islands is extant in a limited number of examples in museums and private hands. Some utilitarian specimens have been preserved in caves; whereas scattered show pieces, mostly decorated, have been handed down in Caucasian possession. Although closely kindred to the ware of the tribes that lived south and east from the Fernandeano and Gabrielino, Chumash basketry differs in the following points.

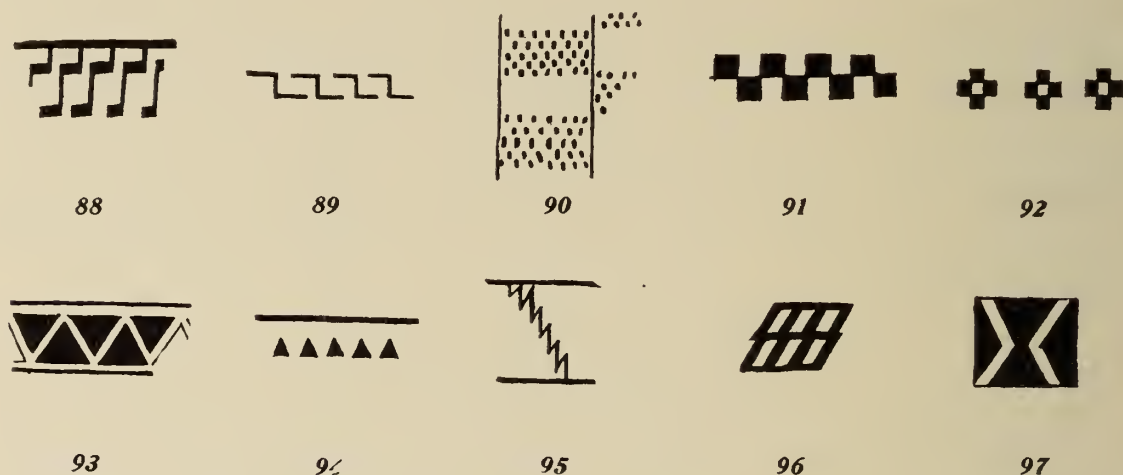
1. Willow was employed in twining.
2. *Juncus* rush as well as *Epicampes* grass was used as foundation.
3. Neither the peaked cap nor the pointed water bottle is known to have been made; nor is there any evidence of diagonal twining.
4. The water bottle was flat-bottomed and asphalt-lined inside. It was made in close plain and three-strand twining—the latter weave being unrepresented among the southern tribes, the former followed chiefly or only in open-work.
4. A bellied, coiled storage basket was made, in addition to the truncated carrying basket of the southern groups. The truncation of the storage basket was the opposite—at the top.
6. The globular basket is lower and larger than in the south. It shows a suggestion of a shoulder, has a small mouth, and often a rudimentary neck. It thus approximates the Yokuts-Kawaiisu-Chemehuevi-

Tübatulabal-Panamint bottle neck. Whether lids were made for native use or only for sale to Europeans is uncertain.

7. The coils and stitching are finer than in Mission basketry, the texture averages even.

8. Mottled effects are the rule in *Juncus* coiling, whereas the majority of Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Diegueño pieces found in home use are unmottled.

9. Design elements are simpler, patterns more continuously repetitive.



Figs. 88-97. Design Elements on Chumash Baskets.

10. As corollary, large block figures are rare or wanting, step diagonals and checker patterns constituting the typical decoration.

The following is a list of designs.

(a) A. M. N. H., 50.1-8265. Plate V. Parallel step diagonals completely cover the surface.

(b) O. T. Mason, *Aboriginal American Basketry*, Pl. 49, top: almost like last in shape and pattern.

(c) A. M. N. H., 50.1-2150. Plate VI, Fig. 1. The main pattern is like that of (a), with the proportions slightly different.

(d) O. M. Dalton,<sup>1</sup> Fig. a. Of the Mission "spherical" shape. Parallel step diagonals, four lines of about eight steps each.

(e) British Museum, Vancouver's no. 185; apparently unillustrated. Spherical, mouth incurved. Parallel step diagonals.

(f) A. M. N. H., 50-539. Flat basket, *Juncus*. No record of Chumash attribution, but suggests such origin. Five radiating groups of parallel step diagonals of three lines each.

(g) Dalton, plate 15, fig. 3; globular. Fig. 88. Rim pattern of parallel steps.

(h) Dalton, figure b; shallow bowl. Fig. 89. Rim pattern of broken fret.

<sup>1</sup>Ethnographical Collection. . . of Captain Vancouver, *Intern. Arch. Ethnogr.*, X, 225-245, 1897.



(i) A. M. N. H., 50.2-927; bowl. Same rim pattern. Pl. VI, Fig. 2.

(j) A. M. N. H., 50.2-539. Same, with an extra step.

(k) Mason, pl. 49, bottom. Fig. 90. Pattern unit, a rectangle of five rows of thirteen minute squares each, alternately colored and uncolored. The rectangles form a checker surface with plain rectangles: vertical rows are bordered by lines. This is also a lidded basket.

(l) Dalton, plate 15, fig. 3. Eleven rows of nine squares each, five light and four dark. Each successively lower row projects one square farther to the left, making the pattern surface a checkerboard, while the outline is that of a step diagonal.

(m) Dalton, fig. b; shallow bowl. Four radiating diagonals, built on the plan of (l), but each row only three light and two dark squares wide.

(n) Dalton, fig. g; hat of European shape, with crown and brim. Fig. 91. Band of two rows of alternate squares.

(o) Dalton, fig. c; shallow bowl. Same as (n), except that pattern is light on a dark background.

(p) U. C., 1-3078. A small bowl with foot and handle, not a native shape; looks like Chumash mottled buff *Juncus* ware made for sale to whites. Fig. 92. Pattern a rim row of small crosses, each a white square flanked by four black ones.

(q) A. M. N. H., 50.1-2150. Plate VI, Fig. 1. A band at the rim encloses a zigzag line.

(r) U. C., 1-20918. Collected by E. L. McLeod at Ventura. Flat basket, materials and texture like those of (p). Fig. 93. Pattern only near edge, two white lines with a zigzag white line between—like the pattern of (q) but reversed in color: the enclosed triangles are dark.

(s) British Museum, Vancouver's no. 185. Fig. 94. A row of small isosceles triangles pointing toward a line. A rim pattern, evidently related to (r).

(t, u) A. M. N. H., 50.2-927; shallow bowl of somewhat mottled *Juncus*. Pl. VI, Fig. 2. Middle or main zone of ornament contains two opposite pairs of four hollow diamonds in radial position (t); also two opposite pairs of radial lines each flanked by six short diagonals, giving a plant effect (u).

(v) U. C., 1-2331. Doubtfully attributed to the interior Chumash of the Tejon region. A small truncated carrying basket, in sumac, not *Juncus*. Fig. 95. Pattern, diagonal of six or seven acute zigzags, seven times repeated between an upper and a lower horizontal line. The diagonal has three points in contact with the upper line, two points just miss contact with the lower.

(w) Dalton, plate 15, fig. 1 has a shape and pattern somewhat like that of (v). If one is Chumash, both are likely to be.

(x) U. C., 1-4095. Small basket of spherical Mission type: no neck or lid. Fig. 96. Pattern, a block of two black parallelepipedons each with two diagonal bars; enclosed spaces white, background mottled buff *Juncus*.

(y) Dalton, fig. c. Fig. 97. An hourglass closely flanked by two obtuse isosceles triangles, the whole unit having the form of a square trisected by two angles. Some of the figures are reversed in color, only the angles and vertical edges of the square appearing.

These patterns aggregate thus:—

Parallel steps—long diagonals: a, b, c, d, e, f; border fret, g, h, i, j.

Checker—in square masses: k; in diagonal masses: l, m; in border band: n, o; in row of crosses: p.

Rim band of enclosed zigzag line or row of triangles: q, r, s.

Row of diamonds: t.

Line flanked by diagonal spurs: u.

Diagonal zigzags: v, w.

Barred parallelepipeds: x.

Flanked hourglass squares: y.

It appears that three-fourths of Chumash patterns reduce to the step, checker, and zigzag band designs, nearly two-thirds to the first two of these. This is a very much higher frequency than in Mission ware proper. While these designs are definitely represented in the southern art, they are only fairly abundant. They preponderate so strikingly in Chumash work—especially the step and checker—as to endow this with a quite particular quality.

Another Chumash speciality is the employment of light patterns on a dark background; allied to which is the introduction of white or pale buff alongside the dark brown or black pattern element when the background is a dark buff or light brown.

The direction of diagonals is regularly upward or outward to the right—the direction of the lengthening coil. This is also the usual slant in Mission ware; and it prevails in the twined as well as coiled baskets of central and northern California.

# MUSEUM NUMBERS AND TRIBAL PROVENIENCE.

(A. M., American Museum of Natural History; B. M., British Museum; I. H., Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; U. C., University of California Museum of Anthropology.)

Fig. 1	A. M.	50-2465	
2	A. M.	50-2786	Cahuilla
3	U. C.	1-12957	Diegueño
4	I. H.	8-3940	
5	U. C.	1-9195	Luiseno
6	A. M.	50.1-5990	
7	U. C.	1-14390	Cahuilla
8	A. M.	50-2786	Cahuilla
9	A. M.	50.2-924	Juaneño
10	A. M.	50-2466	
11	O. T. Mason,	Aborig. Amer. Basketry,	pl. 36.
12	U. C.	1-10609	Juaneño
13	U. C.	1-11066	Cahuilla
14	I. H.	8-3999	
15	A. M.	50-2778	Cahuilla
16	I. H.	7-2235	
17	A. M.	50.2-538	
18	U. C.	1-20910	Saboba Luiseno
19	A. M.	50-2463	
20	I. H.	8-1223	Diegueño
21	I. H.	7-2236	
22	A. M.	50-2140	
23	I. H.	8-3939	
24	U. C.	1-11047	Cahuilla
25	A. M.	50.1-2106	
26	A. M.	50-2785	
27	U. C.	1-11063	Cahuilla
28	U. C.	1-20908	Gabrielino
29	U. C.	1-3080	Luiseno
30	U. C.	1-10986	Cahuilla
31	I. H.	8-4540	
32	A. M.	50.2-926	Luiseno
33	I. H.	9334	Southern Diegueño
34	A. M.	50-2138	
35	A. M.	50-2454	
36	U. C.	1-11057	Cahuilla
37	U. C.	1-10609	Juaneño
38	A. M.	50-4194	Southern Diegueño
39	O. T. Mason,	Aborig. Amer. Basketry,	pl. 36.
40	U. C.	1-14397	Cahuilla
41	A. M.	50.2-926	Luiseno
42	I. H.	9-42	
43	A. M.	50-2454	
44	A. M.	50-2759	
45-47	U. C.	1-10613	Juaneño



48 U. C.	1-9194	Luiseno
49 U. C.	1-14396	Cahuilla
50 U. C.	1-14986	Gabrielino
51 A. M.	50-2765	Cahuilla
52 A. M.	50-2763	Cahuilla
53 U. C.	1-14394	Cahuilla
54 A. M.	50-2777	
55 I. H.	2-3933	
56 A. M.	50-2764	Cahuilla
57 I. H.	2-9566	
58 U. C.	1-11008	Cahuilla
59 U. C.	1-11017	Cahuilla
60 A. M.	50-2778	Cahuilla
61 U. C.	1-11007	Cahuilla
62 A. M.	50.1-9947	
63 A. M.	50-2779	Saboba Luiseno
64 A. M.	50.2-924	Juaneño
65 U. C.	1-20909	Saboba Luiseno
66 A. M.	50-2464	
67 I. H.	9539	Luiseno
68 A. M.	50-2780	Saboba Luiseno
69 I. H.	9-170	
70 A. M.	50-2457	
71 U. C.	1-14438	Cahuilla
72 U. C.	1-14405	Cahuilla
73 A. M.	50-2769	Cahuilla
74 A. M.	50.1-2877	"Chemehuevi"
75 U. C.	1-14401	Cahuilla
76 I. H.	8-1222	Diegueño
77 U. C.	1-9196	Luiseno
78 U. C.	1-9193	Luiseno
79 A. M.	50-2469	Cahuilla
80 A. M.	50-4194	Southern Diegueño
81 I. H.	1-892	
82 U. C.	1-11058	Cahuilla
83 U. C.	1-20910	Saboba Luiseno
84 U. C.	1-20916	Gabrielino
85 I. H.	8-5679	Saboba Luiseno
86 U. C.	1-20909	Saboba Luiseno
87 U. C.	1-20910	Saboba Luiseno
88 B. M.		Chumash
89 B. M.		Chumash
90 Mason, pl. 49		Chumash
91 B. M.		Chumash
92 U. C.	1-3078	Probably Chumash
93 U. C.	1-20918	Ventura Chumash
94 B. M. Vanc.	185	Chumash
95 U. C.	1-2331	Perhaps Chumash of interior
96 U. C.	1-4095	Probably Chumash
97 B. M.		Chumash

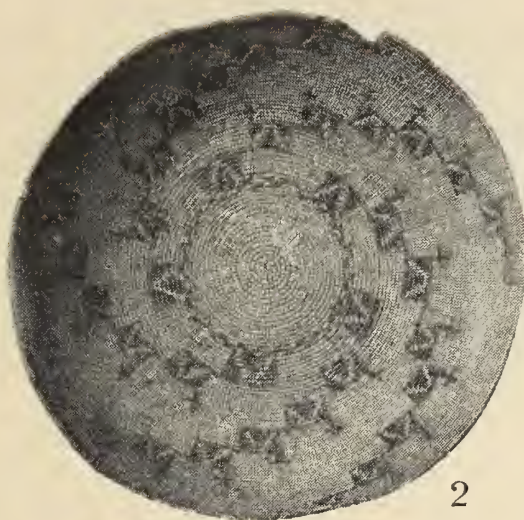
Pl.	Fig.			
I	1	A. M.	50-2464	
	2	A. M.	50.2-924	Juaneño
	3	A. M.	50-2769	Cahuilla
	4	A. M.	50-2778	Cahuilla
	5	A. M.	50-2780	Saboba Luiseño
	6	A. M.	50-2469	Cahuilla
II	1	A. M.	50-2463	
	2	A. M.	50-2140	
	3	A. M.	50-2784	
	4	A. M.	50.1-9947	
	5	A. M.	50-2777	
	6	A. M.	50-2109	
III	1	I. H.	9-40	Diegueño
	2	I. H.	2-9566	
IV	1	I. H.	8-1223	Diegueño
	2	I. H.	8-1222	Diegueño
V		A. M.	50.1-8265	Chumash
VI	1	A. M.	50.1-2150	Chumash
	2	A. M.	50.2-927	Chumash



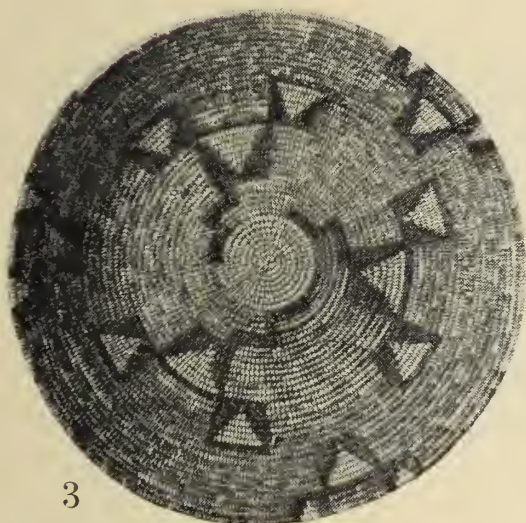




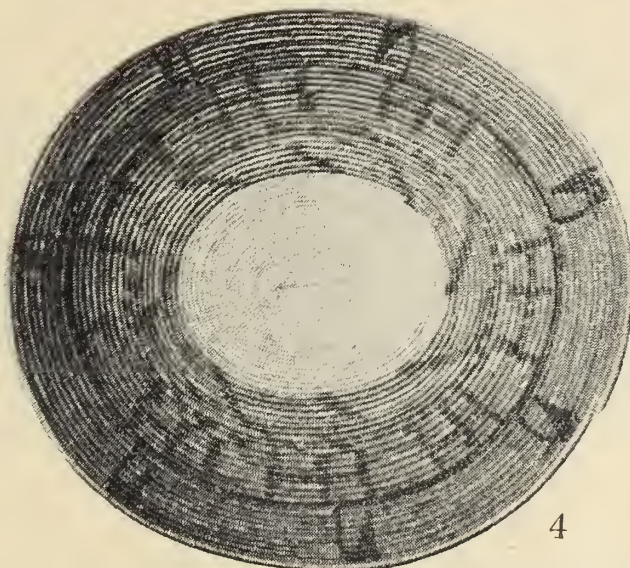
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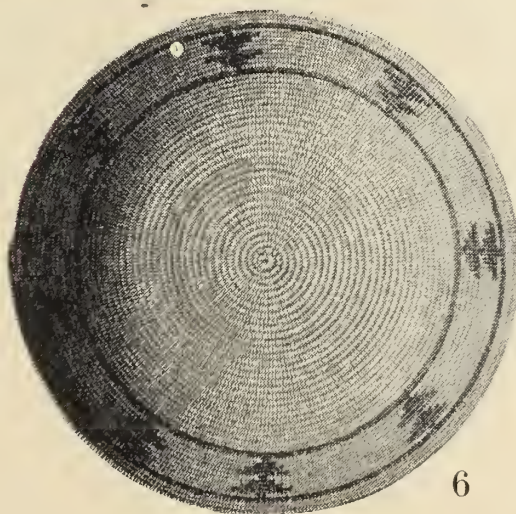
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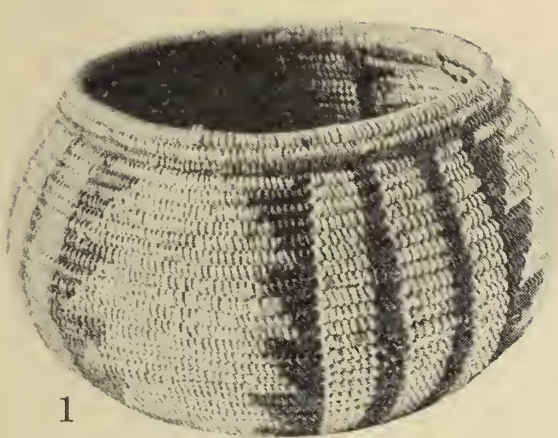
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Patterns on Shallow Baskets.





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6

Patterns on Round and Deep Baskets.

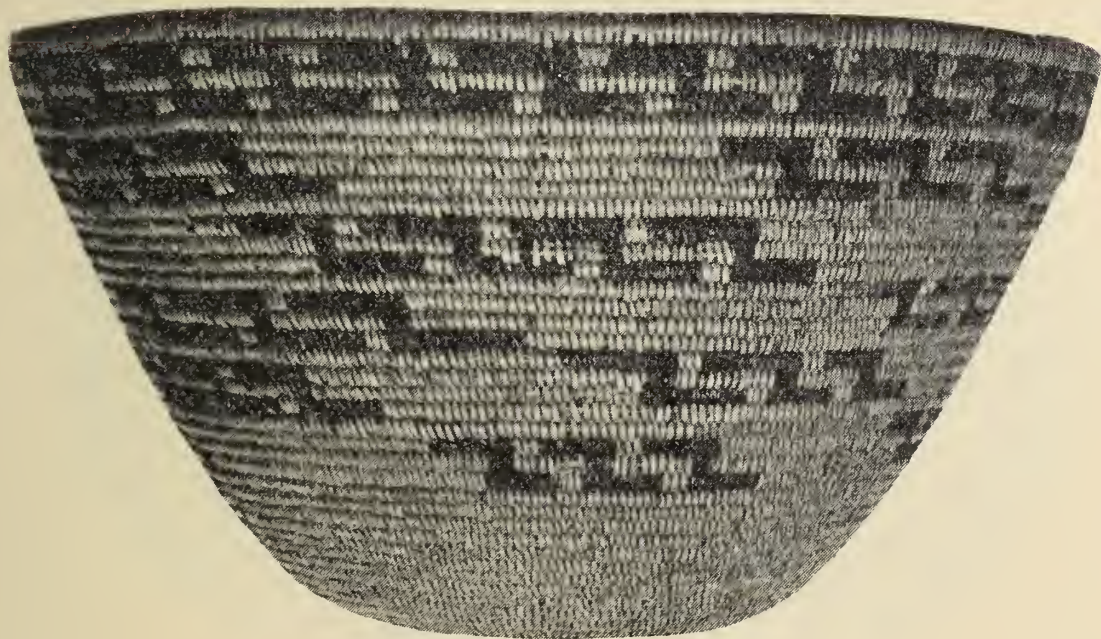




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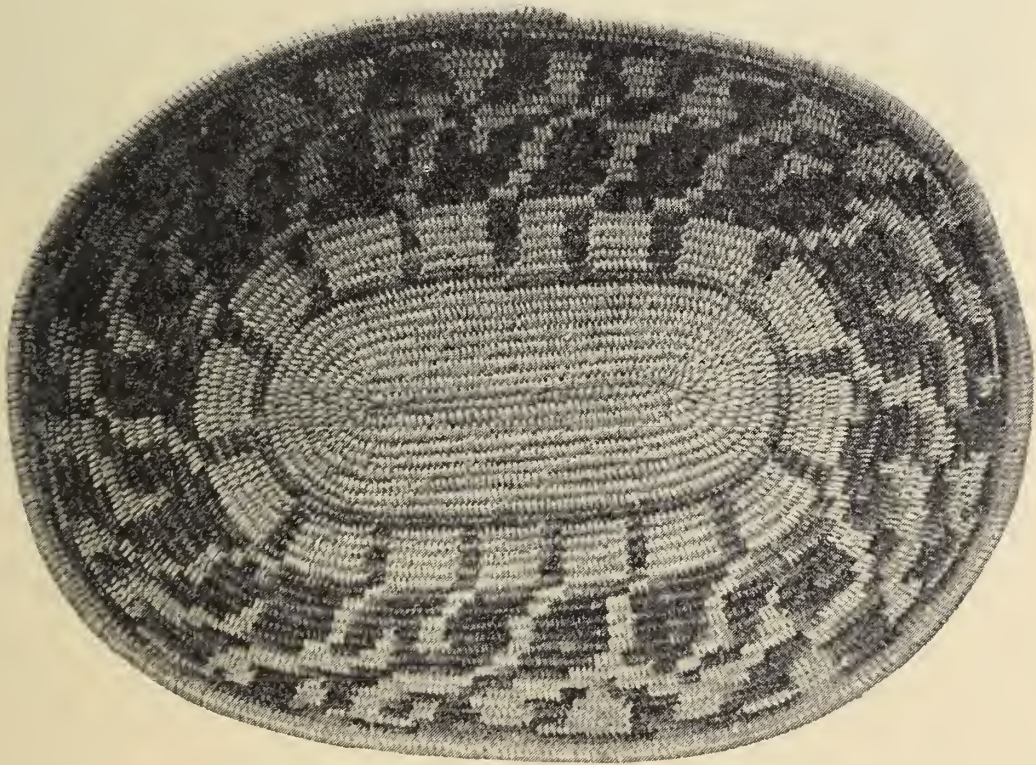
Mottled and Irregular Patterns.







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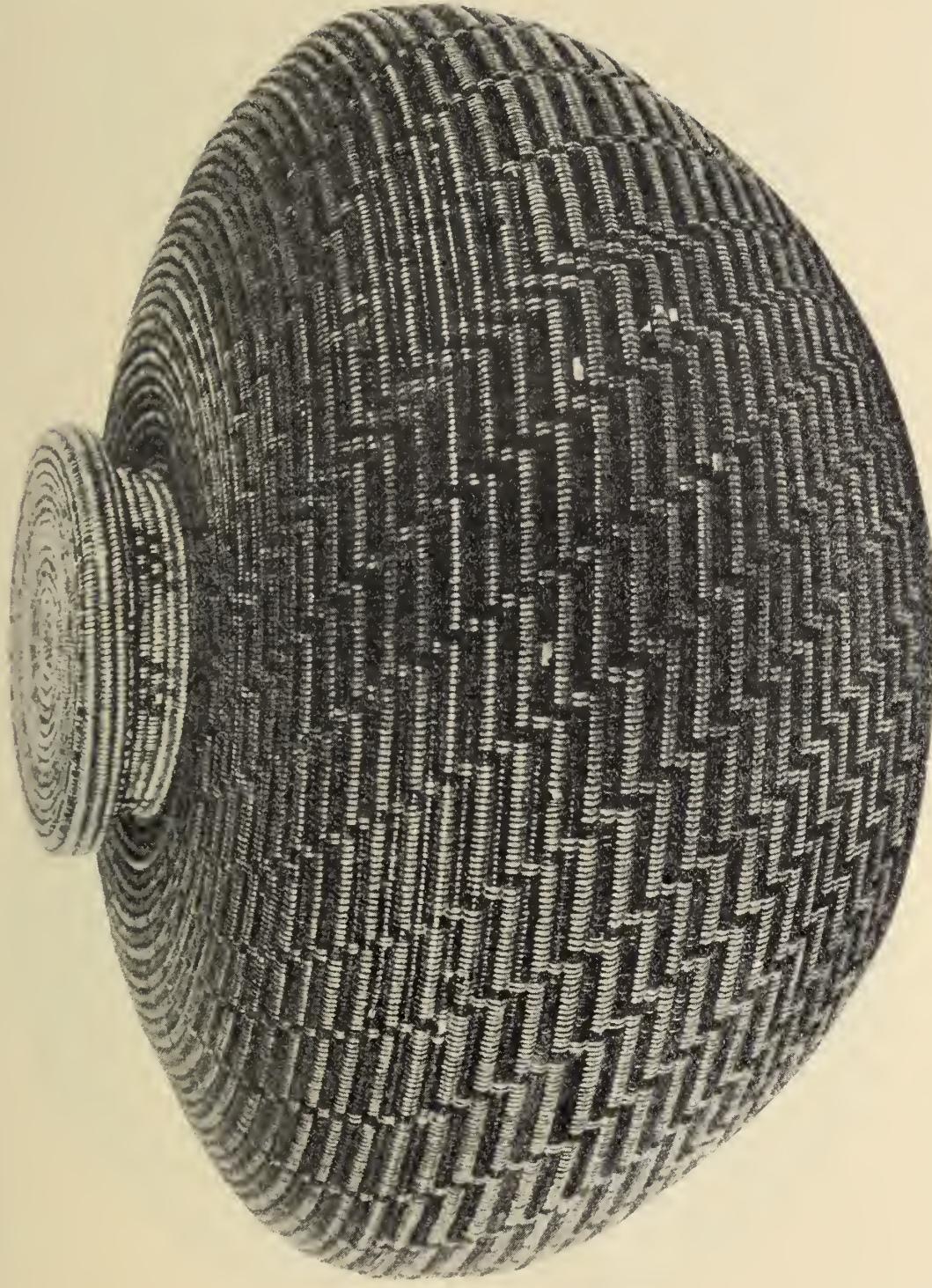


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Chumash Basket with Small Neck.

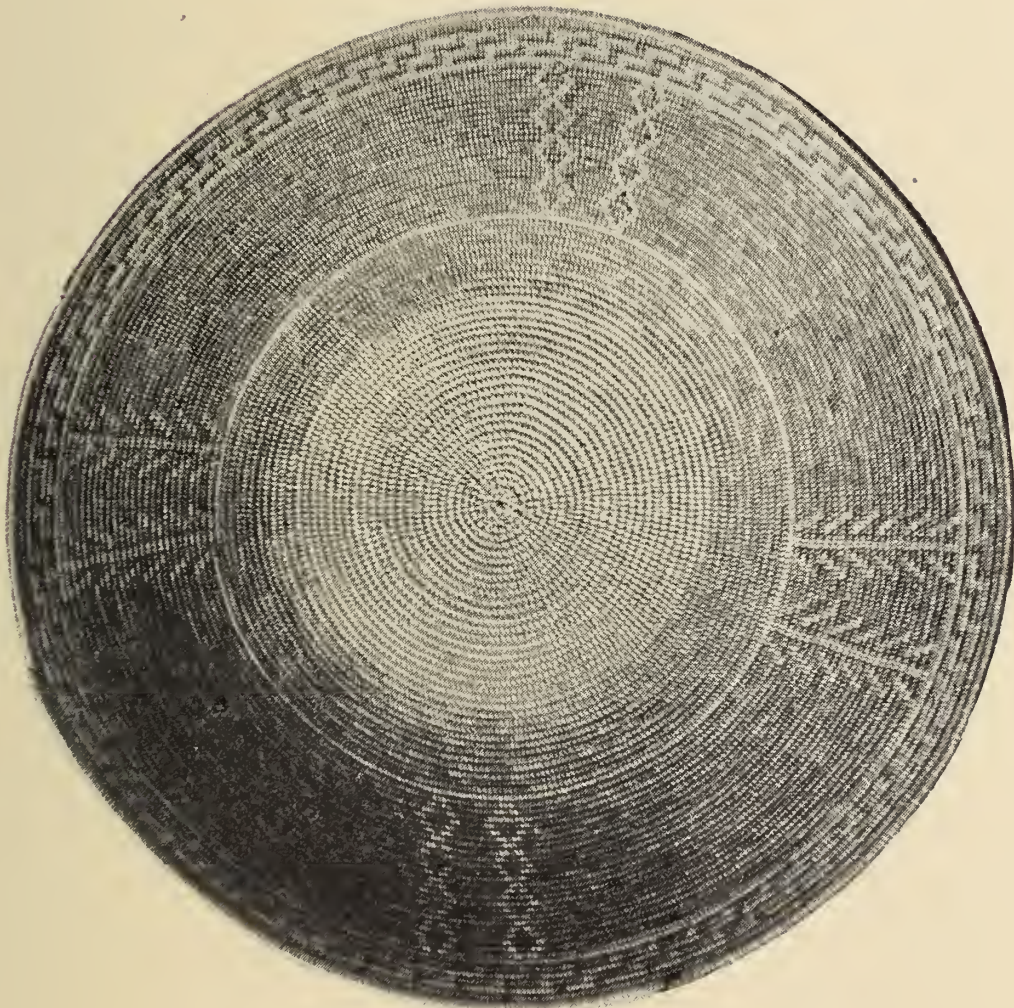
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Chumash Patterns.





1847

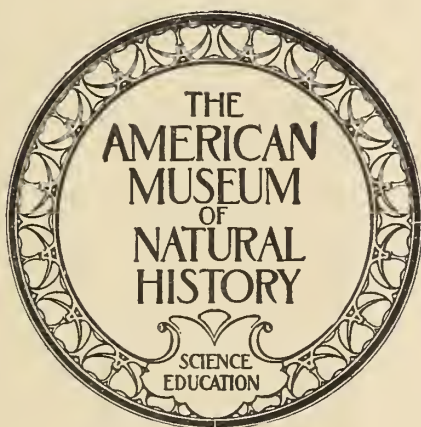
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BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE



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## INTRODUCTION.

Although the Plateau Shoshoneans and their next of kin have been studied by Major Powell, H. H. St. Clair, Edward Sapir, A. L. Kroeber, J. A. Mason and the present writer, the sum total of published information is extremely scanty, especially as to aspects of their non-material culture. Hence the notes taken among the several groups are here collected under convenient headings and relevant passages from earlier observers are incorporated where it seemed desirable. The folk-tales and myths will be published separately.

The groups visited include the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute; the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Fallon, and Lovelocks, Nevada; the Ute of Navaho Springs, of Ignacio, Colorado, and of Whiterocks, Utah; and the Wind River Shoshoni of Wyoming. Linguistically these four tribes represent three of Kroeber's subdivisions of the Shoshonean stock: the Paiute and Ute belonging to the Ute-Chemehuevi group, the Paviotso to the Mono-Paviotso, the Shoshoni to the Shoshoni-Comanche. According to my Paiute informants, Ute is sufficiently close to their language to be intelligible.

With a view to future field-work the following recommendations are made, based on my experiences in the field and conversations with other students.

From the point of view of getting Museum material it is very improbable that much in the way of showy specimens can henceforth be obtained. On the other hand, a great deal of worth-while material could still be collected from most points, especially good models where originals are no longer available.

For scientific study all the groups present certain practical difficulties, except the Wind River Shoshoni. The Shoshoneans in general are extremely reticent about divulging ethnographical information, and in the case of the Northern Ute this sentiment is intensified by a feeling of hostility against whites generally. Interpreters are almost everywhere of an inferior character and getting connected accounts from informants is frequently impossible, every query being answered in the most laconic fashion possible. As to fees, the Ute at Ignacio and the Uintah Reservation were found exorbitant in their demands; other Shoshoneans moderate.

Since Dr. Sapir has notes on the Kanab Paiute, a long stay with this subdivision may be unnecessary. However, the Shivwits (near Santa Clara, to be reached from Lund, Utah, on the Salt Lake Route, via St. George) and the Moapa of Moapa, Nevada, should be revisited for



further study. At Las Vegas, and other towns in southern Nevada, it may also be possible to get additional information on the Paiute.

Of the Ute, the Navaho Springs group, thirty-eight miles from Mancos, Colorado, seems to me by far the most promising. In 1912 they were so little touched by civilization that I had to leave after a short stay for lack of any even half-way acceptable interpreter. The enforced schooling of the children must in the meantime have created a more favorable situation from this point of view. I got the impression that these Ute were far less grasping than their congeners in Ignacio and Whiterocks.

The Paviotso are sprinkled over dozens of places in Nevada. The Walker River Indians and those in neighboring towns ought to be studied and the Pyramid Lake Reservation should be revisited. Professor Kroeber does not consider the Oregon Paviotso worth while in their present condition. The Paviotso are not hostile but generally far from communicative, and while a great many have a smattering of English few have a good command of the language.

It is highly desirable to investigate the Ft. Hall Shoshoni, on whose reservation the Lemhi also are now residing. The Duck River Valley Reservation is unfortunately so difficult of access that it is a question whether it is worth while visiting the mixture of Shoshoni and Paviotso reported there; the nearest railroad point is probably Elko, Nevada.

## TRIBAL RELATIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS.

The Paiute of Moapa gave *nöwu'*<sup>u</sup> as a generic term for all the Paiute and enumerated the following four main divisions:—

1. *Mu+ápötsö*; from the head of the Muddy River to the other side of the railroad station at Moapa, Nevada.
2. *Tandü'waits<sup>u</sup>*; from Moapa to Las Vegas.
3. *Tö'intesà+<sup>u</sup>*; from Moapa to Caliente.
4. *Suwü'ntsu*; the St. George Indians (see below).

The Shivwits give a somewhat different list, accentuating the local divisions in their own locality:—

1. *Sü'büts*; the Shivwits, referred to as St. George Indians at Moapa, with an agency at Shem, near the post-office of Santa Clara, Utah.
2. *Qanáb<sup>i</sup>*; the Kanab of southwestern Utah.
3. Grass Valley Paiute.
4. Cedar City Paiute.
5. Moapa Paiute.
6. *Qónto'qait*; in the mountains.

A second Shivwits informant gives as the generic name for Paiute "*nöwántsun<sup>wa</sup>*" and enumerates the following bands:—

1. *ma'tü'sats*; they used to live near Panaka, from Enterprise, Utah, northward, but only Alice and three others survive.
2. *Mo'ápa*, formerly known as *Paránö*, Put-foot-into-the-water; they lived near their present territory, Moapa, Nevada.
3. *Qaibábitc*; the people of Moccasin, Arizona.
4. *Yú+ita*; not really Ute, living round Cedar City, to the number of twenty-five or thirty.
5. *Qanáæc*; northeast of Milford, Utah.
6. *Sübü'ts*; south of their reservation, on both sides of the Colorado.

Linguistically, as already explained, the Paiute belong with the Ute, but, according to the Shivwits, they never came into contact with the Uintah in the old days, and this was likewise asserted with reference to the Navajo. On the other hand, a Moapa informant said that the Navajo were sometimes seen at St. George and had been in the Paiute country a long time ago. Of the *Mú'qwits*—meaning evidently the Hopi—the Paiute merely knew by report. The Shivwits occasionally fought with the Walapai in the old days; in recent years the latter have visited the Moapa. Some "Shoshoni" from about Reno, i.e., doubtless Paviotso, sometimes came down to the Moapa. My Moapa interpreter has seen Mohave at Needles, but it is not certain that there was contact between these two peoples at an earlier period.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake regard the Shoshoni as their best friends. They did not fight with the Washo, but neither did they enter-

tain any friendly relations with them. Their principal enemies were the Pitt River Indians, who used to live about Stillwater, but were driven out to California by the Paviotso. There is a tradition of the Paviotso killing the Pitt River near Honey Lake. Sometimes they would come, however, to attack the Paviotso. Horses and guns were first obtained by the Paviotso from the 'Forty-niners emigrating to California.

The Ignacio Ute gave the following as the names of their old bands:—

1. Möwátsi; about Cimarron, Colorado.
2. Kapúta+u; the people near the present Ignacio Agency.
3. Wímnənūtci; the Navajo Springs Indians.
4. Paiyútsi; the "Paiute" near Navajo Springs, but on the Utah side.
5. Töwútsi Paiyútsi; genuine Paiute in Nevada.
6. Yapárka+u; Wild-carrot Eaters, the Uintah Ute.
7. Möwátawiwàdziu; Ouray Ute.
8. Tāví-wàdziu; those formerly west of Denver.
9. Pagúwadziu; west of the Uintah.

Of these the Möwátsi correspond to the Moache of the *Handbook*; the Kapúta+u to the Capote; the Wímnənūtci to the Wiminuche, the Yapárka+u to the Yampa; the Tāvíwàdziu presumably to the Tabeguache. The inclusion of the Paiute is intelligible on linguistic grounds.

The Ute were a warlike people and fought various neighboring tribes, including the Navajo, Kiowa, Arapaho, Comanche and Shoshoni.<sup>1</sup>

The Wind River Shoshoni spoke of having once been together with the Comanche. They also traveled and intermarried with the Bannock. When my informant was a small boy his people were in the Fort Bridger country and then the Shoshoni split up into the Idaho and Wyoming branches. (Of course Shoshoni groups had been in Idaho long before this, as proved by Lewis and Clark's narrative.) The fact that Washakie is regarded as half Flathead indicates that the Wind River no less than the Lemhi came into contact with Salish tribes. The Arapaho were considered the principal enemies; in lesser degree the Crow, Dakota, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre. The French (Yúhundaibo) were the first whites encountered; the Shoshoni obtained a few colts from them in exchange for buffalo hides and also got flintlocks from them. The Spaniards (Tóyaraibo) came later when the Shoshoni already had possession of firearms. The subdivisions of the Shoshoni have been given in a previous publication.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Stansbury, 232; Kroeber, (a), 8; Reed, 83 et passim.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 206.



## ECONOMIC LIFE.

With an exception to be noted presently the Plateau Shoshoneans did not cultivate the soil. Nevertheless they were largely dependent on vegetable food, which, as Chamberlin has pointed out for the Gosiute south and west of Great Salt Lake, even took precedence of meat diet.<sup>1</sup> His remarks have indeed a much wider application, for with the exception of the Shoshoni and the Ute these tribes did relatively little hunting of large animals, and even the Lemhi were largely vegetarians and did not disdain such small game as grasshoppers and ants. Probably all the tribes depended in some measure on small animals, thus the Moapa mention the use of rats, lizards, and turtles. The wretched existence of one of the poorer groups, presumably encountered somewhere in Utah, is thus graphically pictured by Father De Smet:—

The principal portion of the Soshoco territory is covered with wormwood, and other species of artemisia, in which the grasshoppers swarm by myriads; these parts are consequently most frequented by this tribe. When they are sufficiently numerous, they hunt together. They begin by digging a hole, ten or twelve feet in diameter by four or five deep; then, armed with long branches of artemisia, they surround a field of four or five acres, more or less, according to the number of persons who are engaged in it. They stand about twenty feet apart, and their whole work is to beat the ground, so as to frighten up the grasshoppers and make them bound forward. They chase them toward the center by degrees—that is, into the hole prepared for their reception. Their number is so considerable that frequently three or four acres furnish grasshoppers sufficient to fill the reservoir or hole.

The Soshocos stay in that place as long as this sort of provision lasts. They, as well as other mortals, have their tastes. Some eat the grasshoppers in soup, or boiled; others crush them and make a kind of paste from them, which they dry in the sun or before the fire; others eat them *en appalas*—that is, they take pointed rods and string the largest ones on them; afterward these rods are fixed in the ground before the fire, and, as they become roasted, the poor Soshocos regale themselves until the whole are devoured.

As they rove from place to place, they sometimes meet with a few rabbits, and take some grouse, but seldom kill deer or other large animals.<sup>2</sup>

## HUNTING AND FISHING.

The Paiute hunted mountain sheep and deer, the latter being apparently more common in the Kaibab region. Dogs were used to hunt the larger game. Wögö'hüwa, a Tö'+intesà+u seen at Moapa, recollected tracking a mountain sheep for three or four days without anything to eat. He would use its cleaned-out paunch as a water bag. After killing it he

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<sup>1</sup>Chamberlin, 335.

<sup>2</sup>De Smet, vol. 3, 1033.

would carry it home on his back by means of a rope made of *wu'ö'ib<sup>i</sup>* weed. Sometimes three or four men formed a party for hunting mountain sheep, one of them scaring the quarry toward the rest. All who participated were entitled to a share. The long sinews from the backbone were taken for thread to sew moccasins, and the skins were made into women's dresses. Some hunters would hide near the watering-place and kill the mountain sheep when they came there to drink. When the weather was hot it sometimes happened that hunters perished from thirst.

The rabbit undoubtedly played a prominent part in the bill of fare. The importance attached to its chase is indicated by the fact that among the Washo a special functionary existed to superintend the proceedings.<sup>1</sup> Among the Shivwits he would call out to the men to get ready for the hunt and took the lead, stationing the men about a quarter of a mile from camp, where a big fire was built. Nets were put up in a wide circle, and the rabbits would get entangled so as not to be able to disengage themselves. Then there would be a great deal of excitement with yelling and whooping. Sometimes they would hit rabbits with arrows; some had no nets. This process of snaring was repeated every day. Some men killed as many as ten or fifteen a day, others only one rabbit. Each day they would hunt in a different direction. This communal hunt with its concomitant social organization was characteristic of the winter time when all the Shivwits came together. Apart from the rabbit chase the authority of the "rabbit boss" was nil, and after hunting together the several Shivwits families would separate. The bones of the rabbits were not thrown away but pounded very fine and thus eaten with the meat. From rabbit skins the Indians made blankets.

In the old days the Shivwits did not use the rabbit stick at all. Sometimes a man would go out hunting by himself with a long pole, which he would insert into the rabbit hole and twist round, thereupon pulling out his victim.

The rabbit hunt was probably an important communal undertaking of all the Paiute groups. Powell writes:—

They get many rabbits, sometimes with arrows, sometimes with nets. They make a net of twine, made of the fibers of a native flax. Sometimes this is made a hundred yards in length, and is placed in a half circular position, with wings of sagebrush. They have a circle hunt, and drive great numbers of rabbits into the snare, when they are shot with arrows.<sup>2</sup>

According to Wögö'hüwa the net was of *wu'ö'ib<sup>i</sup>* twine and was larger for jack-rabbits than for cottontails. Some ten or fifteen people

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<sup>1</sup>Barrett, (b), 12.

<sup>2</sup>Powell, 127 f.



would drive the rabbits while four or five tended the net. They would catch thirty or forty a day.

Rabbits were cooked in hot ashes. Dellenbaugh writes:—

Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes.<sup>1</sup>

The Paviotso had a communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven (see section on "Ceremonies and Dances"), and also communal duck, mud-hen, and rabbit hunts. Individual hunters stalked deer and antelope; they approached the game wearing a deer or antelope head with the antlers and mimicking the actions of their victims. This practice is called *tü'hü-itaqwá*. In this way it was possible to sneak up close to the herd, and shoot an animal, which was then pursued till it fell down. A strong man might also run down an antelope by tracking it for one or two days before shooting at all. The antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley.

The duck and mud-hen hunting was executed under the leadership of two head men. One of them would tell the people: "On such and such a day each of you shall make a tule boat for himself. The next day you shall make arrows. Two days after finishing the arrows you shall start." They would go on the water about daylight, led by one of the head men. There might be as many as thirty or more men in the party. They were led through the tule rushes out on the lake, where ducks and mud-hens were sighted. The hens would try to hide. Then they would divide into two parties, each led by one head man, and surround the flocks. When they had shot enough, they went home. That evening the head men told them to come again in two days for another hunt. They would scare the ducks from a small into a big lake. Then the head man said, "In three days from now we will go close and camp there. We'll start early." Then they would go through the tule on their rafts, sometimes driving the ducks out on dry land. Ducks were also caught in nets (*pühü'kwana*) stretched between long sticks stuck into the water. From a Fallon informant I obtained two canvas-back decoys (Fig. 1), the birdskins of which were fitted over a tule body.

The rabbit-hunt is likewise under the direction of a special manager; at Fallon the office is filled by Billy Springer. Usually the Paviotso of Wadsworth, Walker River, and other localities are invited to participate. The visitors stay with the Fallon people as long as the hunt lasts—say

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<sup>1</sup>Dellenbaugh, 252.



ten or fifteen days—then return home after drying the meat. November is the proper time. When Springer was a boy nets were still in vogue, but nowadays only guns are used. There is no general distribution of the spoils; everyone takes his own kill and saves the hides therefrom. The women go along to cook, taking the children along. The men do not return to camp for a midday meal, but only at sundown since they have to go a considerable distance.

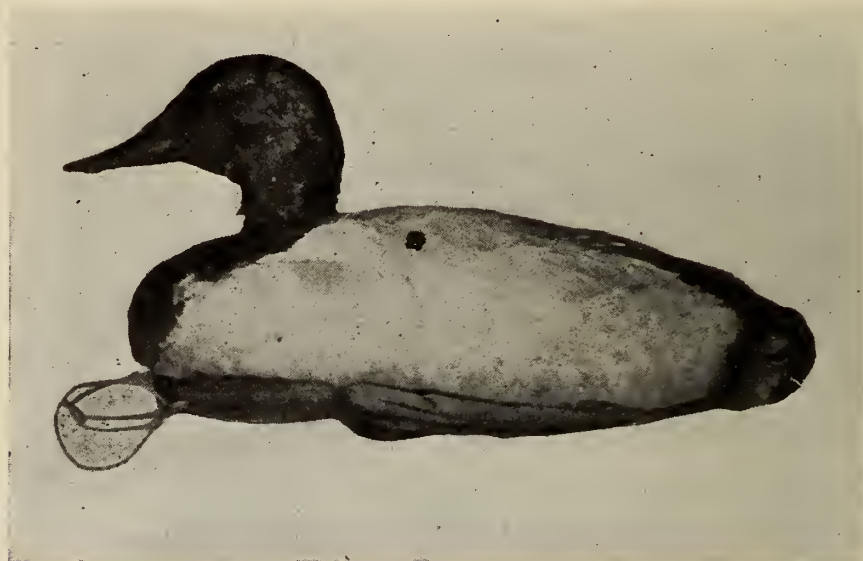


Fig. 1 (50.1-7934). Canvas-back Decoy, Birdskin over Tule Body, Paviotso.

In the old days a fire was first made every morning of the hunt and all the men would gather there to get instructions from the head man of the hunt. Practically everyone then had a net. They would stretch the nets, several next to one another. The head man bade the people start in two directions and later come together. A rectangle of nets was made six times a day, three times on the way from home and as many times on the return trip. The men took positions in one horizontal line inside the nets and nearest the fire, then proceeded toward the opposite side. Some rabbits would run counter to the line of the advancing hunters but only ran into the nets, whereupon the owner of such nets seized his catch. Other rabbits were dispatched with arrows as they ran past the line of hunters. The line of nets perpendicular to the line of hunters was longer than theirs. One informant said this communal hunt was kept up for a month.

The Gosiute practised a communal hunt for both antelope and rabbits, driving the game through a V-shaped enclosure and killing their victims at the apex. Deer and antelope were also driven down precipices.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Chamberlin, 335 f.

As would be expected from their location, the Ute shared the traits of the Plains as well as the Plateau Indians in their economic activities. They hunted buffalo and elk as well as deer and rabbits. The practice of eagle-catching in pits by the Uintah may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection as a typical Plains feature. Large game was killed in the late fall or winter. Deer were driven to a deep pit between the converging arms of a sagebrush enclosure; this was done near the site of Fort Duchesne. Buffalo (*qutc*) were pursued on fast horses and the kill divided into small pieces. Rabbits were hunted communally; the Uintah used nets, made from bark fiber, but the White River band (according to Little Jim) did not. Sometimes jack-rabbits were hunted on horseback. If the rabbits were in the thick brush the Ute would set fire to the brush and kill the rabbits, which then ran out of their hiding-place.

The Shoshoni likewise display a mingling of Plains and Plateau traits. In the winter buffalo were pursued on snowshoes (*dzink*<sup>u</sup>) of large oval shape made by the men; the animals were run into deep snow from which they could not extricate themselves. Before the people had horses they would surround a herd and close in on them; the buffalo very rarely attempted to break through, but merely would go round and round within the circle. When a man crawled up to a herd alone, he hardly ever got more than one animal. After horses were obtained the surround was no longer necessary. My informant never heard of running buffalo down a cutbank. Mountain-sheep were pursued with, say, four dogs, which chased the animals till they were exhausted and brought to bay on a rock. In pursuing antelope a hunter covered himself with an antelope head with the horns; when he caught sight of his quarry he imitated a grazing antelope and thus sneaked up to the animals till he was able to shoot one or two.

The Wind River Shoshoni deny having eaten roasted ants, but they did not scorn small game. Ground-hogs were driven out of their holes with a very sharp barbed stick. A trap was used for a species of squirrel, so that the animal nibbling at the bait would pull down a big rock on itself. Rabbits would sometimes run into a rotten log. Then the hunter plugged up the hole with sagebrush and started a fire, fanning the smoke into the log. After a while the victim attempted to get out, but was prevented by the plug. When it stopped squealing, the hole was uncovered and the dead rabbit was pulled out. Hunters also hung snares of tough bark fiber from trees and scared the rabbits into the nooses.

While I find no reference in either my notes or the earlier writers to the eating of fish by the Paiute, other Shoshoneans made extensive use of this article of diet.



The construction of willow weirs in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake was noted by Stansbury<sup>1</sup> and this custom was also described by one of my Uintah informants. The Ute, he said, would stand in the water, catch the fish by the tail as it entered the fence and move their hands up to its head. It would struggle and sometimes make its escape, otherwise they hit it on the head with a stick and killed it. Sometimes the fish were thrown out by men to the women, who would split them in two, remove the bones, and hang the fish up on a frame for drying. The dried fish were stored in caches and eaten in the fall. Fish were also cut into pieces and boiled in earthen vessels. They were shot with barbed arrows, the hunters at times pursuing them on grass rafts. An Indian of the White River band said that though this was a Uintah custom, no such rafts were used by the White River people.

The Paviotso fished extensively, catching mountain trout in Pyramid and Muddy Lakes, and other species in other localities such as the Humboldt River, which were dried for winter use.<sup>2</sup>

Wilson repeatedly refers to fishing by the Shoshoni and specifically mentions trout and salmon. He describes women and children fishing through the ice of Jefferson River and tells how he himself would angle with a line made from horse-tail hair.<sup>3</sup>

#### VEGETABLE FOOD.

Agriculture was wholly lacking among the Plateau Shoshoneans, excepting only the Paiute; and even in this tribe it was confined to the Shivwits and Kaibab bands. The Moapa distinctly denied having raised corn before the coming of the whites. From the Shivwits the following brief account was obtained. The Indians planted both corn (*hawü'B<sup>i</sup>*) and squashes (*páranârö*) before white contact. Irrigation was employed. Ditches were dug with an implement called *passāü<sup>u</sup>*, which was shaped with a sharp rock. Along the Colorado River driftwood furnished the material, elsewhere a species of willow or the mesquite. The ground was watered from the spring before planting the seeds. When the water had not quite dried up, the men dug holes with a sharp-pointed stick (*aγō'ts*), while the women inserted the seeds. The earth was removed and later heaped up with the hands. When the plants came up, a second irrigation was customary. One corncob was used to shell another, and the seeds were ground on a metate (*mar*).

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<sup>1</sup>Stansbury, 148.

<sup>2</sup>Hopkins, 11, 15, 76.

<sup>3</sup>Wilson, 20, 35, 62, 83.



It is more than probable that even among the corn-planting Paiute life depended mainly on seed-gathering and hunting, as among the other Plateau Shoshoneans.

A full discussion of Gosiute ethno-botany has been given by Chamberlin in a paper already cited. My own relatively meager data on that of other Shoshoneans follow.

The Moapa gathered various seeds growing round the mountains and prepared them for the winter. Among these were sunflower seeds. When the mesquite ripened the people would come down from the mountains and dry them for the winter. At present cassava melons and water-melons are extensively planted. Pine-nuts were and are used to a considerable extent. Practically all the Moapa left for a pine-nutting expedition in the middle of September, 1915, and did not expect to return before some time in October. When I arrived among the Shivwits in the second half of September, they, too, had departed to gather piñon nuts and though some returned after a short time they were preparing to go out again for the same purpose. Of the Kaibab Powell writes as follows:—

They gather the seeds of many plants, as sunflowers, golden rods, and grasses. For this purpose they have large conical baskets, which hold two or more bushels. The women carry them on their backs, suspended from their foreheads by broad straps, and with a smaller one in the left hand, and a willow-woven fan in the right, they walk among the grasses, and sweep the seed into the smaller basket, which is emptied now and then into the larger, until it is full of seeds and chaff; then they winnow out the chaff and roast the seeds. They roast these curiously; they put the seeds, with a quantity of red hot coals, into a willow tray, and, by rapidly and dexterously shaking and tossing them, keep the coals aglow, and the seeds and tray from burning. As if by magic, so skilled are the crones in this work they roll the seeds to one side of the tray, as they are roasted, and the coals to the other.<sup>1</sup> (There follows the description of grinding the seeds on a metate, for which see below.)

The Ute likewise depended partly on vegetable food. In August 1849, Stansbury encountered a group of naked Indian women and girls gathering grass-seeds in the valley of Ogden's Creek for their winter provisions, "with their baskets dangling at their backs." At an abandoned campsite on the Great Salt Lake the same observer found "a quantity of some species of seeds which they had been beating out," and the grinding of seeds into a kind of flour between two flat stones is noted in another connection.<sup>2</sup> A Whiterocks informant explained that formerly old women would go up the mountains in quest of berries, taking along willow baskets with a burden strap. The women would reach

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<sup>1</sup>Powell, 126 f.; Spier found an identical method among the Havasupai.

<sup>2</sup>Stansbury, 82, 103, 148.

for the berries and throw them into the baskets. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from these caches. Chokecherries were also gathered by the women in the mountains. They were mashed together with the pits. They formed the pounded mass into round lumps, which were allowed to dry, put into small sacks, and stored until the springtime. Another kind of berries, *qwü'és*, was likewise pounded on a stone and cached for the spring.

Among the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake and Fallon the old foodstuffs and apparatus pertaining to them are still very much in evidence (1914). In several settlements I observed women cutting barley with sickles and putting the grain into large conical burden baskets after the fashion of the old seed-gatherers; seeds were extensively eaten, and metates were everywhere noteworthy household articles. Probably most of the seeds were boiled as mush in basketry vessels, but some were eaten unboiled. Generally they were stored in underground caches in the fall. A great number of different seeds were mentioned and samples were produced of several. The method of treatment is somewhat different for different species. My informants mentioned the following vegetable foodstuffs: *t'üBá*, pine-nuts; *tuγú*, an asparagus-like sweetgrass; *ya'pá*, which is found in clayey soil and resembles the sweet potato; *qōgí*, wild carrot; *múə*, garlic-like, growing in dry flat country; *ü''üts*, little onions; *āBi*; *a'qö'*; *kusíak'*; *qōγá*, very small black seeds; *wá+i*, sand-grass; *a'tsá*; *wára*; *tubūs*, a huskless valley seed.

Like the other Shoshoneans, the Paviotso gathered pine-nuts in the summer, laying up supplies for the winter. Indeed, they are sometimes called Pine-nut eaters.<sup>1</sup> The nuts are shelled by striking them with the muller (*tusú*), then they are ground into flour with the same implement. The flour is put into a semi-globular basket, diluted with water, and stirred with a stirrer (*bat!ú*) of piñon wood. Then the mixture, containing small particles, is emptied into cups, one cup for each participant of the feast, and drunk. The stirrer is a looped stick of piñon wood like that described and figured by Barrett for the Washo;<sup>2</sup> the green stick is hardened in the fire. In gathering piñon nuts a conical basket called *tüBá-qwana* or *tū'ba-γawúnə* is used; it was formerly furnished with a thick buckskin carrying-strap. Sam Dick said that both sexes partici-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Hopkins, 15, 75; Lowie, 206.

<sup>2</sup>Barrett, (b), 16.



pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and seeds.

The *āBi* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāi'*<sup>i</sup> seeds grow in the mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray (*tüm<sup>ö</sup>*) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *āBúdz* seeds prepared for me. The metate rested on a *tü'm<sup>ö</sup>* tray. The seeds were rubbed with a sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tü'm<sup>ö</sup>* together with the dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed, and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wíc<sup>i</sup>* root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.



## METATES.

The Shoshoneans of Utah and Nevada employ the metate to reduce their seeds to meal.

Among the Paiute of Moapa the metate (*mār*) is used only on one side; the muller is called *mū'ə* (Fig. 3). Powell writes as follows about the Kaibab method:—

. . . they grind the seeds into a fine flour, and make it into cakes and mush. . . For a mill, they use a large flat rock, lying on the ground, and another small cylindrical one in their hands. They sit prone on the ground, hold the flat rock between the feet and legs, then fill their laps with seeds, making a hopper to the mill with their dusky legs, and grind by pushing the seeds across the larger rock, where it drops into a tray. I have seen a group of women grinding together, keeping time to a chant, or gossiping and chatting, while the younger lassies would jest and chatter, and make the pine woods merry with their laughter.<sup>1</sup>

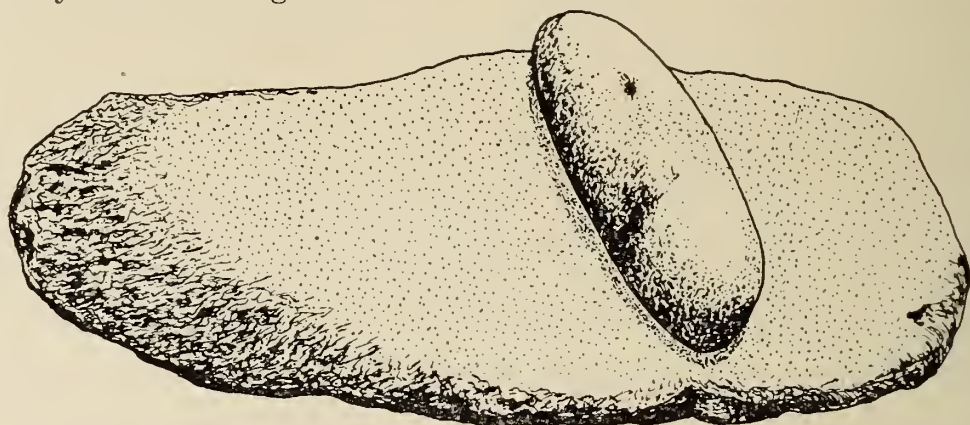


Fig. 2 (50.1-7909,7907). Paviotso Metate and Muller.

At Whiterocks, Utah, I saw three or four metates in my interpreter's house. They differed from those of the Paviotso in being trough-like, with two or three of the edges rimmed. They had been dug up in ploughing and were used by the Ute women for grinding coffee. I also saw a smooth slab metate, on which ripe *qō* seeds were said to be ground. My informants said that the flat and the rimmed metates were used in the same manner.

Among the Paviotso the metate (*matá'*<sup>a</sup>) was still in constant use in every encampment in the summer of 1914 (Fig. 2). Thus I saw a woman grinding *qōγá* seeds on a slab, scrape off the meal with her fingers, and put it into a tin can. Here I observed what I could discover among no other Shoshonean group,—a difference in the use of the two sides of the metate. In loosening the shells of certain seeds the women allow the slab to rest on a basketry tray (*tüm'ö*) and give the stone separator

<sup>1</sup>Powell, 127.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. Moapa Woman with Metate and Muller.



Fig. 4.

Fig. 4. Moapa Women wearing Basket Hat.







Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

Fig. 5 *a-c* (50.1-8639a, 7966, 7965). Sandals. *a*, Shivwits; *b, c*, Paviotso.  
 Fig. 6. Tule Lodge of Pyramid Lake, Paviotso, with Canvas Covering.







*a*



*b*

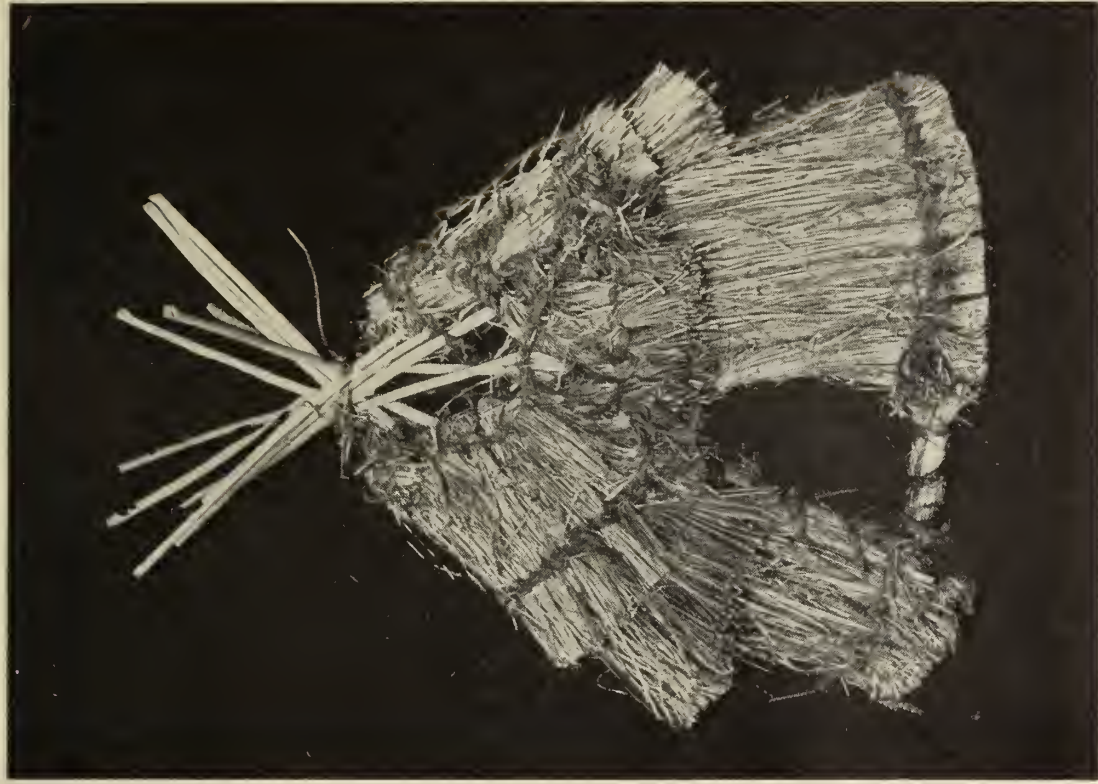
Fig. 7. *a*, Moapa House of Mohave Pattern; *b*, Navaho Springs Ute Shade with Tipi in Background.







*a*



*b*

Fig. 8. *a*, Shiwits Shelter; *b*, Model of Wind River Grass Lodge.







*a*



*b*

Fig. 9. Types of Paviotso Shelter. *a*, Paviotso Shelter, Fallon, Nevada; *b*, Shelter used by old Paviotso Women in Fallon, Nevada.



(*wigwán*<sup>u</sup>) a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

#### TOBACCO.

It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.<sup>1</sup> From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púiba*<sup>pu</sup>. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*<sup>a</sup>. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsíabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.<sup>2</sup> They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.<sup>3</sup>

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawáyoàp*<sup>i</sup>, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.<sup>4</sup>

#### DOGS.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lowie, 212-214.

<sup>2</sup>These statements are of course not irreconcilable.

<sup>3</sup>See Lowie, 212 f.

<sup>4</sup>Chamberlin, 345.



animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

#### DRESS.

The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."<sup>2</sup> But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."<sup>3</sup> A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *umpi*. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.<sup>4</sup>

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lowie, 185.

<sup>2</sup>Dellenbaugh, 178.

<sup>3</sup>Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.

<sup>4</sup>Reed, 40.

hats. At Whiterocks I noted a young girl whose forehead was decorated with a circle painted in the middle. At Navaho Springs most of the men and some of the women had plucked out their eyebrows.

The Paviotso also had rabbitskin capes for winter wear. They were very warm and lasted three or even four winters. Otherwise their main use was as a cover when sleeping. The men's costume consisted of a buckskin breechclout and fringed leggings secured with a buckskin cord. In the old days badger skin caps were occasionally worn. The woman's dress was of antelope skin and reached down just below the knees. Women did not wear leggings but exposed the leg between footgear and dress; they had basket hats. For babies blankets of sagebrush bark were made, and a boy's leggings were manufactured from deer and coyote hide. The Paviotso used a porcupine tail for a comb, also the dried and doubled roots of wild rye.

The Wind River Shoshoni women wore buckskin dresses decorated with elk teeth but not with beadwork. The cut of the dresses was like that of the cloth ones worn nowadays. Some were decorated all over with elk teeth in front. Leggings were of buckskin and distinct from the moccasins. Generally speaking, the Plains Indian style prevailed among both sexes.

Formerly young Shoshoni men who were courting girls used to pluck out their eyebrows. Among the Comanche I noticed that practically all the men were without eyebrows and at least to some extent the practice extends to the female sex.

The hair was parted by some Shoshoni men on the side, by others in the middle. It was not braided but hung down loose as a rule. Once in a while it was braided and wrapped on the side, but this was rare. In the early days there was a bang in the center, curled on a stick. They never wore a big braid in the back, but all had a little braid so that a feather or other ornament could be tied to it. Wawanabidi (1912) had his hair unparted but brushed up pompadour fashion in the center and with braids on the sides. The women parted their hair and left it loose; they never braided it as today. The parting line was painted red and still is. Old women with gray hair would paint it red. A peaked boy's cap of muskrat skin with two rabbit's tails for tassels is described by Wilson.<sup>1</sup>

The Moapa had deerskin moccasins if rich, while poor people wore jossweed (*tsowáramp<sup>i</sup>*) sandals. What the sandals (*úwüp*) were like among the Paiute was determined at Shem, where a model pair was

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 35.



secured (Fig. 5a). The two strings pass, each on one side of the second (next to the big) toe, are crossed over the toe and then pulled through the rear loop, against which the heel rests. They were tied in front on the instep. Sandals were worn on snow. Both men and women used them. Another Shivwits informant said that sandals were worn both winter and summer. They were made of the leaves of *ū<sup>u</sup>*s, a plant identified by Powell as the yucca or Spanish bayonet.<sup>1</sup> In the winter a kind of bark called *cūnáp* was tied on the sandals across the foot by means of loops. Sandals wore out more rapidly than moccasins: if a man put them on in the morning and chased mountain sheep they were worn out in the evening on account of the many rocky places trodden. Otherwise they lasted somewhat longer.

While the Moapa and Kaibab Paiute had deerskin moccasins, the Shivwits say they made theirs exclusively of mountain-sheep skin.

The Ute wore hard-soled buckskin moccasins (of Plains Indian style).

The Paviotso wore deerskin moccasins in the summer. Skin from the tough neck of the deer was taken for the sole. Badgerskin with the hairy side in was used for winter moccasins. Softened sagebrush bark was put inside to keep the feet warm. According to one informant, only the sole was of badger hide, the uppers of buckskin. I saw a pair of woman's moccasins with a cowhide sole, deerhide uppers, and an inverted U-shaped piece in front, crenate at the top; the seam was in the back. Models of tule sandals in openwork twining were obtained for the Museum (Fig. 5bc).

Wind River Shoshoni moccasins were formerly all of buckskin; the Arapaho introduced the custom of having hard soles.

#### DWELLINGS.

In the summer the Moapa and the Tö'+intesà+u bands used a shade of rectangular groundplan called *hawáγan<sup>i</sup>*. The walls were formed of brush on three sides and the sloping roof was covered with the same material. The winter lodge differed inasmuch as the Tö'+intesà+u had cedar houses (*moγáqan<sup>i</sup>*),—conical structures with a framework of cedar trees tied together at the top and a covering of cedarbark thick enough to keep out the rain; pieces of bark were tied together with cord. Possibly this very imperfect description was meant for the slab-house type reported by Dr. Barrett from the Washo.<sup>2</sup> There was a fireplace in the

<sup>1</sup>Powell, 126.

<sup>2</sup>Barrett, (b), 10, pl. II.



center and a smoke hole above it. The Moapa lacked cedars; accordingly they substituted a framework of the same conical shape but consisting of any long poles, e.g. willows, and used dry *sawáp*<sup>5</sup> brush for a covering. The height of these lodges was greater than a man's stature. The entrance faced away from the wind and was so low that one would stoop in entering. Though people lived near to one another, no special arrangement was followed; the houses were scattered without any plan but all faced in the same direction. Here, too, the fireplace was in the middle; the husband and wife slept on either side of the door, unmarried members of the household in the rest of the available space. The Shivwits used the cedar lodge throughout the year. The Mohave type of summer house,<sup>1</sup> which Doctor Spier also observed among the Havasupai, was noted once and is shown in Fig. 7a; it was inhabited by my principal Moapa informant and his wife. An approximation to the Paiute pattern is illustrated by the Shivwits hut in Fig. 8a.

Fortunately our ideas of the Paiute houses are somewhat clarified by Dellenbaugh and Powell. Speaking of the Kaibab band, Dellenbaugh writes:—

Their wickiups, about seven feet high, were merely a lot of cedar boughs, set around a three-quarter circle, forming a conical shelter, the opening towards the south. In front they had their fire, with a mealing-stone or two, and round about were their conical and other baskets, used for collecting grass seeds, piñon nuts, and similar vegetable food, which in addition to rabbits formed their principal subsistence.<sup>2</sup>

Powell illustrates a Paiute settlement (see his Fig. 43, facing p. 119). He says:—

During the inclement season they live in shelters made of boughs, or bark of the cedar, which they strip off in long shreds. In this climate, most of the year is dry and warm, and during such time they do not care for shelter. Clearing a small circular space of ground, they bank it around with brush and sand, and wallow in it during the day, and huddle together in a heap at night, men, women, and children; buckskin, rags, and sand. They wear very little clothing, not needing much in this lovely climate.<sup>3</sup>

The Ute of Navaho Springs, Colorado, were in 1912 among the most wretched and primitive Indians I had seen. The majority were living in small tipis of Plains type, covered with canvas. Compared with the real Plains Indian tipis, however, they recalled the nickname of "Bad Lodges" given to the Ute by other tribes. Several of those particularly noted had a framework of eleven poles, with two additional ones for regulating the smoke hole. The length of some poles lying on

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<sup>1</sup>Handbook, I, 921.

<sup>2</sup>Dellenbaugh, 177 f.

<sup>3</sup>Powell, 126.

the ground proved to be about seventeen feet. Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a *four*-pole foundation. Summer shades were also noted. The usual type is the brush-covered four-pole structure shown in Fig. 7b, with the tipi in the background. More substantial than any of these was the earth-covered dwelling of one Ute which was directly patterned on the Navajo hogan and was said to be unique. An Ignacio informant confirmed the statement that four poles were used as a foundation by the Southern Ute. Here reference was made to a conical bark-walled or brush-covered wikiup preceding the buffalo-skin tipi. Both at Ignacio and among the Uintah I was told that twelve poles were used for the tipi, including the two on the outside for regulating the smoke. A Uintah said that the poles were of pine wood, and either elkskins, sometimes to the number of ten, or buffalo skins were sewed together for the cover. When skins were lacking, a smaller cedarbark lodge of round shape was put up; the strips of bark were carried from a great distance. When some distance west of the Great Salt Lake Stansbury saw some conical lodges "of cedar poles and logs of considerable size, thatched with bark and branches," which were warm and comfortable. They were presumably the as yet unoccupied winter quarters of Indians then (toward the end of October) pine-nutting.<sup>1</sup> Passing through the Reservation I saw some conical lodges at Ouray differing from the tipi merely in having a cover of brush; these were said to have also been used in the old days for a summer habitation. The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures. The door always faced east; the woman sat by the door, the husband in the rear, and visitors took up corresponding positions according to sex. The skin tipi is called *moγō'puqàn*; the bark lodge *moγō'qan*.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake distinguish a tule lodge (*caíhinòBi*, from *caíhib°*, tule) and the old-style summer shade (*hunínobi*, *nánupia*), which faced the more permanent dwelling and had the form of a roofless semicircular brush shelter with a central fireplace. The modern shades are called *hāBá*. A large tule wikiup might accommodate as many as a dozen people. The poles were called *watákwama*, the tule shingles *siwat*<sup>u</sup>. Men and women coöperated in putting up the wikiup, the former erecting the framework, the latter making and tying the tule shingles. At Pyramid Lake I saw one tule lodge with an additional covering of canvas rags (Fig. 6) and had a model made, which differs somewhat in

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<sup>1</sup>Stansbury, 111.



shape. Mooney figures a wikiup, presumably from Walker River, and describes the native dwelling as a "small rounded hut of tule rushes over a framework of poles with the ground for a floor and the fire in the center and almost entirely open at the top."<sup>1</sup> The last part of the statement is hardly borne out by the illustration. It appears from available pictures that this style of structure while round in groundplan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like.

Among the Paviotso of Fallon no tule wikiup of the type mentioned was seen, but tule shingles, about five feet square with three supporting transverse sticks on both sides, were found forming the walls of summer shades; the pairs had been united with green willows. The most interesting shelter observed, which was used by some old women, is shown in Fig. 9b. It consisted of two separate semicircular sections. Each section was constructed of sticks slightly bent over at the top with small twigs and an outer covering of canvas or rags on one half, and tule shingles and branches on the other. Jointly the two sections occupied a space of about ten by fifteen feet. There was nothing even remotely resembling a roof but a small canvas-covered structure of sweatlodge size (Fig. 9b) was immediately adjoining and was probably used as a bedroom. The shade harbored a metate and two basketry jugs, while a cradle and a beadwork-hoop were leaning against the outside.

Lemhi mythology contains references to grass lodges and though the Shoshoni of Lewis and Clark's time were already acquainted with skin tipis they constructed grass lodges long after.<sup>2</sup> The Wind River people describe the grass lodge as similar in shape to the tipi but lower and smaller, with tall dry grass tied between the willow poles. My informant recollected seeing it in use when a child but soon after that it became obsolete. These huts readily caught fire and burnt up. They were from seven to eight feet high, the size depending on that of the family; they always faced east. There was no place of honor. Such lodges were for winter use and were never moved. In the summer sagebrush was piled up for walls and this was also substituted when grass was not available. A model made by a Wind River Shoshoni is shown in Fig. 8b. Altogether the grass lodge seems to be the equivalent of the Paviotso tule wikiup.

Though I saw one tipi erected on a three-pole foundation and was told that this method was occasionally employed, the predominant style was that of the four-pole foundation. Unfortunately we do not know what type was employed by the Northern Shoshoni. The point is of

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<sup>1</sup>Mooney, 1049 f.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 183.



interest in its bearing on the ultimate derivation of the Ute tipi. From the geographical location of the Ute we should be inclined to derive their specifically Plains Indian traits from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, but since the tipi of these peoples is of the three-pole pattern the assumption is untenable in this connection. On the other hand, if we knew that the Fort Hall and Lemhi Indians used the four-pole type, we should have a continuous distribution for this method from the Blackfoot and Crow southward to the Ute. The most plausible theory would then be that the Ute derived the tipi from the Wind River Indians, the Wind River from the Northern Shoshoni, and the latter in turn from their Blackfoot or Crow neighbors.

In Wilson's book there are reproduced pictures of Shoshoni lodges; the illustration of a brush-covered conical summer dwelling is especially noteworthy.<sup>1</sup>

#### FIRE-MAKING.

From the Shivwits I secured a model firedrill (*mārunù + inump*) apparatus (Museum specimen 50.1-8646ab). The hearth (*âx*) was formerly made from the wood of the *qwinúuramp* bush, which grows on the Colorado River, but for lack of this material *samáBiù - ù + ip* wood was substituted. Pits were made all along the hearth. The drill was of mesquite wood, which was also used for the model; unlike the Paviotso specimen to be described below, it consists of a simple shaft.

I did not get any account of the Ute firedrill. One old informant said he had never made fire with it though he had seen others do it. For tinder the Uintah employed the bark of the sagebrush or cedar. People would get fire from a person who had some, laying down a stick before him by way of remuneration. Later they obtained strike-a-lights from the Mexicans.

The Paviotso braided sagebrush bark into torches and also used it for tinder. Their drill (*qoso'*) had the common Shoshonean characteristic of being composite (50.1-7962a).<sup>2</sup> Model specimens were secured. The standard apparatus was described as comprising a willow hearth with four pits (Fig. 10) and a drill of willow with a sagebrush tip. Doctor Spier calls my attention to the fact that a Havasupai specimen also has four pits. My interpreter naïvely supposed that it would take from half an hour to an hour to make fire with this apparatus. Sam Dick made a shaft of cane for me, stuffing it with charred greasewood as far as

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 16, 19, 81, 114, 184.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 189.

the first joint (Fig. 11). His and my interpreter's combined efforts did not quite succeed in producing fire (Fig. 12), but Austin who substituted a sagebrush hearth was even less successful. He said that an old soft hearth of sagebrush would have been better. His drill consisted of a willow shaft to which a nine-inch tip of sagebrush was lashed. Another informant described the tip as being only two or three inches in length.

The composite firedrill of the Wind River has already been described and illustrated in a previous publication.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Burnett, the farmer at

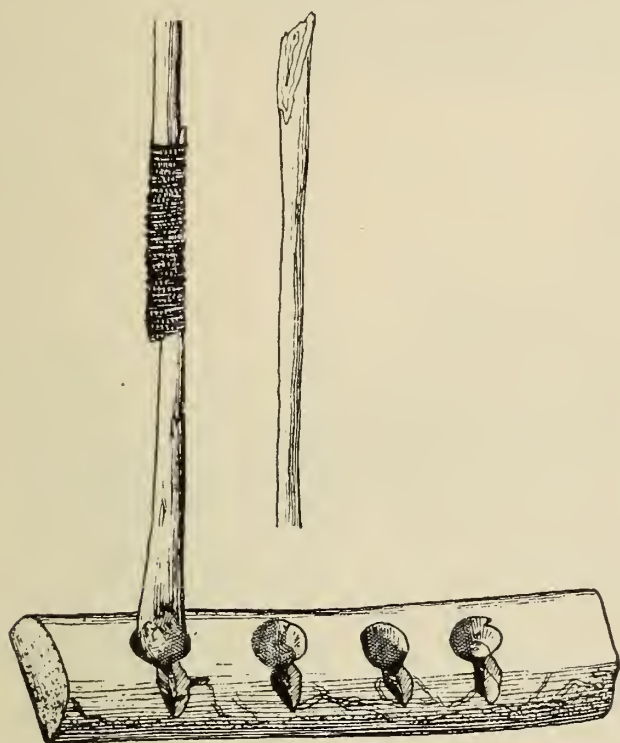


Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

Fig. 10 (50.1-7961a, 7962b). Model of Paviotso Fire-making Apparatus, showing Composite Drill.

Fig. 11 (50.1-7962c). Cane Shaft for Firedrill, Paviotso.

Wind River Reservation, told me that Sacajawea had described the use of the bowdrill in connection with fire-making, and this was corroborated by Wawanabidi, who has heard of the Shoshoni using this device. Torches of sagebrush bark were used on the march. The bark was rubbed fine and pressed into one long bundle wrapped tight with bark from the tall sagebrush. One end was lighted in traveling, and the torch would continue to smoulder without either blazing up or going out. On reaching camp, the people would gather some dry material, the slow-match was put in and blown a little, and thus fire was produced. These torches would harbor fire for a long while.

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, 189.



Fig. 12. Paviotso trying to make Fire.



## INDUSTRIES.

*Stone Technique.* On the stone work of the Plateau Shoshoneans the following statement by Powell merits being rescued from its recondite source:—

The obsidian or other stone of which the implement is to be made is first selected by breaking up larger masses of the rock and choosing those which exhibit the fracture desired and which are free of flaws; then these pieces are baked or steamed, perhaps I might say annealed, by placing them in damp earth covered with a brisk fire for twenty-four hours, then with sharp blows they are still further broken into flakes approximating the shape and size desired. For the more complete fashioning of the implement a tool of horn, usually of the mountain sheep, but sometimes of the deer or antelope, is used. The flake of stone is held in one hand, placed on a little cushion made of untanned skin of some animal, to protect the hand from the flakes which are to be chipped off, and with a sudden pressure of the bone-tool the proper shape is given. They acquire great skill in this, and the art seems to be confined to but few persons, who manufacture them and exchange them for other articles.<sup>1</sup>

*Pottery.* There were significant differences among the Plateau Shoshoneans with regard to their knowledge of ceramic processes. Early travelers speak with tantalizing vagueness of earthen jars among the Lemhi and their neighbors, stone-boiling being also reported.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Wind River Shoshoni informants only mentioned man-made soapstone pots and the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake very definitely denied having ever made pots, saying that baskets were used for boiling food and pitched basketry bottles for storing and carrying water. However, Sarah Winnemucca notes the modeling in mud indulged in by children, who made herds of animals and then shot at them with bow and arrow.<sup>3</sup> The Paiute cooked in earthen kettles (*pambö'nö*) made of hard clay (*wiábö*). According to one hardly convincing Moapa statement these used to be made by a *man* specializing in the art for the rest of his people. This is indeed contradicted by the Shivwits, who say their "mud buckets" (*pambö'ni*) were made by women, as we should expect. It proved impossible to have a pot made, but a brief description was given. The clay used was of a yellow color but became brownish-black on firing. Only two localities were believed to yield suitable material, one near the Colorado River and the other to the south of the Reservation on a mountain over which the Shivwits originally roamed, near the boundary line of Utah and Arizona. The coiled technique was employed and a piece of turtle shell served to smooth the vessels within and outside. They were pointed at the bottom so that they could be stuck into the

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<sup>1</sup>Powell 27-28.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 177, 188.

<sup>3</sup>Hopkins, 57.

ground, and a fire was built around them. All the pots were undecorated. After completing a vessel, a woman would fire it all night, then on the following morning if it were struck the sound heard would be like that of a metal kettle. The Ute also made earthenware containers. At Navajo Springs, Colorado, I was told that meat was formerly boiled in such vessels, being then served on basketry trays. On the Uinta River Powell found fragments of pottery<sup>1</sup> and Stansbury encountered similar remnants of the potter's art in the same general area.<sup>2</sup> Though Powell seems inclined to view these finds as vestiges of a higher civilization than that of the Ute, we may reasonably assign plain pieces of pottery found in this territory to the immediate predecessors of the historic Shoshonean occupants. Jim Duncan, a Uintah Ute, told me that among his people both stone-boiling with baskets and pot-boiling had been in vogue. The former method was repeatedly referred to by Ute informants. The pots were made by a few of the women and were purchased by the rest. Another informant from the same Reservation mentioned the fact that black earthenware vessels with decorated rim were dug up from time to time in the vicinity. Thus, the Ute, Paiute and (if early accounts may be trusted) the Northern Shoshoni made pottery, while the Wind River Shoshoni and Paviotso did not.

Specimens of Shoshonean pottery are to be seen in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

*Preparation of Skins.* The Moapa Paiute remove the hair with the bone or rib of a mountain sheep. They rub the brains on the flesh side, letting them remain for ten days or even a month so that they might soak through the hide. The skin is next soaked in water over night and wrung out next day, softened and allowed to dry. It is then quite soft. Sometimes they smoke the inside, but my interpreter declared that this was a custom started only a short time ago. Cow chips are used to make the fire, the skin is sewed up Shoshoni fashion (see below), and exposed to the smoke all day. After this process the skin is impervious to water, which just runs off it, and it never gets hard when drying after an exposure to rain.

The Shivwits use the sharpened shinbone of a deer to take off the hair. The hide was kept in warm water, then put on a smooth post and allowed to lie against a tree trunk, the hair being removed by downward strokes. Warm water is again used to soak the skin, which is wrung out

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<sup>1</sup>Powell, 43.

<sup>2</sup>Stansbury, 182.



and stretched so as not to touch the ground. In this position it is sprinkled with brains mixed with water, then soaked in water again, wrung out with a stick, put on a blanket and stretched with hands and feet. When dried it is soft like cloth.

The Shivwits do not smoke skins but the Kanab Paiute do. They dig a hole in the ground and sew the hide together putting up sticks to support it. They make a fire in the pit and allow the smoke to play on the inside, which becomes brownish-yellow. Only one side is smoked.

The Ute (Uintah) also scrape the hair off with a deer shinbone. The hide was then wetted, dried, stretched, and smoothed with a flat stone. On the dry buckskin wetted brains are used. The skin is sewed together and hung from a tripod to be smoked. My informant's tripod was standing in her summer shade and a stick extending from it to the shade formed a meat rack. For the fire the Ute use dried willows. On September 1, 1914 I was able to observe the process of smoking. The pit was rather small and in it a smoldering fire was maintained. The skin was sewed together and suspended from a tripod, being staked down with three small pieces of wood and weighted down with earth. The smoking began at 9.05 A.M. and the skin was taken down, tanned on the inside at 9.38. It was then turned inside out and suspended once more but without the bottom being staked. The second smoking began at 9.42 and ceased at 9.51, but the side tanned then was of much lighter shade than that first exposed to the smoke.

Captain Bob's wife said that in dressing a skin the Ute first of all removed the flesh with a serrate flesher, next scraping off the hair with a knife. Then the hide was soaked and stretched. A beaming tool was used only on the hairy side. Brains were put on and the hide was soaked with them, then stretched, dried and softened with a smooth stone. The beaming tool only was used on deerskins. On tough hides, such as those of the buffalo and nowadays the cow, the adze-shaped scraper is and was substituted. The beaming tool was made of deer bone.

The Paviotso remove the hair with a horse rib, which is also applied to the fleshy side. The scraping process is called *pö''hwöna*. After being scraped, the skin is soaked in cow or deer brains, which process is known as *tözó'pigin*. Rubbing the skin with the hands is called *töcáñgo+ì+a*. and smoking it *tö'wipuciak<sup>iti</sup>*.

According to "Bob," the Wind River Shoshoni dressed the hides of all animals in similar fashion. In making robes the hair was left on, for other garments it was removed. First the hide was stretched out on the ground, then with a toothed flesher, *tótzidòə*, the blade of which was once



of elk or bear bone, they removed the flesh. Next the hair would be removed with a draw-knife, in place of which a horse rib was formerly employed. With a big stone they smoothed the flesh side, then put on brains which had been saved for the purpose. When the brains are dry, the skin is soaked in water for twenty-four hours or longer. Then the skin is wrapped round a stick in order to be wrung. A second application of brains is allowed partly to dry, then a small smooth stone (*tícoə*) is rubbed over the skin till it is smooth. If the skin was designed for a blanket, it would then be decorated with painted parfleche patterns. It was mostly elk hides destined to be cut for moccasins that were smoked.

I had occasion to watch the smoking process (*tügwü'puciañgen*). A pit of oval shape was made in the ground; it was one foot in length. Stones were placed at the bottom in order "to give air to the fire, which otherwise would go out." The best wood for the kind of fire required is pine wood such as is used for lodge poles, but any kind may be used to start the fire. My informant reduced some pine shavings to charcoal and put them into the pit, then leveled the periphery of the hole with sand. The hide was sewed together and suspended from a tripod. It took thirteen minutes by the watch to tan the skin.<sup>1</sup>

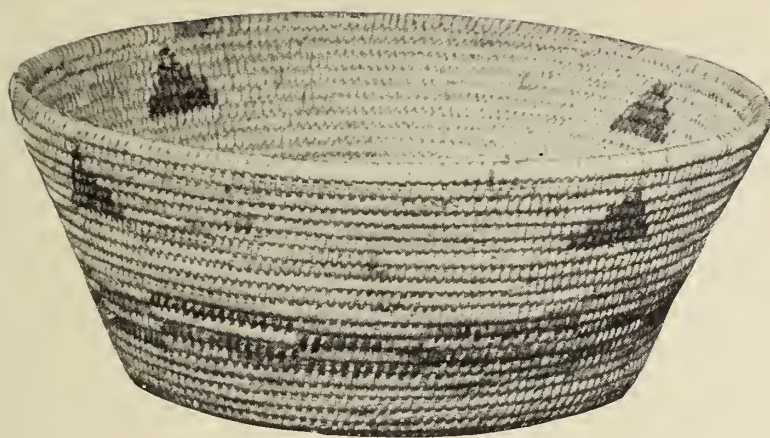
*Miscellaneous.* The weaving of rabbitskin blankets was practised by both men and women among the Paviotso, but probably mainly by the former. The skins were cut into strips, which were united into long ropes; the strips were first twisted round a stick or ramrod. For the weaving four posts were set in the ground in the form of a rectangle and connected by two crosspieces, the strips being passed from one to another and new ones tied on whenever necessary. It took about two or three hours to weave a robe after the preparations had been completed.

At Fallon I observed Sam Dick skinning two jack-rabbits without a knife. He began with the legs just above the feet, tearing the skin there, then uncovering the legs. Next he slipped the hide out over the body, turning the flesh side out, but leaving the ears intact, finally turned the fur side out and tied the skin of the legs together. With a knife in his mouth I saw the same Paviotso split a rabbitskin till he had a strip about 9½ feet in length. This he tied to another similarly prepared, making a doubled rope, which he twisted round a twig on his thigh while a young man held the other end.

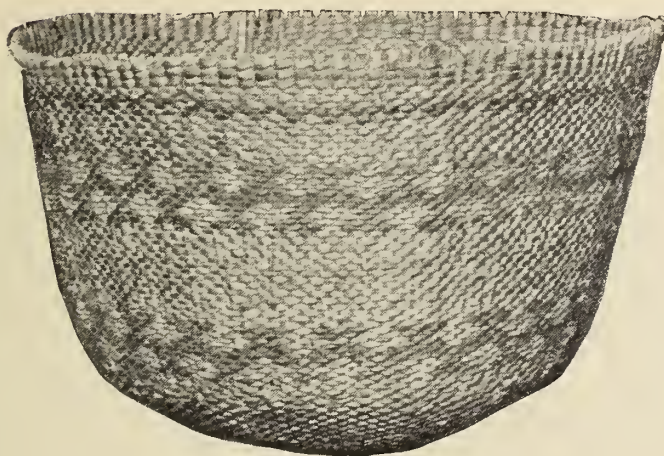
The Ute formerly embroidered porcupine quills but the Paviotso made no quillwork of any kind.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lowie, 176.



*a*



*b*

Fig. 13 *a-b* (50.1-7931, 7930). *a*, Paviotso Basket, Coiled;  
*b*, Paviotso Mush Bowl.





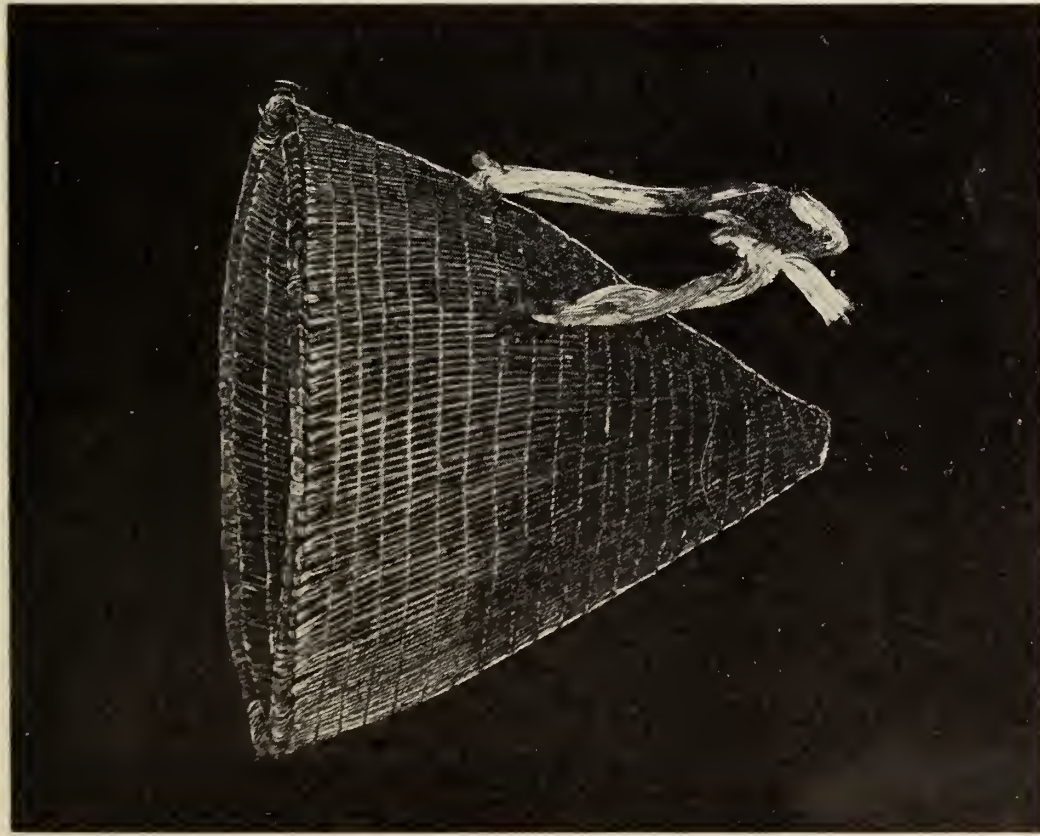


Fig. 14 (50.1-7926). Paviotso Harvesting Basket,  
Openwork.



Fig. 15 (50.1-7924). Paviotso Harvesting Basket,  
Closely Twined.



In sewing the Paviotso used antelope bones for needles. Stone blades had never been used by any of my informants; an old basket maker scraped down a willow splint with an iron blade in my presence. Willow splints are used for basket work; willow bark coiled up for use serves as thread, and is soaked in water so it cannot break. Water-tight unpitched baskets served for cooking; red-hot stones were thrown in with the rabbits, ducks or other food. Jugs were pitched. I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right i.e., clockwise in sewing a small, semi-globular coiled basket.

The Paviotso used the twisted stalk of the flat tule (*toib<sup>i</sup>*) to make rope. This is used in tying together the bundles of *saib<sup>i</sup>* tule for a balsa and is very strong; my interpreter and I, each weighing 185 pounds, were unable to tear such a rope apart when pulling at opposite ends.

The Ute used deer sinew for string.

String was made by the Wind River by twisting sagebrush bark; a specimen was secured. The same kind of rope was also made by the Ute, who would twist together three strands.

*Basketry.* As Mason pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the Shoshoneans of the Basin use both the twined and the coiled technique. In this respect they again clearly reveal a relation with Californian culture and at the same time are sharply set off from the Plains area. Besides sharing the two fundamental techniques mentioned, the several tribes also have in common a number of characteristic basket shapes. Among these may be mentioned the bottle jar, the basket hat, winnowing trays, and seed beaters.

Shoshoni basket work has been described in a previous paper.<sup>2</sup>

The Paviotso manufacture a considerable number of basketry types. Both coiled and twined ware are represented, but the collection contains only three pieces of the former technique, all of them being flat-bottomed bowls, *cö'dzità* (Fig. 13a). A shallow specimen of this category has a central opening in the bottom rather more than half an inch in diameter (50.1-7917); in the remaining and largest piece (50.1-7932) the opening is diminutive. Though some decoration appears on all the three-coiled baskets, it is relatively inconspicuous even in the piece illustrated (Fig. 13a).

As Barrett has noted, there is a very close relation between the twined work of the Washo and the Paviotso.<sup>3</sup> The Museum collection from the latter practically duplicates the Washo burden baskets, large and small, the seed-beaters, winnowing-baskets, and mush-bowls. The

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, (b), 489 seq.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 178 f.

<sup>3</sup>Barrett, (b), 17.



resemblance between Paviotso and Washo cradles will be pointed out below. A connection in another direction is established by the tule sandals (Fig. 5), which very strongly suggest the Klamath-Modoc pattern.<sup>1</sup>

In harvesting barley in 1914 the Paviotso women of Pyramid Lake Reservation still used the large conical burden-baskets formerly employed in gathering seeds and berries. The native name I secured for baskets of this shape is *qawun*<sup>u</sup>, those used for pine-nuts being specifically designated as such with a phonetic shift, *tū'ba*—*γawúnə*; another name noted for conical seed-baskets is *qawút'nō*<sup>ö</sup>. The first and the last-mentioned of these terms may possibly be applied to the two varieties

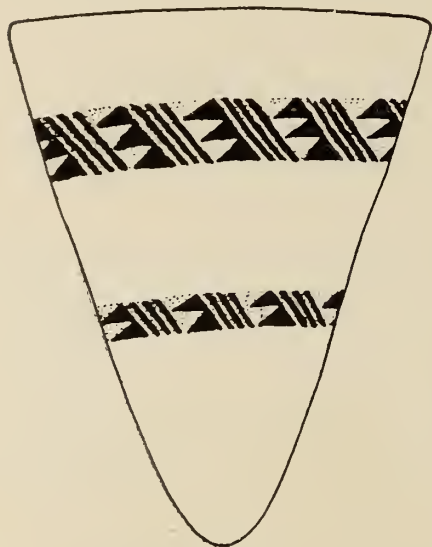


Fig. 16 (50.1-7923). Paviotso Harvesting Basket, Closely Twined.

of burden-baskets, the open twined and the close plaited; or, one term may be generic and the other refer to one of the varieties. In Fig. 14 is illustrated the open-work harvesting basket, of which a more pointed sample occurs, while the closely twined type is seen in Figs. 15, 16. On the latter the design is made by smearing on a mixture of charcoal and kweevee (*kuyui*) spawn.

The open-work seed-beater, *tsiqú*, occurs in a flat and a more definitely spoon-shaped form.

A mush-bowl (Fig. 13b) recalls Barrett's cooking basket,<sup>2</sup> even in style of decoration, but is only about half as large.

To this shape I heard the word *o'po'* applied, but am not certain whether its meaning is generic or limited to a special variety. Museum specimen 50.1-7929 served both as a mush-bowl and as a hat. The decoration resembles that of one of the conical baskets (Fig. 16).

Trays (*tsamö''nō*, *ya'tá*) are used for winnowing and roasting seeds. A large specimen in plain open twine is shown in Fig. 19a. Smaller close-twined trays of somewhat different shape and varying ornamentation are represented by specimens 50.1-7927 and 50.1-7925.

All the four bottles are in the twined technique. By far the largest of these (Fig. 20a) is conical in its lower half, and bulging to a hemi-

<sup>1</sup>Barrett, (a), Pl. 17, Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Barrett, (b), Pl. VII, Fig. 2.



Fig. 17.

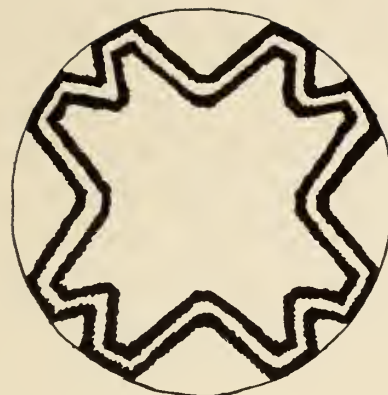
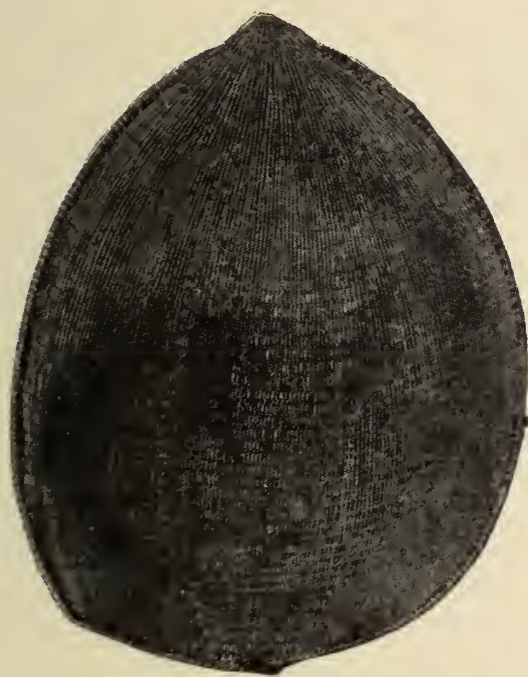


Fig. 18.



*a*



*b*

Fig. 19.

Fig. 17 (50.1-8588). Basketry Hat, Moapa.

Fig. 18 (50.1-8629). Decoration of Moapa Basketry Bowl.

Fig. 19 *a-b* (50.1-7922, 8643). *a*, Paviotso Twined Tray; *b*, Shivwits Tray, Twined.





spherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion; though the point of the cone is somewhat rounded, the vessel cannot stand. There are two lugs of twine and hair, connected by a modern band. The remaining bottles stand without difficulty, all having a flat bottom, which in two cases is dented in the center.

The Paiute share most of the forms of the Paviotso, but on the basis of the available material they seem to have a greater variety, especially in the coiled technique. To what extent there may be local differences, it is impossible to determine from the collection, which includes only a few Shivwits specimens. Of these a large conical gathering-basket does not seem to call for special comment and an openwork twined tray differs from a Moapa equivalent mainly through its broader, less ellipsoidal form. A very coarse but not open-twined tray (Fig. 19b), and even more so a shallow coiled bowl present a distinctive appearance. The Shivwits, like the Pima,<sup>1</sup> use the pods of the devil's-claw for black splints in making designs.

Turning to the Moapa pieces, which constitute the bulk of the Moapa collection, we find among the water-containers one striking difference from those of the Paviotso in that two of them, both jar-shaped, are coiled (Fig. 21). They are flat-bottomed and retain part of the pitch used to render them water-tight; the lugs and carrying-rope are shown in the illustration. This type is shown by Mason<sup>2</sup> and from his statement it appears that Powell collected many specimens of somewhat varying shape but in the same technique from the Utah Paiute, i.e., from the Shivwits and Kaibab. The twined bottles include a flat-bottomed specimen recalling the Paviotso pattern and several pear-shaped pieces (Fig. 20c) rather more bi-conical than the Paviotso equivalent. The larger jugs are called *ōts*; the smaller, *o'tsáts*.

Three hats (*qáitsogot*, *qáitsogots*) conforming to the same shape (Fig. 17) are all twined like those of the Paviotso. A single Bannock specimen is likewise in this technique. This fact is significant because it aligns the Shoshoneans with the northern rather than the southern Californians.

The gathering-baskets (*ā'is*), which vary considerably in size, are all twined and fall into two main categories according to whether the twining is close or open. Fig. 22 shows perhaps the best sample of the latter variety. As in several other cases, the inside of the lugs supporting the carrying-band or strap is reinforced with splints or wrapped little sticks. The torsion of the warp strands noted by Mason in a Utah Paiute

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<sup>1</sup>Russell, 133.

<sup>2</sup>Mason, (b), Plates 32, 117; 259, 361, 489, 496.

gathering-basket<sup>1</sup> is noticeable in a number of my specimens also. Its shape is not duplicated in my Moapa collection, in which all pieces but one are conical and even the aberrant form may be conceived as a rounded cone, but a basket bought from the Lemhi Shoshoni closely approximates it. The close-plaited Moapa (specimens 50.1-8616, 8618) gathering baskets are also conical; they exhibit various ornamental patterns. The large Utah Paiute specimen figured by Mason<sup>2</sup> is decorated with a motive practically identical with that on a Paviotso basket (Fig. 16).

A twined basket of unique form is shown in Fig. 23. The ornamentation, which is in two zones, is visible on the inside, but the patterns are externally stressed by a black coating.

The pointed open-twined tray (*yant*<sup>u</sup>) of Paviotso shape also occurs in Moapa, but there is also a markedly less peaked specimen (specimen 50.1-8592), while another is definitely elliptical (specimen 50.1-8594). The close-plaited trays are likewise of more varied shape than those of the Paviotso; representative forms are specimens 50.1-8575, 50.1-8597, 50.1-8577, 50.1-8599. One name applied to these trays at Shem is *ta'qwü'yo*, *ta'qwāi'ö*, the Moapa term being *ta'qōy*<sup>u</sup>.

Though I did not buy any Paiute seed-beaters, their occurrence is attested by a pair from southern Utah figured by Mason.<sup>3</sup>

The coiled baskets from Moapa are for the most part flat-bottomed. By far the most common shape is the bowl, which varies considerably in size. *Qo'tsits* is the term applied to a coiled bowl, said to have been water-tight and used for a plate, but *tsitsowats* was also noted. The largest suggests a laundry-basket, being provided with lugs. More characteristic samples, also noteworthy for their ornamentation, are seen in Figs. 24, 26. Practically all the basketry-bowls have some decorative motive, as shown in Fig. 18, though in some cases it dwindles into insignificance. In a number of specimens the shape is not distinctively that of a bowl but assumes rather ellipsoidal outlines. A very neatly worked little basket, recurved at the top and markedly truncate at the bottom is shown in Fig. 29b, and a large basket with a lid quite distinct from all the rest is seen in Fig. 25.

At Moapa I unfortunately did not secure any sandals, but a pair made to order by a Shivwits (Fig. 5a) is of considerable interest, both because quite different from the tule, equivalents of the Paviotso and because strongly suggestive of the cross-woven Basket-Maker sandals described by Kidder and Guernsey.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Mason, (b), 493.

<sup>2</sup>Mason, (b), 494.

<sup>3</sup>Mason, (b), 492.

<sup>4</sup>Kidder and Guernsey, 158, Pl. 67.





*a* *b* *c*  
 Fig. 20 *a-c* (50.1-7916, 7905, 8606) Basketry Bottles. *a*, *b*, Paviotso, Twined; *c*, Moapa.





The Museum has one coiled berrying-basket collected by J. W. Powell from the Paiute of southern Utah (Fig. 28a). It is very similar in technique and general shape to a form popular among the Ute (see below).

Several other pieces collected by Powell are of uncertain provenience, but may be confidently assigned to either the Ute or Paiute. To the former I am inclined to credit the hat in Fig. 31a because it differs from all the known Paiute equivalents and resembles in its projecting top the Ute hat illustrated by Mason.<sup>1</sup> Like the other Shoshonean hats, it is twined. Regarding the other Powell specimens I have no data to decide their provenience, as they are neither described by Mason nor duplicated in subsequent collections of either Ute or Paiute material. Three of them are small coiled bowls, one of which is heavily pitched in one part; they share a characteristic braided rim. A larger circular bowl, also coiled, is shown in Fig. 31d and a close-coiled meat tray in Fig. 31c.

The baskets definitely known to come from the Ute are remarkable, if the Museum collection may be taken as representative, for the dearth of twined ware. Winnowing trays of both Paiute forms are lacking. A gathering-basket of open-twined variety described by Mason as Paiute<sup>2</sup> and found by myself at Lemhi was bought by Kroeber among the Northern Ute (Fig. 27b). Three bottles, all of biconical or pear shape, are also twined. All the other bottles, representing a number of distinct varieties of forms, are coiled (Figs. 28b, 20).

A type of coiled basketry distinctive of the Ute is represented by a moderately sized berrying-basket, uniformly worked on a two-rod foundation. The shape varies from the anomalous cuspidor form (Fig. 28c) to the varieties illustrated in Figs. 28a and 27a. The specimens of this category come from both the Northern and the Southern Ute, those of the latter having been purchased partly at Ignacio and partly at Navaho Springs.

A plain bowl with two-rod foundation—the single sample of this shape—is shown in Fig. 29a. It was bought at Navaho Springs.

A coarse coiled tray collected at Navaho Springs recalls Apache equivalents. Relations in the same direction are suggested by three other baskets (Figs. 30 a-c).

#### WAR.

The Shoshoni naturally show Plains Indian influences most clearly. Among their chief enemies were the Crow, who are repeatedly cited by

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, (b), 490.

<sup>2</sup>Mason, (b), 493.

Wilson.<sup>1</sup> The emphasis was put on horse-stealing and at the Sun dance such raids were the things spoken of, provided the narrator had witnesses for his deeds. At present they also tell of chasing or killing the enemy, but my informant regarded this as an innovation due to the Crow Indians. At the time of the Sun dance and when the sham battle is held they speak of guns captured from the enemy, and other deeds, but horse-stealing is regarded as brave an exploit as any. Though scalps were taken, scalping did not rank as an heroic deed, nor was I able to get a definite statement as to counting coup. My informant had heard of punishing enemies with a long stick, but did not make any more specific comment on the subject. A man who rode up to an enemy with a gun and pulled him from his horse was reckoned a brave man; so was a Shoshoni who rushed up in the face of an enemy shooting at him and then got back safe or even repelled the enemy. Such a man would become a leader among the warriors. Scouts would carry a wolf hide and walk with the aid of two sticks. In going out there were generally two head men, who would say, "Well, let us gather men and set out." They located the enemy, watching where they put their horses. That night they would get their knives ready and drive off the horses, prepared to fight if overtaken.

During Washakie's chieftainship my informant went with the rest of the men against the Arapaho. They killed a few and got off with some horses; the scalps were put on sticks. When they got near camp the party sang war songs, then the women rode out double to meet them, relieving them of the scalp-sticks.<sup>2</sup> Coming into camp several of the warriors discharged their guns, then they rode round camp singing war songs. Finally everything would quiet down. In the evening they held a dance (*wutápe*). The old women would hold the enemies' hands or other parts of the body in their mouths. The dance was also performed on the next day and might be repeated for several days in succession.

There were rarely any disputes about war exploits; generally every one knew who deserved the credit for them.

Besides bows and arrows, the Shoshoni are said to have used spears of pine wood about twelve feet long with a steel spike about four inches in length.<sup>3</sup> They had buffalo shields (*tserop*). They cut off the breast part of a buffalo hide and pegged it down over a pit filled with hot rocks. The hide gets drawn up, then it was easy to pull off the hair. It was moved to a pile of earth and when dry was furnished with a cover of

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 25, 44, 87.

<sup>2</sup>Wilson, 25.

<sup>3</sup>Wilson, 107.



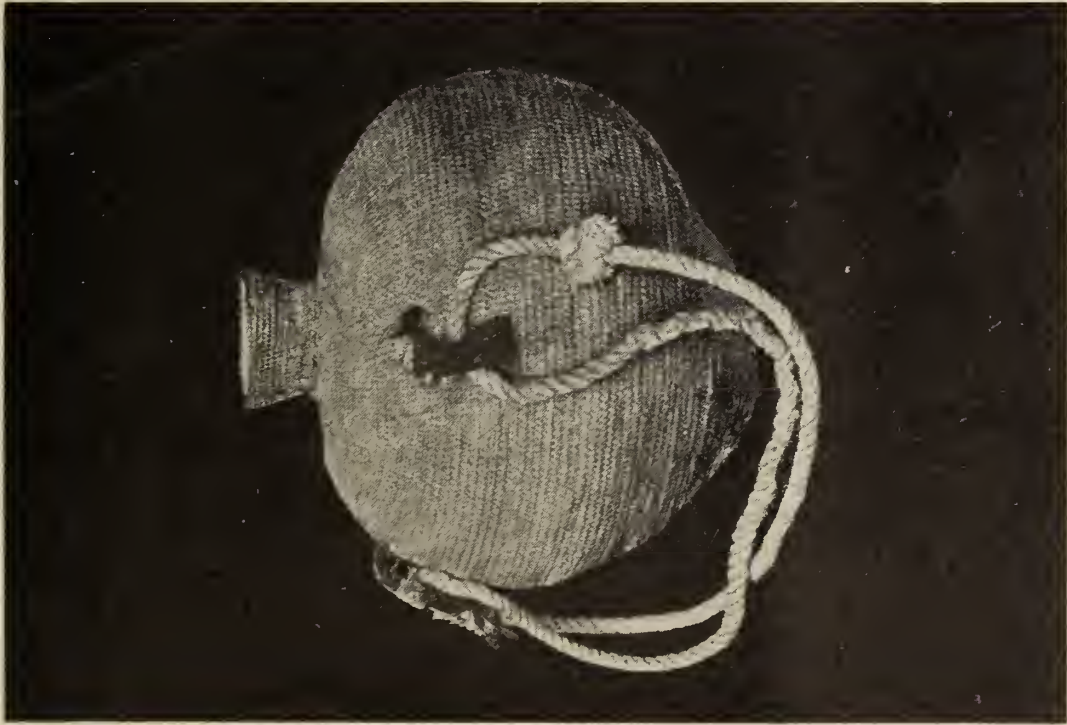


Fig. 21 (50.1-8609). Moapa Basketry Bottle, Coiled.



Fig. 22 (50.1-8615). Moapa Gathering Basket.



antelope hide and a trimming of eagle feathers all round. Different kinds of paint were put on it, and the completed shield was hung up on a tripod.

The Ute probably practised similarly attenuated Plains Indian war customs, as indicated in Reed's fanciful volume,<sup>1</sup> but I failed to secure specific data.

The Paviotso did not practise scalping.<sup>2</sup> They wore an armor of stiffest animal hide, doubled so as to be hard and stiff. They wetted it first, then stiffened it by drying. They tested it with arrows. The whole body was covered with it. The chief mentioned in a tradition was killed through eye-slits in his armor.

Of the Kaibab Paiute bows Powell writes as follows:—

Most of their bows are made of cedar, but the best are made of the horns of mountain sheep. These are taken, soaked in water until quite soft, cut into long thin strips, and glued together, and are then quite elastic.<sup>3</sup>

My Shivwits informant merely referred to unbacked bows of oak or sarvis-berry wood. After the green stick had been shaped and dried, a sinew string was attached. The arrows were of sarvis-berry wood and were held between thumb and index with the middle finger resting on the index.

The Uintah Ute had bows of cedar, pine, or other kind of wood.

Three kinds of wood were used for bows (*ārō*) by the Paviotso,—*ts̄saBi*, *poγo'nōB<sup>i</sup>*, and *ugwo'qow<sup>a</sup>*, the last-mentioned being used for arrows (*poñoss<sup>a</sup>*) as well. There was no bowyers' craft; all the Paviotso made their own bows and these did not differ for the chase and war. The bow was backed with sinew, which was glued on with the glue of the *kuyúi* fish. The bowstring was made of deer sinew (*tamūBi*) twisted on the thigh with the hand, then dried and stretched. The arrows were barbed and generally feathered with two or three eagle feathers. A strip of buckskin wrapped around the left wrist served as a wristguard. Rabbit arrows lacked a stone head, merely having a greasewood point. Quivers were of coyote or young mountain-lion skin and contained one or two dozen arrows. Another informant said that bows were of juniper wood, arrows of rosebrush wood. The bow was decorated with designs traced with pulverized "copper rock" (*púirūpi<sup>i</sup>*). The arrow-head was sometimes smeared with poison (*nōtúcwabi*) consisting mainly of the mashed livers of different animals, also of snake poison. Poisoned arrows were used against both deer and enemies. The bowstring was seized with the thumb and index in shooting.

<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 54.

<sup>2</sup>Reed, 28, 79, 83.

<sup>3</sup>Powell, 128.



A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood.

The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew. They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind; most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.<sup>1</sup>

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from service-berry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.<sup>2</sup>

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tü'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *naíamapö`naite*, which literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *waráaxe*, crazy; *ba + étsiretkā'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would carry a long flute (*wâ' + i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 107.

<sup>2</sup>*ibid.*, 106f.

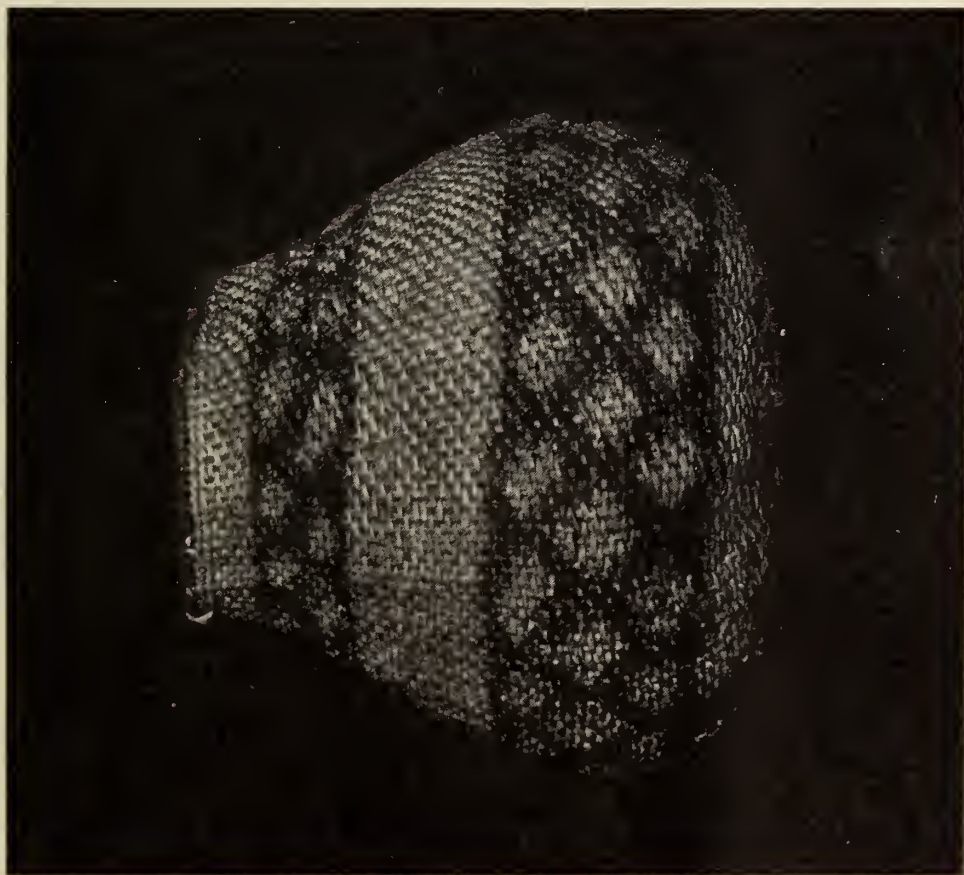


Fig. 23 (50.1-8583). Moapa Basket.

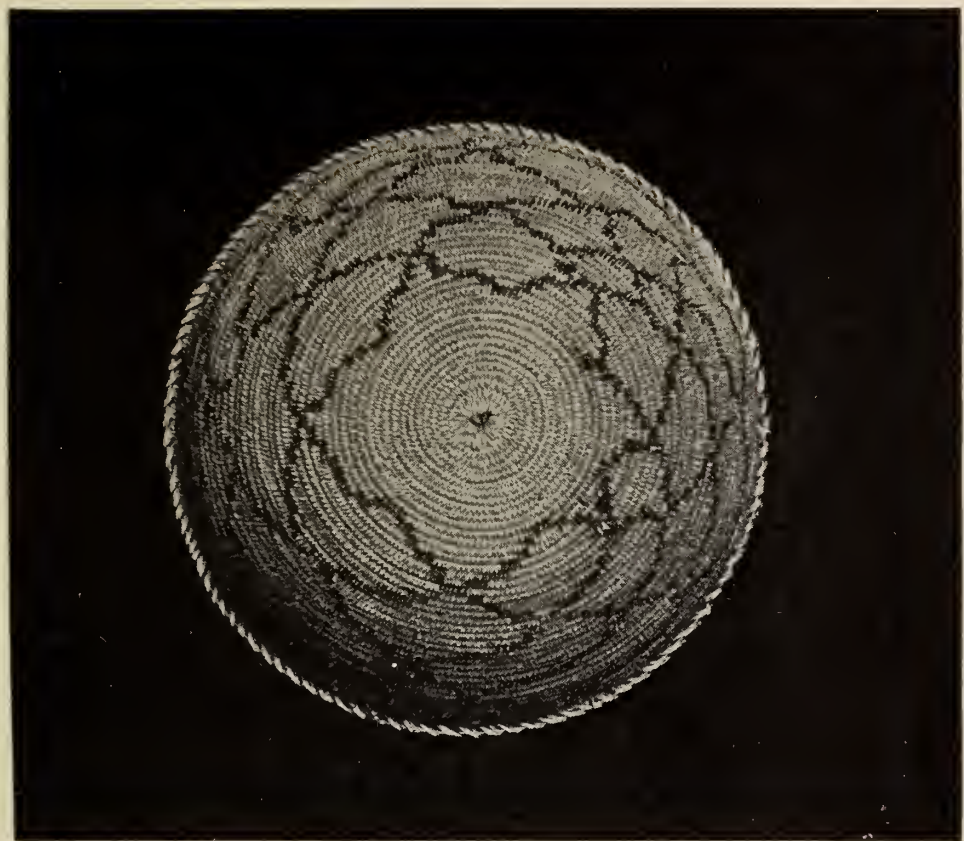


Fig. 24 (50.1-8622). Moapa Basketry Bowl, Coiled.





## TRANSPORTATION.

The Wind River Shoshoni did not use the travois with either dogs or horses "except very rarely." It may be noted that the Crow likewise did not use the horse travois except to transport wounded people. For this purpose the Shoshoni of Washakie's band are also reported to have used the device.<sup>1</sup> Bags were sometimes tied to each side of the dog by the Shoshoni and a sort of crupper went round its tail. According to informants at both Ignacio and Whiterocks, the Ute did not use the travois at all.

Characteristic of the Paiute and Paviotso are large burden baskets carried on the back of the women by means of a tumpline. The Shivwits say this line rested on the basket hat, which thus served to protect the head, a conception exactly paralleled among California tribes.

The Shoshoni say they had no means of crossing water except wading, but the other groups refer to some other means of transportation and even for the Shoshoni Wilson reports bulrush rafts holding from six to eight hundred pounds (see below as to "balsas").<sup>2</sup>

The Shivwits had the following scheme. When there were people who could not swim they and the baggage got on the center part of a log while some swimmers got in front to pull the raft and others in the rear to push it forward. Thus they crossed the Colorado, the only river that required any such device. The raft was called *poʔíntsaxàp<sup>i</sup>*; the logs and crossbeams were tied together with yucca (*ũ<sup>u</sup>s*) string. Another method of carrying goods across was for a swimmer to take his load on his head, holding it with one hand, and taking a long log under the other arm. A child might be carried across with its chin resting on the person's head. Sometimes a mountain sheep was carried across the Colorado on the swimmer's head.

A Uintah Ute spoke of a raft made from *sémpuw<sup>i</sup>* grass. It was only used in shooting with bow and arrow and could accommodate from two to five men. When well made this type of boat would not sink; after being used, it was inverted and allowed to dry.

When hunting ducks and mud-hens in the fall the Paviotso use a balsa consisting of tule rushes tied in bundles so as to approximate boat shape. A specimen bought near Fallon (Fig. 32) is composed of two bundles of the tule species known as *saib<sup>i</sup>*, while the twisted rushes used to tie the bundles are of the *toib<sup>i</sup>* or flat tule variety,—the same as that used for wikiups. The construction took two hours. It was then success-

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 104.<sup>2</sup>*ibid.*, 20.

fully tested on a small pond about fourteen miles from Fallon, a long willow pole being used for punting. This particular balsa was meant for a single person, who kneels in the rear, facing the prow-like end. Some specimens accommodate two men, in which case the one not punting occupies the center of the raft, also facing the prow. A low rim toward the front keeps birds from rolling overboard after being shot and placed aboard. In shallow water the poling is all on one side, in deeper water it alternates with a paddle-like stroke. These balsas get much lighter as the tule dries. A very similar balsa from Pyramid Lake has been figured in the *Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 156. According to Kroeber, the balsa is widely distributed in California, occurring among the Modoc, Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Costanoans, Yokuts, Tübatulabal, Luiseño, Diegueño, and Colorado River tribes.

The Plateau Shoshonean cradles conform to two main types,—the basketry type suggestive of Californian specimens, and the board type as found among some of the more western Plains tribes. I do not know of any Shoshonean peoples besides the Comanche who employ Mason's "lattice" form.<sup>1</sup>

As might be expected from their location and cultural relations, it is the Paviotso and Paiute who employ the Californian pattern while the Shoshoni and Ute exhibit both forms simultaneously. The board-cradle of both these tribes is rounded at the top and tapers towards the bottom, the shape closely resembling that of Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and Crow cradles. The board is covered with buckskin and there is an awning above the infant's head. The largest cradle in the possession of the Museum (specimen 50.1-6930) is of this category; it was bought from a Southern Ute at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The picture (Fig. 33b) shows a Ute baby resting in its cradle; to enhance the æsthetic effect the mother threw a beaded vest over the top of the board. This piece closely resembles the one figured by Mason as coming from the Uncompahgre Ute<sup>2</sup> and thus establishes the essential identity of the Northern and Southern Ute cradleboards. Specimen 50.1-6930 also shows the two straps noted by Mason,—one near the top for suspension in the lodge the other lower down for the mother's forehead. In addition the back has near the top a fringe that is lacking in Mason's illustration.

In a previous publication I have described another form of Shoshoni cradle,<sup>3</sup> which is best considered an aberrant variety of the basketry

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<sup>1</sup>Handbook, vol I, 357.

<sup>2</sup>Mason, (a), 526.

<sup>3</sup>Lowie, 190.



Fig. 25 (50.1-8593ab). Moapa Basket with Lid.





type: a hoop encloses a series of *transverse* willow sticks gradually shortened toward the bottom and united by three strings passing through perforations near the extremities and center of each. The general shape is thus similar to that of the board cradle, while the arrangement of sticks recalls the Plains Indian backrests. A specimen from the Lenders collection (50.1-885) conforms to the usual basket-work type in which *vertical* rods are held together by a basketry technique (see below). A Ute variant of this order from southern Utah is described and illustrated by Mason.<sup>1</sup> Compared with Paviotso and Paiute equivalents to be noticed presently its most distinctive feature is the use underneath of an ellipsoidal hoop that bulges beyond the frame laterally, but does not enclose it vertically; the sticks project beyond it both above and below. The rods are united by twining, there is an awning, and the white buckskin cover encloses the entire frame, rods as well as hoop.

The Paviotso use a diminutive cradle (*sa'ki'hubə*) with rounded hood at the top during the first month of the infant's life (50.1-7963); the basketry technique is that of simple openwork twining. In general shape this specimen is not unlike one of the two Shasta cradles illustrated by Dixon.<sup>2</sup> It is carried in the arms. Later a second cradle (*hūbbʰ*) is made, which remains in use until the child is able to walk. The Museum has three specimens of definitely known provenance,—two uncovered and one, lacking the awning, covered with buckskin. Four covered pieces catalogued as "Paiute" (50.1-2110, 50.1-4026, 50.1-4025, 50.1-5991) may, however, with great assurance be ascribed to the Paviotso, making seven full-sized specimens in all.

In both covered and uncovered cradles the greater part of the structure consists of parallel rods united by openwork twining, and the awning is likewise of uniform pattern to be described below. The main difference is in the framing, which leads to a difference in the outer shape of the two variants. In the uncovered variety, represented by a Pyramid Lake specimen (50.1-7912), the two framing rods, which are united to each other by wrapping, are on all sides parallel to the framed rods, which they closely adjoin, so that there results a compact quadrilateral narrower at the bottom than at the top. The covered pieces may be represented by the Pyramid Lake cradle shown in Fig. 34b, where the frame consists of two looped sticks applied from top and bottom respectively, so that the total appearance of the cradle suggests the Nez Percé pattern or that of the Ute, if rounded off below. The skin covering extends

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, (a), 527.

<sup>2</sup>Dixon, (b), 434.

over the upper loop but never over the lower, which thus projects on the average about three inches beyond the lower rim of the rods. The upper loop in one case approaches the upper rim of the rods but is usually at a distance of from five to six inches from it, this fact being masked by the joint covering.

In both covered and uncovered specimens the back of the rod structure is generally strengthened with two or more transverse sticks. The awning common to both variants is a sort of hood composed of delicate rods united by openwork twining. It rises from about two to five or six inches below the cradle-top and is supported some distance from its summit by a series of twigs bent into arches fastened to the sides of the cradle and forming with the plane of the rods an angle of, say, 120 degrees. The awning exhibits a decorative pattern, which designates the sex of the infant. A series of diagonal lines indicates a boy, while an alternation of diamond and X motives is used on girls' cradles. Two Museum specimens show a zigzag motive, which I regard as probably belonging to a girl's cradle because of the definiteness with which my informants associated boys with the series of slanting lines. One of Mason's "Nevada Ute" cradles from Pyramid Lake, both of course Paviotso, has the zigzag motive, the other the oblique-like pattern.<sup>1</sup>

The Paviotso cradles are obviously very closely related to those of the Washo, as appears both from a Washo specimen in the Museum and from Dr. Barrett's photograph. Precisely as among the Paviotso the infant's sex is indicated by the awning design, diagonal lines being the badge of boyhood, the alternating pattern of girls.<sup>2</sup>

The Northern Maidu summer cradle differs in structure from the Paviotso forms described but has a strikingly similar awning, the resemblance extending to its support.<sup>3</sup>

Among the Moapa Paiute I saw two types of basketry cradles, one of which was said to be characteristic of the Moapa, while the other was said to be of Shivwits pattern. My informant spoke of a third form used at Las Vegas, Nevada, but that I have never seen.

The Moapa cradle (Fig. 34a) resembles the uncovered Paviotso type in being square at the bottom, where it lacks the framing bow of the covered variant; on the other hand, it suggests the latter in the bow projecting several inches beyond the twined rods. The position of the awning recalls that characteristic of the Apache, Navajo, and Hopi,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, (a), 528.

<sup>2</sup>Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Dixon, (a), 200.

<sup>4</sup>Mason, (a), 530-534.



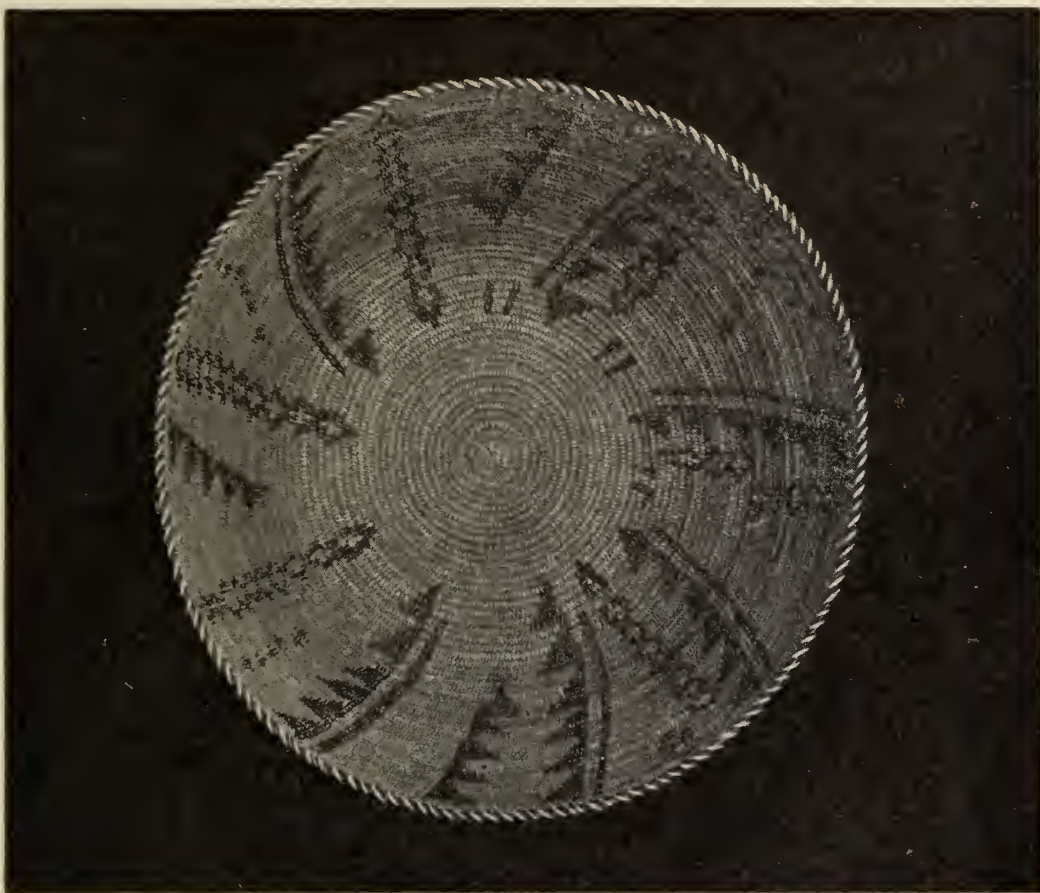


Fig 26.



Fig 27.

Fig. 26 (50.1-8628). Moapa Basketry Bowl, Coiled.

Fig. 27 *ab* (50.1-6952, 50-1345). Baskets, Ute and Northern Ute.



that is to say, it is an arch secured to the sides of the frame. In structure, however, this arch differs from those figured by Mason, since it consists of a considerable number of thin-bowed rods united in pairs by twining, which is done in such a way as to produce a decorative pattern of approximately V-shaped elements.

The Shivwits cradle (Fig. 33a) is double-bowed like the covered Paviotso type. In place of the compound arch of the Moapa cradle there is a single bent stick connecting the two sides. From near the top, the flat frame formed by the twined rods, there rises the twined basket-work awning, which gradually expands from a width of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches to 6 inches and is secured to the center of the arch. Compared with the Paviotso awning, which it resembles in general position, the Shivwits awning differs in being longer, narrower, undecorated, and almost flat instead of definitely vaulted; its support consists of a single rod where the Paviotso cradle usually has six and is more or less vertical to the plane of cradle frame instead of forming an obtuse angle with it.

### GAMES.

In his monograph Stewart Culin has given rather careful consideration to Shoshonean games and I here merely offer personal notes and observations.

Among the Moapa Paiute the cup-and-ball game (*tö'ásip<sup>i</sup>* or *tö+ásinimp<sup>i</sup>*) is popular in a definite form, a cottontail skull being caught on a *paBíB* stalk originally connected with it by means of *wu'íBi* string. A model was obtained (Fig. 35). Each of the tooth cavities counts 6, the holes on the side 10, any other hole 1, the front teeth 6, while catching the minute hole on the inside of each row of tooth cavities at once wins the game regardless of the score, being equivalent to countless points. It is said that a person who loses this game gets bald-headed.

The Shivwits use the bull-roarer (*nánim̃t*), but only as a children's toy, as which it was instituted by the mythical character Wolf. A father would make one for his children to play with. Fig. 36 represents a model.

A figure by Powell indicates the playing of the hand-game by his Paiute.<sup>1</sup>

The Ute of Ignacio thus described their manner of playing the hand-game (*naíyu'k· ap̃rau*). All the players at any one time are of the same sex but both men and women play the game. Formerly the caches consisted of two elk teeth tied together, and each player had two. If the

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<sup>1</sup>Powell, Fig. 46, facing p. 128.



guesser missed both hands, he paid two counters; if he missed only one hand, he lost one counter. There are both large and small tallies, and one of the latter equals four of the larger, so that when a man scores four he returns the big counters in return for one little one. There are four ways of indicating a guess. When the guesser moves his hand to the right, it means that he thinks the caches are in both his opponents' left hands. When he moves his hand to the left, his guess is that the objects are hidden in the two right hands. If he lowers his hand between his opponents, he indicates that his left-hand opponent holds the cache in his left hand, the right-hand opponent in his right hand. Pointing with thumb and index extended and separated means that the opponents' outside hands hold the caches.

Cañute is mentioned as a Ute game by Reed.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Wind River Shoshoni basket-dice are used for a game called *ā+uwūnohō*, which I played with Wawanabidi, his wife, my interpreter, and a boy, each playing for himself. However, this seems to be essentially a woman's pastime. Ordinarily each participant has two throws but after the completion of a game the winner starts with a single throw in beginning the new game. Another statement that a player continues to throw as long as she scores is contradictory to the foregoing. The dice seen consisted of three bone discs and three diamond-shaped bones and were thrown by lifting the basketry tray containing them and striking the ground with it. Sometimes, however, a player takes them into her hand and casts them on the basket for her initial throw. Long and short tallies are used, the latter counting ten points and the former one point apiece. When ten long counters have been accumulated they are exchanged for one short one. The method of counting the various possible combinations of throws is given below:—

All blank sides up (*dzū'upin*) = 5

All blank except one star = 1

All blank except one marked diamond = 1

Three blank disks and three marked diamonds (*nāwe*) = 4

All marked sides up (*dzū'upin*) = 5

All blank, except two stars = 0

All blank, except two marked diamonds = 0

Two blank disks, others marked = 0

Two marked disks, one marked diamond, rest blank = 0

Two marked diamonds, one marked star = 0

Three blank diamonds, three marked discs (*nāwe*) = 0

One blank disk, rest marked = 1

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<sup>1</sup>Reed, 80, 172. For a full account of the Tewa form of the game, see Harrington, 243 seq.



Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.

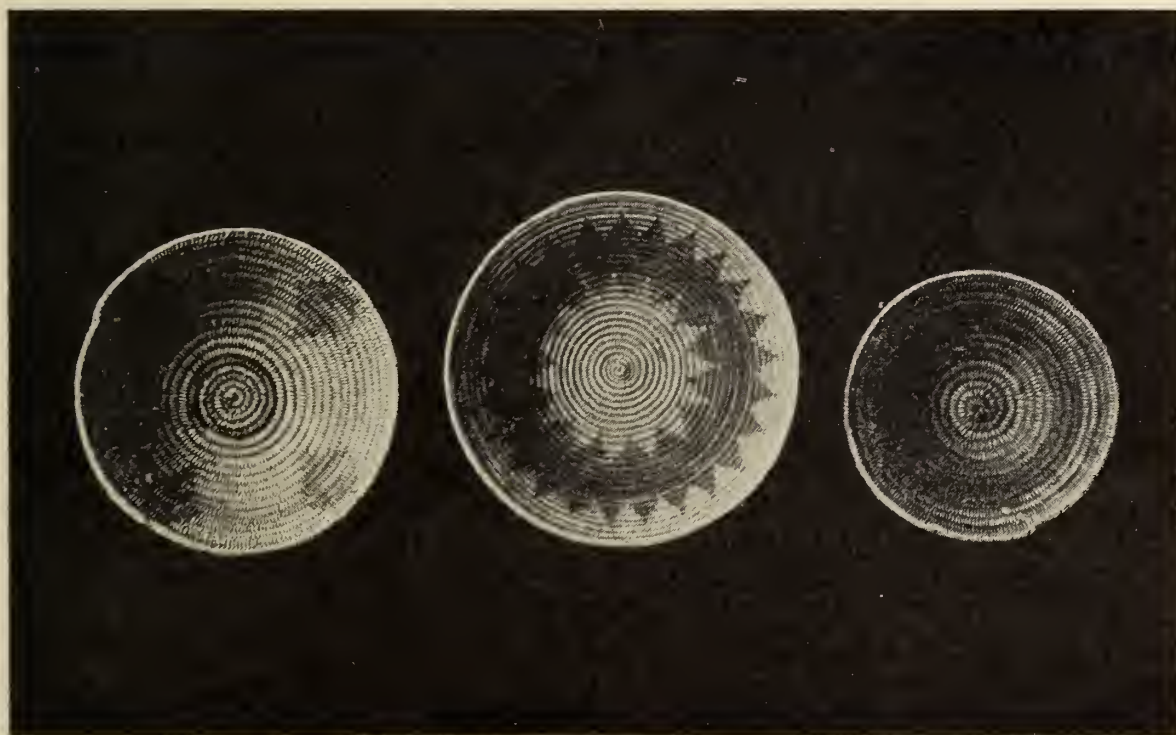


Fig. 30.

Fig. 28 *a-c* (50-1547, 1209, 1242). Baskets. *a*, *c*, Berrying Baskets, Ute; *b*, Water Bottle, Ute.

Fig. 29 *ab* (50.1-6965, 8627). Baskets. *a*, Southern Ute Bowl, Navaho Springs; *b*, Moapa Basket, re-curved at Top.

Fig 30 *a-c* (50.1-6937, 6960, 6954). Southern Ute Basketry Trays, Coiled.





A game called *tü'manaiyawìn* is said to have been played mostly by the Ya'handika (Groundhog-eater) band, who used to live toward the west of the Wind River, and are probably now mixed with the A'gaitika (Salmon-eater) band.<sup>1</sup> Though this is a guessing-game the players do not hide the objects to be concealed in their hands but under big basketry trays. Two persons would hide the caches. The guesser used a wand. If he held it out horizontally and gripped it in the center, it meant that the plain caches were in (near?) the outside hands. For the inside hands he moved the wand held out away from himself, perpendicularly down between his two opponents; to indicate the hands to his own right he pointed the stick left, and vice versa. The following song was sung with the game:—

Pándzōabītc kűwinògin;            tü'ndzayàtsi kűwinògin.  
 Water-ogre        is shaking his head;    the prairie-dog    is shaking his head.

In the hand-game (*naíyahwìn*) the position of the plain caches is guessed. When the guesser wishes to indicate that they are in the two outside hands of the concealers, he extends the thumb and index of his right hand, this guess being known as *qádzumànt'*, "ends." To indicate both inside hands the guesser's hand, with fingers extended, is moved perpendicularly down between his opponents. For both caches in the right or left hands of the concealers, the guesser points his extended index in the appropriate direction, the other fingers being clenched. Another form of guess is called *sāwanó*: the guesser makes a fork of his index and middle finger, other fingers being clenched, and points in the direction *opposite* to the one he wishes to indicate. No guess counts until the guesser has said, "Dzō," i.e., "Ready!"

The hoop-game (*náhani*) was played by two men. There was a brush enclosure toward which the hoop was rolled. A fringed stick was thrown at it, and the part that touched the hoop determined the count of the throw. The hoop was about the size of a hand-drum.

The Shoshoni also would roll the ring from a saddle cinch, while all the players tried to shoot an arrow through it from the same place.

A game called *mānigāwan dáwidoi* consisted in throwing a finger ring into a little square goal about ten or fifteen feet away.

*Tü'mbi nárapēn* was a game played on the ice by the unmarried young people, who used the occasion for courting. They selected a smooth spot and sat down in two arcs of a circle. Each side had two flat smooth rocks and a very small, usually blue, bead. The rocks were thrown at the bead of the opposing side, each hit scoring one.

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, 206.

Stone tops wrapped with buckskin were thrown on the ice simultaneously by all the players and the one who kept his top spinning for the longest time won the game, which was called *nárapùdjin*<sup>a</sup>. When they wished to play this game the Shoshoni said they were going to have a rock-race.

Wilson describes a boys' game in which the players shot at the brush and made out they were aiming at enemies. To clip off a twig counted as taking a scalp and the successful marksman would carry the twig in his belt as a trophy. The same author describes the eagerness with which the adult Shoshoni indulged in horse-racing and gambling. The stakes were considerable, so that a gambler might win fifty ponies by a single bet.<sup>1</sup>

A game played by the Paviotso men is called *wö'qúkoratsàñen*. Six cane dice are thrown on the ground within a circle traced on the ground. Along the circle a number of sticks are planted in slanting position. These serve as tallies, and a player who scores so as to come all the way round one semicircle wins the game. They used to gamble for arrows, buckskin, beads, nets, and other objects.

The women played a dice game (*nāboγò'in*). They used painted sticks, which were thrown up from a basket.

The men played a football game (*watcímuìn*). The ball was of buckskin and about the size of a baseball, but soft. Eight men played. They took off their clothing and kicked the ball towards a goal of two sticks set up at both ends. To win they had to get the ball between the goal posts of the opposite side.

The women's ball game (*nazí'tsaka*) was played by from eight to ten players. Every one had a long stick and there were two cross sticks. There were no goal posts, the goals being represented by two rings. The side that got the buckskin ball to the center of the ring won.

Two men played the hoop game (*ipai'ciin*). The hoop was thrown and the men threw their darts. If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored.

In the *wu'tógoín* game two men kicked as many balls and the one who first reached the goal won.

Two forms of the hand-game were played. In the *ohóribo* form, played only by men, the caches were of bone and the plain bone was to be guessed. The four caches are hidden under a *tūm*<sup>o</sup> tray, where they are laid in a row. The concealer sings, while the opponent guesses the plain ones. There are two on each side, others gamble on the result. Eight

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 23, 42 f.



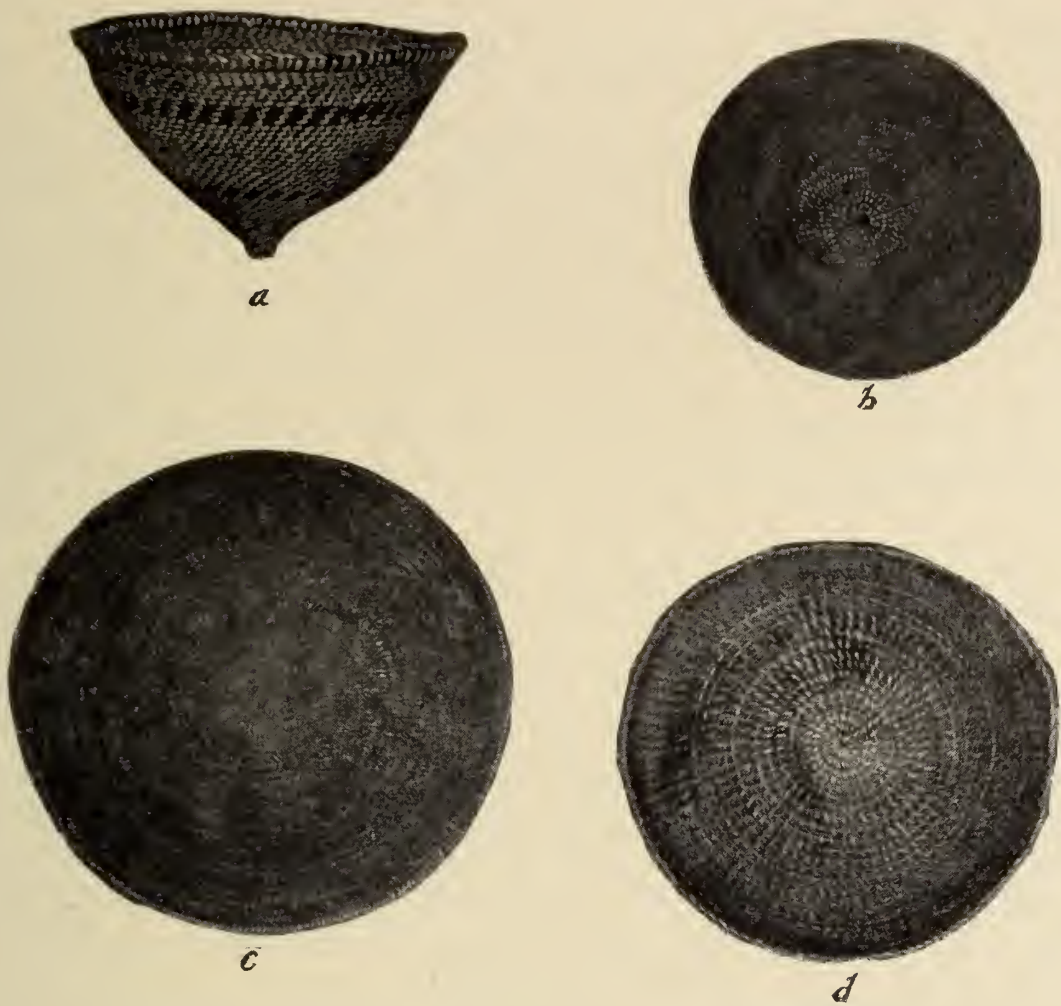


Fig. 31.



Fig. 32.

Fig. 31 *a-d* (50-1554, 1550, 50.1-8644, 50-1549). Basketry Hat and Trays.  
*a, b, d*, probably Ute; *c*, Shivwits

Fig. 32. Paviotso Balsa, Fallon, Nevada.





tally sticks are used, and when one side has won all of them it wins the game. In the *nayáwîBa* form, not bones, but willow sticks are hidden. Long ago beets (*sic*) were used. Only two caches were used in the old days, and they were not hidden under a tray. Women, as well as men, play this form, but at any one game all the players are of one sex. There are ten sticks serving as counters.

Four men played at *narák'batîBa*. First an arrow was thrown, then the one who shot an arrow closest to the one thrown was regarded as the winner.

Another arrow-game, *türögwināîBa*, differed in that the arrows were merely thrown, not shot, at the target-arrow.

### BIRTH.

A Moapa woman in labor is assisted by two women, one of whom watches the womb while the other hoists up the patient's body. When these attendants are exhausted, the husband comes to take their place. The woman who watches the womb cuts the navelstring with a knife, and it is afterwards tied up in a bag and secured to the arch of the cradle. When the baby grows older, the mother removes the bag and buries it in the brush. For a month or more after the infant's birth sexual intercourse is not indulged in by the parents and for a month neither eats any meat. Also the parents would move some distance away to a small shelter, where they remained six days in case of a girl and five days if a boy had been born, whereupon they would return to their former home. As soon as the father heard of a child's birth he would formerly run some distance away and then back again "to save his life"; for the saying was that if a man did this he would live to be an old man, while contrariwise he would age rapidly and his teeth would fall out when he was still young.

Southern Ute customs recall some of these Paiute features; the rules affecting *both* parents are especially noteworthy. When a woman was in labor several old women skilled in matters obstetrical were sent for to watch her until after parturition; the husband sometimes stayed there and sometimes went to another house. Poles were planted into the floor and the women in labor knelt and grasped them. The navel cord is cut and tied; after four days the part that falls off is taken far away and buried in an ant hill, or it is fixed up neatly in some buckskin and tied to the cradle. If it is lost, the baby will grow up to run around as a foolish person; hence, any boy or girl who acts too foolishly is said to have lost his navel cord. As soon as a baby is born, plenty of lukewarm water is handed to the mother, who drinks it to cleanse herself inwardly.

She must remain indoors for a month and never drink cold water or eat meat<sup>1</sup>; these taboos extend to her husband, but only for four days. The old women instruct the parents regarding all necessary observances. If a man drank cold water before the proper time his teeth would soon rot; Panayús lost two teeth in this way. The morning after the birth the father must run round in the hills. He will break a branch, run, place it on a tree, break another limb, run on, and continue in this fashion all day; otherwise he would never catch any deer. The branches represent deer. Before the birth of the child a pit is dug in the house and the ashes from a fire built outside are put in and covered with dirt, whereupon powdered cedarbark is put on top. The woman and her baby are placed on this pile; according to Panayús the heat prevents the development of body hair such as Caucasians have.<sup>2</sup> There are still other regulations to be followed. Neither parent must use his fingers to scratch himself lest they leave black marks; instead a wooden scratching-stick is carried in the braid or other part of the hair for one month.<sup>3</sup> Further it is forbidden for both to rub their eyes during the natal period lest their eyes get sore or even become blind. The father will seek out a good old hunter and give him clothing or a bow with arrows, and the mother will similarly present a good old woman with a blanket or dress, in the hope that their baby might live to an equally ripe age and be equally successful. For several days after the birth the father refrains from horseback-riding; then he may ride a mare or some other horse of inferior quality. At the expiration of a month he will paint a good horse from head to tail and ride him. He and his wife daub themselves with the same kind of paint and some other woman cooks food and feeds the mother with it. This signals the cessation of the natal taboos.

A Uintah told me that a woman in travail assumed a kneeling position and clung to a big stick planted in front of her. One female attendant clasped her round the waist, squeezing her, another made the delivery, cut the navelstring, and washed the infant, who lay about for a month or a month and a half, when a cradleboard was made. Boys' and girls' cradles did not differ except that the latter were painted yellow. The part of the navelcord that falls off is put into a rag, which in turn is placed within a little beaded bag, which is attached to the cradle. When the child grows up and people have killed a deer, they sometimes remove the navelcord, and put it into the deer's guts. Others push it deep down

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<sup>1</sup>These taboos occur also among the Cahuilla of southern California. See Hooper, 351.

<sup>2</sup>The Cahuilla practise a similar custom. See Hooper, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup>The Shasta mother must use a scratching-stick for five days after the child's birth. (Dixon, 455). Elsewhere the implement is associated with adolescence rather than parturition.



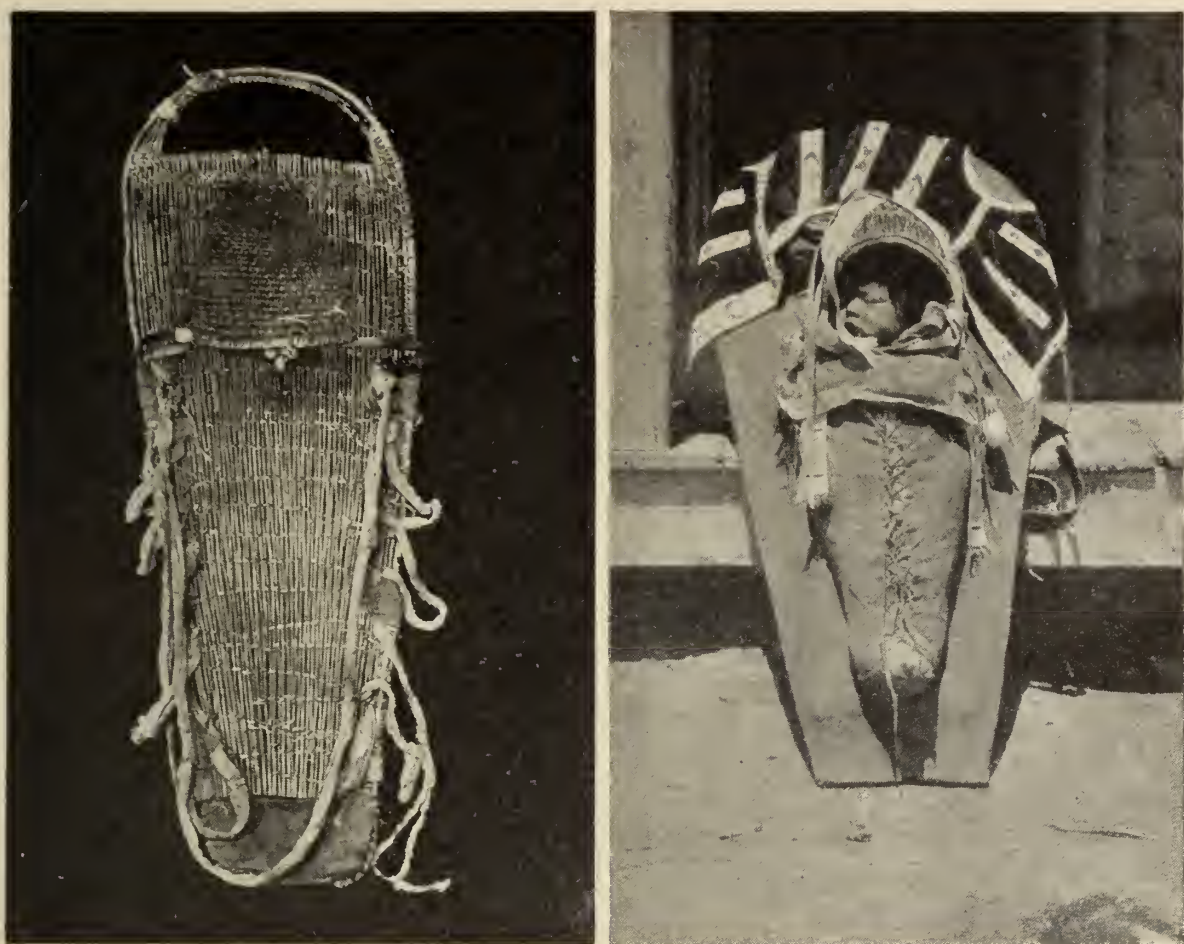


Fig. 33.



Fig. 34.

Fig. 33 *a*(50.1-8624). Cradles. *a*, Shivwits; *b*, Southern Ute, Navaho Springs, Colorado.

Fig. 34 *ab*(50.1-8623, 7915). Cradles. *a*, Moapa; *b*, Pyramid Lake Paviotso.



into an ant hill. If the navelcord were merely thrown away, the child would be weak and liable to fall sick, but if it is disposed of in the customary way the infant will come to be strong. Sydney's baby had a beaded diamond-shaped pouch containing the navelcord attached to the cradle-board in the middle of the right side.

At Fallon I was told that while Shoshoni women kneel in labor the Paviotso lie on their backs like white women. In order to "loosen the blood" after parturition the mother would drink an infusion of a piece scraped off from a mountain-sheep horn.

The navelcord is wrapped up and tied inside the cradle; when they wish to get rid of it, they hide it. According to Sarah Hopkins both parents abstained from all flesh during the natal period and

the father goes through the labor of piling the wood for twenty-five days, and assumes all his wife's household work during that time. If he does not do his part in the care of the child, he is considered an outcast. Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully put away at the end of the days, the last one containing the navelstring, carefully wrapped up, and all are put into a tree, and the child put into a new and ornamented basket.<sup>1</sup>

Like her Lemhi sister, the Wind River Shoshoni woman retired to a menstrual lodge,<sup>2</sup> which was erected at some distance. She stayed there for about thirty days. A female attendant might remain with her; some women lived there alone much of the time, though visited by other women. The husband never came there and did not see his child until his wife returned home. If he stayed with his wife, he would bleed to death from the nose. When the child was born, another man would inform the father and say to him, "Now go to the creek and take a good bath." He would then take a bath at the same time the baby was being washed. When the navelcord fell off, a messenger also informed the father, who might then eat meat from which he had abstained. The wife was obliged to continue her meat-fast for a month. For parturition two posts were set into the ground and a crossbar was arranged for the kneeling parturient to cling to; below her a pit is dug for the baby to drop into. The female attendant cuts the navelcord; the stump is buried in an ant hill while the mother expresses the hope that her child may be healthy and as industrious as the ants. If a woman were sick after her delivery, some other woman with a baby of her own of about the same age might nurse the infant; when the mother recovered she would pay a horse for this service. In the case of twins born one directly after the other no special usage seems to have obtained. But if considerable time

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 49 f.

<sup>2</sup>The Shasta also utilized the menstrual hut for this purpose. (Dixon, (b), 454.)



elapsed before the second delivery care was taken lest the twins see each other. The older was taken away to die, but it was believed that the younger would then be able to live long because he had not seen the other.

### NAMES.

A number of interesting variations may be noted with regard to customs connected with names. Among the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute personal names are meaningless. Very few of the Moapa Indians are namesakes for the usage is to make up a new name for every child born. Such names may be invented by the parents themselves or these may ask other people to name their children. The name would be kept ever after without change. The following are samples of women's names: Panán<sup>i</sup>, Tüñgwí<sup>i</sup>, <sup>Tso</sup>qwáb<sup>ö</sup>, Pawíarö', Mu'síriq, Tamáwör, Undúm-ban, Hík'a, Tamína, Hö'tön, Tunúq, Örip<sup>i</sup>. I also secured a list of men's names: A'panàwö, Stígwit, Wambör<sup>i</sup>, Töntsínuq, Wögöhuhuwíva<sup>Bi</sup>, Suwín<sup>i</sup>, Wíniməq, Pīñq', Tsōōts, Huwá', Pítcígant, Añgaú'qaits. When a person dies, his name is tabooed. His relatives would be angry if any one pronounced it.

With the Ute of Ignacio some names were meaningless, but not all. My informant Panayús derived this name from another tribe, but his father had called him Tciicínutsits, which means "very hard" or "stout like a rock." Similarly George Bent's Indian appellation is Napá+u'tcáputs, i.e., "Wraps-his-foot," and my interpreter Tony was known as Kwíntcigit, "Left-hand." On the other hand, his mother's and his wife's name, Paqö's<sup>a</sup> and Tatsiá, were said to be untranslatable, though other women bore names with definite meaning. The Southern Ute received their names several days after birth, generally from the father and sometimes from the mother. A mother might name a boy and the father a girl. When the child grew up and acted queerly, it would receive a nickname from its friends. If a person fell sick and recovered from being nearly dead, the doctor would say, "I'll give you a new name." He would call him "So-and-so," and then an announcement was made that the old name should be dropped.

To illustrate the giving of a nickname my informant told these anecdotes. Some years ago he went to Navaho Springs, where he lived with two friends. These saw some women in a menstrual lodge and asked Panayús to accompany them and possibly get a sweetheart. Panayús was wearing a brownish-green suit. When they got to the lodge, Panayús did not dismount but asked, "Has one of you girls already made a bed for me?" They laughed without answering him. He repeated his ques-

tion, dismounted, walked over, and stood near the fire. One of the girls asked, "Who is this?" The other replied, "I don't know. He looks like a person traveling round at night who cannot be seen in the daytime. He is Inúsakats," (a mythical invisible being, whose voice, however, can be heard). Then all the others called Panayús by this nickname and it clung to him for a long time. Another man acquired the same sobriquet. Though married, he would visit another woman, slinking home before daylight every night. The young woman's mother heard her talk



Fig. 35 (50.1-8582). Moapa Cup and Ball Game, Model; Cottontail Skull.

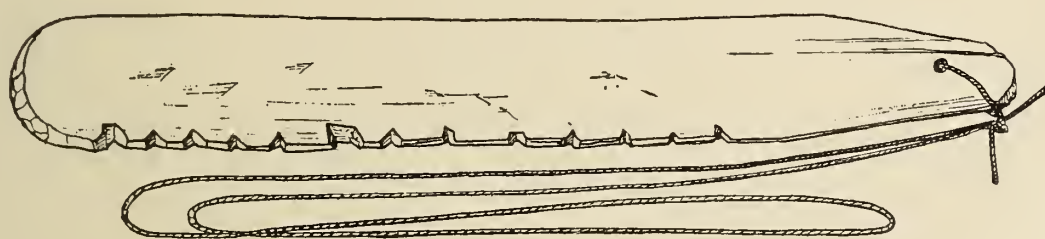


Fig 36 (50.1-8637). Shivwits Bull Roarer Model.

at night and thought she was going to get married, but not seeing her lover she said, "I think you are running round with Inúsakats," whence the nickname. Another appellation of similar type was given to Panayús while he was watching his brother dance. His brother said, "Say 'Siwátanu'" (a Cheyenne word) and we'll repeat the song." Panayús said, "Siwátanu" and was nicknamed accordingly.

When a person died his name was not pronounced in his relatives' presence.

The Uintah Ute name a child when it is about a year old. Apparently all their names had some meaning. Eva Attwine's son is called A'pātsig'á, Little-boy, and he will keep this appellation even when adult. Eva herself is called Tsàγowəts, Wrinkled-face, because as an infant she had a wrinkled face. One woman was named Pāmánts, Water+?; another Tō'ni<sup>hw</sup>, Chubby, because when little she was chubby and short; a third, Qorúmp, Smells-of-urine." The nickname character of nearly all these designations is manifest.



According to Sarah Winnemucca the Paviotso named the majority of their girls after flowers, others after rocks; boys were designated according to some chance observation they made in infancy. If they particularly noted the flight of a bird or the passing of an animal or a sister's black eyes, they were named after the objects in question.<sup>1</sup> My Paviotso informant said that some but not all girls were named for flowers. Usually a child received a nickname, which developed into a permanent designation. Bob Carson, now called Oitc<sup>i</sup>, Left-handed, was originally known as Nü'banats, Snow-on-him, from nü'babi, snow, and nats, boy. Later because he always wore clothes of canvas he was named Toxákus, from tohá, white, +?.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni parents or some of their friends gave names to children, sometimes according to what the children do when old enough to laugh. These real names are not altered in later life, but nicknames may be acquired and used so constantly that those ignorant of the circumstances mistake them for the real names. Wilson was called the Crier because he once mimicked some crying women and children.<sup>2</sup> There is no objection to mentioning deceased persons, but a distinctive suffix, *hap*, meaning "the late" is appended, e.g., Tíndoi-hap. Carrot-leaf, Drowning, Elk-twins, are illustrations of women's names. The Wind River Shoshoni do not like to tell their names; a man rarely does so—more readily if alone than in the presence of other tribesmen,—a woman never. If other Shoshoni are present, one of them may, however, pronounce his name. This reticence with regard to one's own name is found also among the Lemhi, and though I can find no specific note for the other groups mentioned above I think it is probably a deep-rooted and widespread Shoshonean feature.

### MENSTRUATION.

According to a Moapa Paiute, his tribe never had a menstrual lodge, but the Shivwits say that during the period of illness a woman would sleep some distance from her husband. At the first menses a Shivwits girl would abstain from eating meat for a whole month because it had a disagreeable odor for one in this condition. However, this rule is no longer maintained. On later occasions the women merely abstained during the menstrual period.

The Southern Ute had very definite rules. A girl would announce her first menses to her mother, who then led her out and made her run

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 46 f.

<sup>2</sup>Wilson, 27.



back and forth like a horse in training. While she was trotting in this fashion, her mother gave her instructions about the menstrual lodge and its regulations. Then she would make a brush structure or "blood lodge" (*na'á'γan*) for her daughter. The next time the girl would know what to do. The brush lodge was erected about a quarter of a mile from home and a brush bed was prepared there. Sometimes several girls having their menses at the same time jointly constructed a larger shelter for themselves. During the three or four nights spent there meat was tabooed; a married woman's husband would have bad luck in the chase if she ate meat. It is worth noting that among the Northern Maidu a husband was debarred from hunting during his wife's illness.<sup>1</sup> Young Ute men were permitted to go to the blood lodge and make love to their sweethearts within, but they were warned not to attempt cohabitation lest they fall sick in later life, and girls were told by their mothers that carnal intercourse in the lodge would make them short-lived. Menstruating women were never allowed to attend a dance. At the time of my visit these rules were largely obsolete at Ignacio, while the Uintah declared that the menstrual lodge was still in vogue. These Northern Ute share with their Southern kinsmen the meat taboo and the courting custom. When a girl menstruated for the first time, an old woman made her take a bath and washed her thoroughly. She had to remain alone in a blood lodge for ten days, when she was again washed by the old woman. Thereafter her period of seclusion was shortened by a day every successive month until it was reduced to the normal span of three days.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes a small girl or boy would sleep in the shelter with a menstruating woman.

Both on the Pyramid Lake Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, my Paviotso informants denied the use of a special menstrual lodge, though they knew of its occurrence among the Shoshoni. This was confirmed at Lovelocks by Annie Lowry, who told me that even in her mother's day seclusion was known only as a Shoshoni custom among her people. However, at Pyramid Lake menstruating women were not supposed to enter the place where a sick person was staying and the meat taboo was enforced, the diet being largely confined to seeds. At Pyramid Lake Old Winnemucca said that during her first menses a girl had to carry sagebrush for firewood every day for five days and the neighbors would use the wood.<sup>3</sup> After the five days the girl took a sweatbath and cleansed her-

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<sup>1</sup>Dixon, (a), 239.

<sup>2</sup>A gradual shortening of the period has been noted by Professor Kroeber among the Mohave.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Dixon, (a), 236; *idem.*, (b), 458.

self. Here a new justification was given for the restricted diet of menstruating women, viz. that if they partook of antelope flesh the antelope impounded in a corral during the communal hunt would break down the enclosure and escape. It is hard to reconcile the mutually corroborative statements from three Paviotso settlements as to the lack of a menstrual hut with Mrs. Hopkins' specific data on her people's catamenial customs. According to her account a young woman who had reached puberty was under the special guardianship of her grandmother. She was secluded with two somewhat older friends in "a little wigwam . . . just big enough for the three" and had to go through a course of tasks for twenty-five days. Every day she was obliged to gather and pile up as high as possible five stacks of wood. At the end of every five-day period her attendants took her to a river to bathe. During the whole of the twenty-five days she abstained from flesh, while thereafter the fast was limited to five days every month. At the end of the period she returned home and gave all her clothing to her attendants. The entire ceremony was an announcement of her coming of age and any young man might then court her.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Paviotso had a menstrual lodge only for the adolescent girls and did not require it in later life.

As indicated by the Paviotso statement cited, the menstrual lodge is a deep-rooted feature of Shoshoni life. The Lemhi I visited in 1906 still vigorously maintained the usage together with the meat taboo, which latter also extended to the period of childbirth.<sup>2</sup> The identical food restrictions were formerly imposed by the Wind River group. Here it was said the men were formerly afraid of dying if they stayed in the same lodge with a menstruating woman, hence mothers exhorted their daughters to report the signs of nubility. All the women of the family used the same menstrual hut with its special bedding and several women passing through the period simultaneously would occupy the lodge jointly. A man might speak to them from a distance but would never go quite close to the hut.

It is clear that a family likeness pervades the Shoshonean menstrual customs and that the abstention from flesh is the most persistent trait in the complex. This is a point of great comparative value, for this taboo seems to be practically always associated with the puberty usages of Californian tribes and extends, with the qualification that *fresh* meat or fish is forbidden, as far north as Tahltan territory.

The Ute notion of making an adolescent girl run up and down appears also among the Navajo.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 48.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 214.

<sup>3</sup>Franciscan Fathers, 446.



## MARRIAGE.

Among the Shivwits Paiute a man would work for his parents-in-law, bringing them game. Both here and in the Moapa band some men had two wives but never more, and usually the women of a bigamous household were sisters, a man sometimes marrying his first wife's younger sister. The levirate is also common to both groups, indeed is still said to be practised by the Shivwits; with the Moapa it was especially an unmarried man that took to wife his brother's widow. Among the Shivwits I was told that cross-cousin marriages were not in vogue.

The Southern Ute who wished to marry would send a friend to propose for him to the girl's father. When the latter asked what he wanted, the go-between would say, "My friend sent me, he wishes to marry your daughter." If a clearly negative answer was given, the messenger at once returned. Otherwise he waited for the family council. The girl's wishes were consulted; parents might persuade but did not force her to marry against her will. On the next day the suitor himself went to the lodge and stayed over night; after several days he took his wife to his own house. Sometimes, especially in the case of youths, proposals were made to girls while they were in the menstrual lodge. It was not customary to marry first cousins; a man who transgressed the rule was compared to the mythical trickster. In case of a separation the man would keep the children if his wife was at fault and vice versa. An aggrieved husband might take away a war-bonnet or leggings from his wife's lover, but if he killed his rival's horses by way of punishment he thereby surrendered his marital rights to the culprit. If a man had an intrigue with another woman, his wife might summon her friends and they would jointly take away all the paramour's property, even stripping her of the clothes she wore, and the adulteress had no redress and made no objection. In such a case the husband usually came back to his wife, but not always. Sometimes a woman finding her husband return home from a visit to his mistress would ask him why he had not stayed with his sweetheart and would strike him on the shinbone.

The Uintah Ute assert that in former days girls never married when very young. The father-in-law would notice a young man who was a skilled hunter and bid his daughter marry him, knowing that his son-in-law would provide him with venison and skins for moccasins. It was customary for the young couple to stay with the bride's parents for a long time, then they would live with the husband's family; nowadays this custom is not followed and the couple settle wherever they please. Young men who were not good hunters and were not skilled in going for



horses had difficulty in getting a wife. Sometimes a young man amassed in a cache a certain amount of food, such as chokecherries and bullberries. If an older man ran short of supplies he might approach the young man, saying, "Let me sell you my daughter for so much food or so many buckskins." This was another way of getting married. Some men had two wives, who were generally sisters; it is said that otherwise jealousy was likely to develop between them. Divorce was easily consummated. A man might leave his wife because of a quarrel or because some other woman attracted him. On the other hand, if he often came home empty-handed his wife might declare that she was going to live with someone who could shoot game. The mother would take care of young children; if the children were older, the boys would go to the father, the girls generally to the mother.

Matrilocal residence, at least in the beginning of wedlock, was also customary with some of the Paviotso (but cf. below). Here, too, a girl's father would be on the lookout for a good hunter among the young men when he wanted a son-in-law. On the other hand, a young man's father would say to his son, "Go to the mountain, get up early in the morning to hunt deer. Look for a wife and mother-in-law; they will like you." The youth's mother might point out a nice-looking girl who was personally agreeable to her, urging him to marry her. Sometimes the mothers of a young man and a girl would come together and say that they liked each other's child and wanted them to marry. If a mother disapproved of a daughter-in-law she might try to persuade the husband to leave her: "I don't like her, she does not work, she lies down." The children of brother and sister were not allowed to marry since such unions were considered wrong; indeed Mrs. Hopkins writes:—

Our tenth cousin is as near to us as our first cousin; and we don't marry into our relations.<sup>1</sup>

Kroeber confirms the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage, but learned that the children of half-brothers might marry, though common residence and the custom of using sibling terminology might prevent such unions owing to the sense of kinship fostered by such conditions.<sup>2</sup> Some Indians used to have two wives within my interpreter's memory. Sometimes they were sisters, but it also happened that one of them came from the Shoshoni. The deceased wife's sister is still espoused at times. According to Kroeber, the two wives might be mother and daughter. The levirate was practised, apparently in the form of the

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 45.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, (b), 361

younger brother marrying the widow since the native term for the usage, *tōrónaí'í qumádu*, was interpreted accordingly. If a woman ran away, her husband might beat her or even kill her on the spot. At Lovelocks I was told that the Indians resent white interference in their matrimonial affairs: if a wife has been unfaithful, they think it quite proper for the husband to leave her regardless of whether there are children or any other circumstances that might weigh with white people.

Mrs. Hopkins confirms the statement of one of my informants that a girl never married before her first menstrual period, the observances connected with which are described by her as a public declaration of nubility. Her account of courtship and marriage follows. The young suitor never speaks to his intended or visits the family,

but endeavors to attract her attention by showing his horsemanship, etc. As he knows that she sleeps next to her grandmother in the lodge, he enters in full dress after the family has retired for the night, and seats himself at her feet. If she is not awake, her grandmother wakes her. He does not speak to either young woman or grandmother, but when the young woman wishes him to go away, she rises and goes and lies down by the side of her mother. He then leaves as silently as he came in. This goes on sometimes for a year or longer, if the young woman has not made up her mind. She is never forced by her parents to marry against her wishes. When she knows her own mind, she makes a confidant of her grandmother, and then the young man is summoned by the father of the girl, who asks him in her presence, if he really loves his daughter, and reminds him, if he says he does, of all the duties of a husband. He then asks his daughter the same question, and sets before her minutely all her duties. And these duties are not slight. She is to dress the game, prepare the food, clean the buckskins, make his moccasins, dress his hair, bring all the wood,—in short, do all the household work. She promises to “be himself,” and she fulfils her promise. Then he is invited to a feast and all his relatives with him. But after the betrothal, a teepee is erected for the presents that pour in from both sides.

At the wedding feast, all the food is prepared in baskets. The young woman sits by the young man, and hands him the basket of food prepared for him with her own hands. He does not take it with his right hand; but seizes her wrist, and takes it with the left hand. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the father pronounces them man and wife. They go to a wigwam of their own, where they live till the first child is born. . . . When they are married they give away all the clothing they have ever worn, and dress themselves anew. The poor people have the same ceremonies, but do not make a feast of it, for want of means.<sup>1</sup>

The Wind River Shoshoni, like several other of the Shoshonean tribes here discussed, are of opinion that in ancient times girls were older than now when marrying, possibly seventeen or eighteen, while now they marry, they say, when mere children. It was admitted, however, that formerly some married before menstruation. Often a girl's parents

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 48-49, 50.



would take the initiative and send word to a desirable suitor, who would then come and stay with her some evening. In those days girls did not object to their parents' wishes, but nowadays they decline a lover whom they do not like,—which my old woman informant regarded as a bad way. However, she added that even formerly if a girl had a positive dislike for the suitor, he might notice it and refrain from claiming her. A brother, as well as a father, might force a husband upon a girl against her wishes. It also happened that a man proposed to the girl's parents. After repeated visits they would become husband and wife. The bridegroom gave no presents to his wife's parents but it was customary for the young couple to stay with them and the husband hunted for his parents-in-law. However, matrilineal residence was not universal. No form of cousin marriage was considered proper.<sup>1</sup> A good many men had two wives, a few three. In cases of polygamy each wife had a lodge of her own; if they were sisters or cousins they got along well, otherwise they were liable to quarrel. Sometimes a man kept one sister at her parents' home and lived with the other elsewhere; however a man who had married the eldest daughter had no right to interfere with her sisters' marrying other men. A man frequently married his deceased brother's or cousin's wife; the levirate was also mentioned for the particular case of a widower marrying his brother's widow. An unfaithful woman was formerly beaten and abused. The aggrieved husband might take the adulterer's best horse or kill it and either keep or divorce his wife at will. If he caught the intruder again, he would take another horse or get his friends together and attempt to thrash the culprit. Whichever was thrown down received a terrible kicking, then friends of both would rush in and start a general fracas. A man who knew of his wife's treachery might stick a medicine-arrow into the bed, which would cause the adulterers to cleave together like dogs having intercourse and they would not be able to get asunder. Then he could catch them together and the other people could see what they were doing. A woman who discovered her husband's disloyalty would set out with her friends to whip the mistress, at the same time warning her to keep away from the man.

The Comanche cut off an adulteress's nose.

#### DEATH.

At present the Moapa place a corpse into a coffin and bury it in the ground, but formerly two distinct methods were employed,—cremation or burial. Ā'panāwö said he had personally witnessed both. The corpse

<sup>1</sup>Only one informant thought it proper for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter, but not his father's brother's daughter. Others expressly denied any difference between parallel and cross-cousins as respects marriage.



was removed by the usual exit and the house in which the deceased had died was burnt down to be superseded by a new lodge; but this custom has become obsolete and people no longer abandon their habitation after a death. Women used to cut their hair in mourning. People would come together to cremate the corpse, stay till it was consumed by the flames, cover the bones with some ashes, then go away. After returning from the ceremony or from three to four nights later they might have a singing performance, (*huwi'ab*), or the mourner might summon all the people three or four weeks later. Then several men and women would sing. This ceremony lasted from one to five nights. The last night they continued singing until morning. Sometimes the participants—mostly the young people present—danced the *nö'qáp<sup>i</sup>*. For interment a corpse was rolled up in a rabbitskin robe, put on the ground into a wash, and covered with rocks, the bigger ones on top to keep off coyotes. My interpreter drove me to two of these graves. One, said to be about thirty years old, was not very far from the main road on the Reservation in a sloping depression on a hillside, where a space of approximately seven by three feet was marked off by a pile of stones. The head, according to my guide, was always at the higher end of the grave. The second grave was of similar character, but situated at the foot of a hill on nearly, though not quite, level ground, a few feet from the road. At the higher end were the bones of a horse; my interpreter explained that horses were sometimes killed and given to the dead.

The Shivwits also mentioned two modes of disposing of the dead, though old Sally only referred to burial in the clefts of rocks. Buffalo Bill, however, said that the people would pile up cedar logs to a considerable height, place the corpse on top and burn it to ashes. The house of the deceased was also burnt down. The chief mourner arranges a weeping celebration (*yáxau<sup>u</sup>wìab<sup>i</sup>*), for which he and his family provide food. This ceremony came from California and reached the Moapa when my informant was young; much later it got to the Shivwits also. Formerly they merely had the weeping but now the Bear dance is also danced on such occasions. All wail aloud. When some one begins to sing, all present sympathize with the mourner, and if some one delivers a speech everyone weeps. Men and women are ranged in opposite rows. Usually the performance lasts two evenings; on the first they sing till midnight, on the second they continue till morning. About midnight a feast is spread.

The Southern Ute took the corpse away to the hills, where they buried it in the ground. All the relatives cut their hair for mourning.

Sometimes a widow would cut off her leggings and throw them into the fire. Husband or wife was expected to remain unmarried for a year after the spouse's death. A woman would burn up the whole lodge in which her husband had died with everything pertaining to it; a mourning husband also burnt up the lodge. If there were horses left, the deceased man's brothers would come, speak to the widow, and kill all except one gentle horse, which they left for her. Sometimes no horse was spared, at other times one would be saved for the father or a brother. The Uintah put their dead into ditches, covering up the corpses with dirt and rocks piled on them. Some mourners clipped their hair short.

To Mrs. John H. Molineux, for some years a teacher among the Uintah, I am indebted for the following account of a funeral at White-rocks. James was the son of John Duncan, one of the chiefs. When it was known that he would probably die, he was placed in a tent near his father's wooden house. After his death the old women painted him and dressed him in his best clothes. Mrs. Molineux took the older school children there and all who were in any way connected fell on the bed, which was on the floor, and wept or howled one at a time and chanted alternately. The rest stood very still and looked on. Mrs. Molineux was permitted to have the Indian school children sing hymns and to take them to the burial on the following day. The site of the grave was in as remote and inaccessible a place as possible. The father had purchased a coffin at Vernal and the boy's horse, dogs, saddle, blankets, and other property were all assembled by the grave ready to be put in with him. The older people sat on the ground at the edge of the pit that had been dug, weeping and moaning. Charlie Mack, a chief, rose and delivered a speech, saying how good a boy James had been, how sorry all the Indians were for his parents, and that now he was going to the Great Spirit. Mrs. Molineux was next asked to speak and read the Episcopal service, with the children singing the chants and placing the earth on top of the coffin. Then David Van rose and said that James was a good boy and that the white people also liked and respected him, that the Sun too was sorry since he did not shine that day for it was dull and rainy. Then all the boy's property was put in and there was a debate as to killing the horse and dogs, but Mrs. Molineux dissuaded them from doing so on the ground of James's own preference. The Indians covered up the earth in a crude way, never expecting to visit the spot again. Mrs. Molineux adds that as late as 1912 babies were wrapped up with their dead mothers since the Indians thought there was no way of feeding a child except with the mother's milk.



At Pyramid Lake I was told that while the Pit River Indians (Achomawi) formerly cremated their dead and the Washo disposed of them "in any old way"<sup>1</sup> the Paviotso buried their dead in rocks, taking the corpses far off into the mountains. The body was wrapped up in a hide, dead women being buried in their buckskin dresses. The mourners cut off their hair, but did not lacerate themselves. Sometimes one of the deceased person's horses was killed. The following address was delivered to the dead: "Do not think of coming back, for you are going for good. Good-bye, you are going to a good place. Be good while you are there." This speech is very similar to that current among the Lemhi.<sup>2</sup> The Fallon Paviotso also denied the practice of laceration; relatives merely cut their hair and women still maintain the custom, furthermore they do not wash themselves, displaying disregard for their appearance for a while. The corpses were buried deep in the ground, so that coyotes could not get at them and if the dead person had a horse it was killed and his property was thrown into the pit. If he had no horse, some relative would supply property to be buried with him.

Sarah Hopkins partly corroborates and partly contradicts my own informants, the main discrepancy relating to the presence of laceration. When her grandfather died, all the people took the corpse into their arms, her father keeping it for two days. Then it was wrapped up in blankets and buried together with all his property, six horses being subsequently killed on the grave. "We never keep anything belonging to our deceased friends," says this authority elsewhere, "because it makes us feel so badly, and when any of our family die, everything belonging to them is buried, and their horses are killed. When my poor mother was yet living every time we went near the place where my poor grandfather was buried she would weep." When her uncle died, the widow and also Sarah's parents clipped their hair and cut long gashes in their arms and legs, this ceremonial mourning being continued for several days. The widow was first to cut off her hair, and then she braided it and put it across her husband's breast; next the dead man's mother and sisters, his father, brother and other relatives clipped their hair. A widower likewise cut his hair but was free to remarry, while the widow had to remain unmarried till her hair had grown to its former length<sup>3</sup> and her face was not to be washed nor was she to use any paint or make merry with other

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<sup>1</sup>Barrett, (b), 9, says that the Washo also practised cremation, though now they bury the body. According to Dixon, burial was the regular and cremation an occasional mode of disposal among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 217.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 215.

<sup>3</sup>A similar rule obtained among the Achomawi. See Dixon, (c), 218.



women until relieved of these restrictions by her father-in-law or mother-in-law. Sarah mentions signal-fires used to announce the death of a chief.<sup>1</sup>

A Wind River Indian who died was dressed up in his best clothing, painted, carried to the mountains, and deposited in a cleft or cave, which was blocked up lest the corpse be attacked by animals. This practice continued until recent times. Formerly the mourners would go off to one side and stay in a rude shelter. The women cut their hair short, gashed their legs, and removed their leggings for several days. When the hair had grown long again, the mourner returned home and the mourning period ceased. If a man died, one of his horses was taken to the grave and killed there so that his soul could ride away on it. Corpses were taken out by the door. If a person died in a house, the house was abandoned. A tipi was either buried with the owner or appropriated by a friend not related to the owner, for if a relative kept it he would die from the same cause. It was believed that if one member of a family died of some special cause, e.g., disease, the next would die for the same reason; for example, if one child was killed, all children would be killed. If a Shoshoni had been killed by the enemy, the people tried to recover his body; if they had slain an enemy, they would drag the corpse away and leave it exposed.

Wilson also describes cleft burial as the normal form. He speaks of a specific case in which a boy was mourned by the whole camp for five days. The corpse was put into a crevice together with bedding and various utensils, and three horses were killed and buried with the deceased.<sup>2</sup>

### BERDACHES.

A Shivwits informant recollected hearing people speak of a man who never hunted and though not dressing like a woman acted like one and had a feminine voice. He would lead the women with a basket when they went seed-gathering and roasted seeds like them. He was married to two men, sleeping with each on alternate nights. In myths such persons are called *ma+āi'pots*.

Among the Southern Ute Panayús remembered hearing his father tell of a berdache (*tuwásawits*), who owned a great many horses. Possibly as many as half a dozen boys would stay there and have him cook for them. One morning when the berdache rose early one of the boys was lying on the side as she was stirring the ashes and "she" touched his

<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 21, 41, 66, 70, 120.

<sup>2</sup>Wilson, 85, 195.

member with her feet. The boy got angry and kicked her, then she walked away and would not cook for them any more, so the other boys got angry at the one who had offended her. At Ouray my informant saw two berdaches himself, and my interpreter Tony recalled one he had seen there about eighteen years ago,—a tall stout man, also another one of short stature at Whiterocks.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake recalled a man who wore woman's dress, made basketwork and did laundry work. This was about twenty years ago (in 1914). Such men are called *t'ü Bäs*, *t'üBäse moγó'ne* or (better), *tüBázanän<sup>a</sup>*.

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

None of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes possessed a clan or gentile organization.

A strongly developed central authority was likewise lacking, but as might be expected from their Plains affiliations the Shoshoni had an institution for regulating the march and the communal hunt,—two societies the Yellow Noses and the Logs, who acted as policemen (*tíra-kòne*). Their activities have already been described.<sup>1</sup> Wilson speaks of a war chief in addition to the camp chief and reproduces a picture of this functionary's lodge in 1861.<sup>2</sup>

The Shoshoni reflect Plains contact in other ways, perhaps most of all in the influence of war deeds on social prestige. The head chief (*tü'wutc tégwani*) was a brave who had killed some enemies. According to one informant the chief long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick (*bándzugu wúkidüwi*), with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him down from his horse. Mópotsi is remembered as an important chief who held office for a long time; Washakie came at a later period, being contemporaneous with my informant's father. There was another position of distinction, that of herald, which likewise depended on a man's martial record. There might be three heralds at one time, in which case the one with the best voice would make the announcements. The chief would decide where buffalo were to be hunted and where the people were to camp. When the Bannock and Shoshoni traveled together, each tribe had a chief of its own, and the two jointly made these decisions, the Shoshoni chief taking the lead.<sup>3</sup> The title of chief was used somewhat vaguely for distinguished men, all of whom

<sup>1</sup>This series Vol. XI, 11, 813 et seq.

<sup>2</sup>Wilson, 70, 112 seq.

<sup>3</sup>This assertion must of course be taken with a grain of salt.



were however subordinate to the camp chief, who always led against the enemy.

Wilson says that it was customary for the Shoshoni bands to come together every three years for a grand tribal meeting. He estimates his own band at 250 Indians, owning 400 horses and more than 500 dogs and living in sixty tipis. When traveling, they broke up into smaller groups to make better time and secure more advantageous pasturing.<sup>1</sup>

As among the Lemhi a murderer was dealt with by his victim's relatives or friends. One informant says they might kill him, another that they would merely kill his horses and destroy his property.

The Southern Ute said they had three chiefs and one or more heralds (*mñarikàt tawáts*, *apáro<sup>o</sup> tawáts*) in the old times. Although my informants did not speak of a police force in connection with the communal hunt, the chiefs exerted a certain amount of authority at that time. When buffalo were hunted and were close by, two scouts were sent ahead and the chief would bid all men get ready on the following morning. All obeyed and acted properly, being afraid to run ahead because of the chief's orders. He would wait for laggards and called the names of all to make sure that none were missing. When all had assembled, the chief said, "When I give the alarm, all of you shall run over to the buffalo." When the signal was given, they ran for the buffalo herd.

A Uintah, Jim Duncan, said that long ago when he was a young man there was a great chief, Yellow-hair (*Öáqar*), after whose death the Ute split up into different bands. The Indians obeyed Yellow-hair, who would restrain his people from fighting other tribes. When a quarrel arose between individuals in camp, the other tribesmen made them stop. Little Jim spoke of a chief who would direct the people to have a Bear dance, who announced a deer hunt, or urged the Ute to put horses where they could get pasturage.

It is highly probable that the functions and powers of a Shoshonean chief were originally very meager. The Paiute had a head man for the rabbit hunt, but apart from that special occasion his authority was nil. All the Shivwits would unite in the winter time to form a single group but after hunting together for a while they split up again into distinct families, each of which had a property right in a spring of their own and the seeds growing round it. A Tö'+intesà+u informant said the people of his band used to have a chief who would announce in the morning what they were to do and they would obey him; when he died someone

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 20, 28, 69.



else was made chief. The Shivwits spoke of a chief prominent for giving advice at councils and not chosen by the people. Besides him there was another man of lesser prestige who went about to give advice. Doctor Spier informs me that this is also the function of a Havasupai chief.

The Paviotso, like the Paiute and the Washo, had a head man for the rabbit hunt, and also head men for duck and mud-hen hunting respectively. Billy Springer of Fallon is chief of the rabbit hunt; he is supposed to know most about it. He has held office for fifteen years (1914), succeeding a maternal uncle at the people's request. For a big undertaking he invites Paviotso from other localities, such as Schurz, Wadsworth, or Lovelocks. They continue for about ten or fifteen days.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes he decides to rest for a day because the Indians are tired out. Every morning he issues directions, such as, "Well, boys, prepare your breakfast and get your guns ready"; or, "We'll not go out this morning but stay at home and play." Billy receives no pay for being director. If he were to die, the office would not, in my interpreter's opinion, descend to any relative of his, but the Paviotso would select some "smart man" for the position.

Sarah Winnemucca naturally tends to aggrandize her relatives' authority. According to her, her grandfather was "chief of the entire Piute (Paviotso) nation" and was succeeded by her father, who in turn was succeeded by her brother. From her account it is clear that a chief presided over various economic undertakings and was expected to entertain all visitors to the point of going hungry himself.

At the Council one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may be understood. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarreling about that, for neither sub-chief nor great chief has any salary.<sup>2</sup>

#### KINSHIP USAGES.

Since the mother-in-law taboo is so strongly developed among the Lemhi Shoshoni,<sup>3</sup> I inquired concerning it among every Shoshonean group visited, but with a purely negative result. There was no evidence at all that it was ever practised among the Paviotso, Paiute, Ute, or Comanche. At Wind River nearly every one of my informants declared that he had never heard of such a custom, the mother-in-law being

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<sup>1</sup>The fact that these numbers are multiples of five may be significant.

<sup>2</sup>Hopkins, 5, 10, 54.

<sup>3</sup>Lowie, 211.

regarded more or less like one's own mother. One informant said that formerly a man spoke with neither his wife's parents nor with her brother except through his wife, but the very inclusion of the latter relative renders the statement of doubtful value (see below), and as explained, the consensus of native opinion was clearly in the opposite direction. It may be noted that on the same Reservation there are also Arapaho Indians, whose observance of the taboo is a well-known fact, and possibly my informant's remark was in part due to this circumstance. In the beginning of married life the Wind River husband was looked upon as more or less of a hired man who was expected to perform odd jobs. Similar conditions prevailed among the Shivwits.

From all the available data I conclude that the mother-in-law taboo was not a feature of the ancient Shoshonean culture and that its occurrence among the Lemhi is merely due to probably Crow and Blackfoot contact.

I obtained no evidence of a joking-relationship in any of the tribes here specially considered, but a usage recorded among the Comanche will be noted presently.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni brothers-in-law are especially friendly. This also applies to the Comanche, in which tribe the brothers-in-law play jokes on each other and have a peculiar privilege in cases of adultery, as illustrated by a personal experience of Mr. Hope M. Fullbright, who grew up among the Comanche. An Indian had been guilty of adultery and his brother-in-law confiscated his horse, one of his hogs and some other property (all comprised under the term *nánawōkip*), and gave all to the aggrieved husband. However, such property was regarded as undesirable and the new owner at once disposed of the horse and hog, selling the former to Mr. Fullbright for \$5 and the latter for \$2 (one-fifth of its real value). Mr. Fullbright saw no reason why he should not ride the newly bought horse, but found that all the Indians looked down upon him for doing so; accordingly he exchanged it for a horse belonging to another white man. Against this no objection was raised. The Comanche treated a brother's wife and a wife's sister with familiarity and called them by the same term as their real wives.

A Pyramid Lake Paviotso told me that in his tribe an orphaned child was usually taken care of by the maternal grandmother. At Lovelocks I was informed that a Paviotso woman would never walk with any man but her husband.

## TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

Two rather imperfect lists were obtained at Moapa and the Shivwits Reservation respectively, but taken with Dr. Sapir's Kaibab material<sup>1</sup> they give some notion of Paiute kinship nomenclature. The differences between my own lists suggest real dialectic distinctions of a minor character. Gaps in the Shivwits data have been supplied by Sapir's Kaibab terms and are bracketed by way of distinction.

Moapa	Shivwits
<i>mū'án<sup>i</sup></i> , father	<i>mu + áB<sup>i</sup></i>
<i>pí + énn<sup>i</sup></i> , mother	<i>pí + áB<sup>i</sup></i>
<i>tuwán<sup>ni</sup></i> , son	<i>tu + áts</i>
<i>pātsö'n<sup>ni</sup></i> , daughter	<i>patcö'ts, pātcín<sup>ni</sup></i>
<i>paBíin</i> , elder brother, male cousin	<i>pa Bíin, paBítan<sup>2</sup></i>
<i>tsa'qáin</i> , younger brother, male cousin	<i>tsa'qáin</i>
<i>naBávi + u</i> , two brothers	
<i>pātsín</i> , elder sister, female cousin	<i>pātsín<sup>ni</sup></i>
<i>namín</i> , younger sister, female cousin	[Kaibab: <i>namintsín<sup>i</sup></i> ]
<i>qō'nún<sup>i</sup></i> , father's father	{ <i>toγón<sup>ni3</sup></i>
<i>toγón</i> , mother's father	
<i>qōnútsiñ, qunútsin</i> son's child (m. sp.)	{ <i>toγótsin<sup>4</sup></i>
<i>toγótsin</i> , daughter's child (m. sp.)	
<i>u'tsín</i> , father's mother	[Kaibab: <i>qāxun<sup>i</sup></i> for either paternal or maternal grandmother and <i>qāxutsín<sup>i</sup></i> , grandchild.]
<i>u'tsítsin</i> , mother's mother (?) <sup>5</sup>	
<i>qagútsin</i> , daughter's child (w. sp.)	
<i>hāñ<sup>ni</sup></i> , father's brother, mother's sister's husband	[Kaibab has phonetic equivalents, but from the Shivwits I obtained only the terms <i>cünán<sup>ni</sup></i> , <i>cünátsin</i> , which see below.]
<i>hāñtsin</i> , brother's child (m. sp.)	[ <i>qāútsin</i> in Shivwits = brother's son's child, <i>qū nútsin</i> , son's daughter. Kaibab approximations mean great-grandfather and great-grandchild.]
<i>qū'un</i> , father's brother (w. sp.)	
<i>qū<sup>u</sup>tsin</i> , brother's daughter (m. sp.)	
<i>pahān</i> , father's sister, mother's brother's wife	<i>pā<sup>a</sup>n<sup>ni</sup></i> (only first English meaning obtained)
<i>pahāts</i> , brother's child (w. sp.)	<i>pāatsín</i>
<i>sūnán</i> , mother's brother	<i>cünán<sup>ni</sup></i> , also father's brother
	<i>cünátsin</i> , sister's child (m. sp.) also brother's child (m. sp.)
<i>qo'qóin</i> , mother's brother	<i>axqóin</i>
<i>qo'qóitsin</i> , sister's son (m. sp.)	<i>axqóitsin</i>
<i>āBε(en)</i> , sister's child (m. sp.), mother's brother	<i>āBεtsiB</i>

<sup>1</sup>In Gifford, 245.

<sup>2</sup>My notes record *pā'tsin*, elder or younger brother (w. sp.); this is probably due to an error.

<sup>3</sup>Father's sister's husband was also given as a doubtful meaning.

<sup>4</sup>Sister's child (m. sp.) is given in my notes as a doubtful meaning.

<sup>5</sup>Analogy suggests rather the meaning of son's child (w. sp.).



## Moapa

*nōmbīan*, mother's sister  
*ítsik'āB<sup>i</sup>*, mother's brother's son,<sup>1</sup>  
 father's sister's son  
*pīwán<sup>ni</sup>*, wife  
*qūmán<sup>ni</sup>*, husband  
*monátsin*, daughter's husband (m. sp.,  
 w. sp.)  
*āntámuan*, brother-in-law (m. sp.)  
 brother's wife (w. sp.), husband's  
 sister  
*u'tsímbian<sup>i</sup>*, son's wife (m. sp., w. sp.)  
*ya + ítsin*, parent-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)

## Shivwits

*āB<sup>i</sup>etsim*, father's brother's son  
*nōmpīan*  
 [Kaibab: *piñwan<sup>i</sup>*]  
 [Kaibab: *qom'an<sup>i</sup>*]  
 [Kaibab: *monatsin<sup>i</sup>*]  
*antámuan*, sister-in-law (w. sp.),  
*antámuāB<sup>i</sup>*, brother-in-law  
*tañBāBiñ*, brother-in-law (m. sp.)  
*tantáñBāBiāñ*, husband's sister, brother's  
 wife (w. sp.)  
*'wi'tsímpiāB<sup>i</sup>*, mother's brother's wife  
*naímpiwànni*, wife's sister, brother's  
 wife (m. sp.)  
*naiñqumánni*, sister's husband,  
 husband's brother

At Ignacio and Navaho Springs I obtained the following Southern Ute data, which should be compared with Sapir's from the Uintah, as published by Gifford.

*nīna-mu*, my father  
*nīna-pì*, my mother  
*tōwátsin*, my son  
*bavítsi*, *bāBidzin*, elder brother, parallel or cross-cousin (male)  
*tsqáts*, younger brother, parallel or cross-cousin (male)  
*bàdzidzin*, elder sister, parallel or cross-cousin (female)  
*namidzin*, younger sister, parallel or cross-cousin (female)  
*átsin*, *ātsi<sup>u</sup>*, father's younger brother, elder brother's child (m. sp.)  
*<sup>x</sup>qūtsin*, father's elder brother, younger brother's child (m. sp.)  
*<sup>x</sup>kwō'itsin*, *axkwítsin*, mother's elder brother<sup>2</sup>  
*sínátsin*, mother's younger brother, sister's child (m. sp.)  
*bátsin*, father's sister, brother's child (w. sp.)  
*māwítsin*, mother's elder sister, younger sister's child (w. sp.)  
*nōpwü'átsin*, mother's younger sister, elder sister's child (w. sp.)  
*könútsin*, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)  
*toγo'<sup>tsin</sup>*, mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)  
*kakú dzin*, mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)  
*'wi'itsítsin*, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)  
*ōwútsin*, my great-grandfather, great-grandchild  
*pīwán*, spouse

<sup>1</sup>I consider these meanings doubtful.

<sup>2</sup>Sapir's equivalent is rendered "younger sister's child, m. sp." and without the diminutive suffix "mother's older brother."

*yátsin*, *yáatsin*, son's wife; husband's parent, husband's brother or sister, brother's wife (m. sp., w. sp.), husband's sibling's spouse  
*yayátsin*, collective name for all of husband's relatives  
*tatáwavin*, wife's brother or sister, wife's parent, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband, sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.), daughter's husband, mother's sister's husband  
*tatáwaviun*, collective for wife's relatives

My Southern Ute material differs from Sapir's for the Northern Ute mainly in two respects. In the case of a single stem to designate two relatives of different generation my informants did not distinguish the junior member of the couple by a diminutive suffix but employed the diminutive form indifferently. Secondly, my two comprehensive terms of affinity are differently defined by Sapir,—*yaitcin*<sup>i</sup> as spouse's parent, son's wife; *tantauavin*<sup>i</sup> as wife's brother, sister's husband, m. sp. Among the Northern Ute I myself obtained the following renderings:—

*yá<sup>a</sup>tsin*, son's wife, brother's wife (m. sp.), husband's sibling, spouse's mother, mother's brother's wife;  
*tantá<sup>a</sup>win*, father-in-law, father's sister's husband, brother-in-law, daughter's husband.

From the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Lovelocks, and Fallon the following list was secured, which tallies fairly well with that obtained by Kroeber from a Pyramid Lake informant<sup>1</sup>:

*iná'<sup>a2</sup>*, father  
*pí<sup>a</sup>*, mother  
*dú<sup>a</sup>*, son  
*bádō*, *pārō*, daughter  
*bāBí'<sup>i</sup>*, elder brother, male cousin<sup>3</sup>  
*bañá'<sup>a</sup>*, younger brother, male cousin  
*amá'*, elder sister, female cousin  
*bōní'<sup>i</sup>*, younger sister, female cousin  
*hai'*, *hē'<sup>i</sup>*, father's brother, stepfather, mother's sister's husband  
*pa'wá*, father's sister  
*āts'<sup>i</sup> ātsi<sup>i</sup>*, mother's brother, mother's cousin  
*pírú'<sup>u</sup>*, mother's sister, stepmother  
*hūza*, *h<sup>u</sup>ja*, brother's child (m. sp.), stepchild, wife's sister's child (m. sp.)  
*imidó'*, my sibling's child (w. sp.)  
*īnanák<sup>wa</sup>*, my sister's child (m. sp.)  
*qōnu'<sup>u</sup>*, father's father, son's child (m. sp.)  
*hutsi'<sup>i</sup>*, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)  
*iroγó'*, my mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.)  
*īmu'á*, my mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.)

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, (b), 359 seq.

<sup>2</sup>The initial *i* is probably the first person pronoun, as it certainly is in such combinations as *idua*, *ibōni'<sup>i</sup>*, etc.

<sup>3</sup>No distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins.

*ihōBí'í*, *ihōwí'í*, my greatgrandfather, greatgrandmother<sup>1</sup>  
*igáma*, my husband, sister's husband  
*inórök'*, *inoríg<sup>wa</sup>*, my wife  
*iyàhí*, my parent-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)  
*iroγóna*, my son-in-law  
*gönñbia*, *qō'nupìa*, daughter-in-law  
*aráto+i*, *arádoi*, brother-in-law (m. sp.), father's sister's husband  
*ininé'í*, my sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother  
*usánapìa*, wife's sister or cousin  
*arádzi'pìa*, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)  
*na'tāik'a k<sup>wa</sup>*, child's parents-in-law

Kroeber suggestively discusses the etymology and later extension of meaning of the terms *iroγóna*, *gönñbia*, *usánapìa*, and *arádzi'pìa*.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni, I recorded the following kinship terms:—

*āpö*, father, father's brother  
*pía*, mother, mother's sister  
*nörúə*, my son (*undúə*, his son)  
*nöpä'di*, my daughter (*umpä'di*, his daughter)  
*nöbābi*, my elder brother, male cousin,<sup>2</sup> wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband  
*nötāmi*, my younger brother, male cousin, wife's sister's husband, husband's sister's or brother's wife's husband  
*nöbādzi*, my elder sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife  
*nönāmi*, my younger sister, female cousin, brother-in-law's wife  
*bāha*, father's sister, brother's child (w. sp.), spouse's mother, daughter's husband (w. sp.)  
*āra*, mother's brother, sister's child (m. sp.), wife's father, son-in-law (m. and w. sp.<sup>3</sup>)  
*kō'nu*, father's father, son's child (m. sp.), husband's father  
*gāgu*, mother's mother, daughter's child (w. sp.), mother's mother's sister, mother-in-law  
*dōko*, mother's father, daughter's child (m. sp.), mother's father's brother, wife's father  
*hútsi*, father's mother, son's child (w. sp.)  
*gwö'*, wife, wife's sister, brother's wife  
*gwāhapö*, husband, sister's husband, husband's brother  
*mūnapö*, son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)  
*hútsömbiə*, daughter-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.)  
*bahāmbiə*, husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)  
*nō'ri*, husband's brother's wife  
*nörédz*, my sister's husband (m. sp.), wife's brother

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, limits the term to mean father's father's mother and reciprocally son's son's child (w. sp.).

<sup>2</sup>No distinction is drawn between parallel and cross-cousins.

<sup>3</sup>Probably this is an error and should be limited to m. sp.; see above, *bāha*.



It is interesting to note that suggestions of classificatory terminology are most conspicuous at Wind River, as we should expect. The lack of distinctive cousin terms and still more so the use of reciprocal stems for the grandparental relationship are perhaps the outstanding features of our Plateau Shoshonean systems. The most interesting variations occur, as noted by Sapir, as regards the designation of the uncle-nephew categories. Thus, the Paiute and Ute are found to use reciprocal stems, while the Paviotso have correlative stems not etymologically connected (e.g., *hai'* and *hūza, ātsi''*<sup>i</sup>, and *īnanák*<sup>wa</sup>).

### RELIGION.

Information on the personal aspect of Shoshonean religion is extremely sparse and the following notes are given mainly to stimulate further inquiry.

Among the Shivwits supernatural power did not come in solitary fasting but in dreams. *Cünāwab*<sup>i</sup> was prayed to for success in the chase, and after game had been killed some of the fat was thrown in all directions as an offering to him. Prayers were not addressed to *Tübáts*. The Moapa believe that *Cotsípamāpöt* never aged and never died. *Cünāwab*<sup>i</sup> and *TöBáts* also are still living and sometimes people say the dead go to them.

Women, as well as men, might be doctors. Moapa is the center of the earth.

The object of the Southern Ute Sun dance<sup>1</sup> was primarily the attainment of a shaman's powers, secondarily the cure of sick men. The leader was of course possessed of shamanistic powers. Sometimes as many as forty men participated in the ritual, but only a few of them attained their wish of becoming medicinemen. Some Ute would take part in four or five ceremonies before having their hopes fulfilled. When exhausted from fasting, a person would faint and then he might dream about eating and the Sun would tell him that he was to be a medicineman. After a while he would wake up and feel quite well.

It should be noted that the Sun dance is a very recent acquisition of the Ute. At Ignacio I was told in 1912 that even the Utah branch of the tribe only got it from the Shoshoni about twenty-two years ago. Prior to that time the shaman (*pō'aγat*) apparently got his power in dreams without fasting. Some shamans were good (*áte-pō'aγat*), others bad (*öwú-pō'aγat*). The latter were sorcerers who caused people to fall

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<sup>1</sup>See this series, vol. 16, part 5.

sick. Sometimes a good medicineman examining his patient at night, as was the custom, would say, "I have discovered that So-and-so is making him sick; I have tried my best, but the other medicineman is too strong." If several shamans corroborated this view, the Ute killed the sorcerer as soon as his supposed victim died. This idea of killing a bad medicineman seems to be very fundamental with the Ute. When I was at Ignacio, a shaman from Navajo Springs came driving up post-haste one evening seeking refuge from his neighbors. He had been doctoring a patient without success and was afraid of being killed. Sometimes a shaman will tell his patient: "You have dreamt about your mother, she wants to take you away with her." Then the sick person confirms the diagnosis, saying that he had dreamt of his mother, that she had tried to give him food but he had refused it. This dream is then taken as the cause of the sickness. Sometimes a practitioner sucks out of his patient's body some little worms or small objects, treated as the pathogenic agents, which he swallows, making a gargling noise and singing. Several others may assist in the singing.

Panayús told me of a Comanche boy raised among the Ute who developed into a great shaman with a reputation that bullets could not harm him. He received his powers from an old Ouray Ute chief who had this gift of invulnerability. One spring the people were camping by a mesa near the site of Ignacio. The Comanche shaman would doctor sick people, but there was always the discharge of guns accompanying the treatment since the medicineman had other men shoot at him. Panayús had always been skeptical of the man's powers. On this occasion the medicineman rose early and said to my informant, "Friend, you have never believed me. When the sun shall rise, I will give you an exhibition, then you'll believe." When the sun was nearly up Panayús's son was still asleep. The Comanche said, "Wake up the boy and bid him stand in the door. Put him behind the door, standing toward the sun." Panayús was a policeman and had a revolver with all its chambers loaded. The shaman asked for it, whistled a tune, snapped the cock, walked toward the boy and then round the fireplace, then cocked the gun and shot at the boy. The boy was scared but not hurt; in the door no bullet hole was to be seen. "Do you believe me now? I'll show you again." He asked for a blanket and let the boy lead him. The informant's mother was cooking while his father was outside and also saw it. The shaman covered himself with the blanket and stretched it out, led by the boy. Panayús shot him between the shoulders. There was a little ripple on the blanket but no hole. He shot again with the same result. Close



by the door, only a few feet away, he shot again: there were marks on the blanket but no hole. Then Panayús believed in the shaman's power. "Now you have faith in me. I have given you proof. If you or your boy should wish to become a shaman, I'll give you some of my power and you will be able to do the same." But Panayús declined. Shamans who were bullet-proof were called *töpö'ye pō'aγat*. In this connection it is interesting to recall the supposedly bullet-proof Bannock chief mentioned by Bonneville.<sup>1</sup>

A few random Ute notions may be enumerated here. These people were afraid of the rainbow (*pároγawínitikit*). They would say: "Someone lost his knife and it is underground. Where the rainbow touches the ground, there is the knife. Don't point your finger towards it or the rainbow will cut off your finger." The lips also must not be used in pointing at it. Mrs. Molineux reports a comparable superstition against turning round and walking backward, lest a relative (particularly an aunt) fall sick. Once my informant took some Uintah girls on a walk. Daphne Ice turned round to see those who were in the rear, but was sharply pulled back by a companion, who gave the reason mentioned.

As a protection against lightning the Southern Ute put a kind of hard wood, *tōnápwi*, into the tipi, for they said it was never struck, the lightning being afraid of it.

The Southern Ute believed in a world underground and another in the sky. If a conflagration came it would be due to Cünáwav<sup>i</sup>, the mythical hero, who might save the people by lifting them to the sky or dropping them below. Some think the sky is supported by one big cottonwood tree in the west and another in the east; if either gets rotten, it may break and the sky then would fall down, killing everybody. The horses of a dead person were always killed. All the persons killed on the warpath live separately from those who die a natural death.

At Ignacio twins were said to be due to a man's continuing to hold intercourse after pregnancy.

Tony Buck told me that when a person sneezes a little stick is bent at right angles and thrown up into the air to determine the direction where someone is talking about (or to?) the sneezer. The short branch indicates the direction. My informant said that this custom is shared by the Arapaho. The Moapa say that when a person sneezes (*ha+úsip<sup>i</sup>*), he says, "Some one is thinking of me in some other country."

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, 224.



At Navaho Springs rabbit's feet with beads are said to be worn as charms, but the trader thought the idea had been stimulated by whites.

According to Annie Lowry, the Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son, as in the case of Coffee Charlie. The medicineman's soul leaves him when he doctors and goes into a trance, but the patient's soul remains in his body. The shaman's soul goes to the place of the spirits in order to get their aid. A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision. The paraphernalia of shamans differ,—some have an eagle tail, others a magpie tail, etc. The shamans also use a rattle.

Coffee Charlie was once doctoring his own boy, four years old, who was very sick and had been given up. The boy suddenly said, "Do you see a little bird on my head?" Coffee Charlie told him there was nothing there, but the boy insisted that a bird was there, chirping, and the bird was saying to him, "Little boy, you won't die, you will live." Coffee Charlie doctored him, and he lived. On another occasion Coffee Charlie doctored Annie Lowry's son, who had been given up by the white physician. Coffee Charlie used a stick about four feet long, carefully smoothed, and sprinkled with white clay, and with an eagle (?) feather at one end. This was set at the patient's head; the idea of the clay was that it would cause moisture all over the patient's body. The shaman went into a trance, then the boy was placed on him so that the pits of their stomachs were together, then the boy was taken away by his mother. Before this he shook his rattle; at first the sound seemed far away, but gradually it got closer and closer. The boy at first did not recognize his mother, but did a little later. He recovered.

Mack Winnemucca said that the Paviotso killed sorcerers (*stai<sup>yu</sup> puháγa<sup>iyu</sup>*) who caused people's death. When a person "died," i.e., was very sick, the shaman would lie beside him and also "die" for several hours in order to bring him back. On the return trip, they heard talking about mountains. When the patient came to, his parents talked to him, asking whether he was well now, whether he wished for a drink of water, etc. They would give him water. The other Indians sat around both the patient and the doctor. At times it was necessary to keep up the treatment for three or four nights. Sometimes the doctor's spirit coming back unsuccessful was heard crying. During the doctoring the shaman did not move but lay stiff as a board till his return. This procedure is called *mugwāmanàq<sup>i</sup>*, a word doubtless connected with *nō'mō mūgua*, human soul or spirit. A person who dies goes across a big body of water

far away. There everything is fine and there are plenty of flowers. Spirits are like shadows and there are a great many of them; the sound of horses is heard among them. After death the souls go to the Milky Way, and that is probably where the shaman goes to bring back the patient's soul. There is one good and one bad place for spirits; both are up in the air.

Sarah Hopkins says that there were both male and female shamans who communicated with spirits and cured by the laying on of hands. She describes a council summoned by a shaman. It began with smoking, the pipe being passed round five times to the right. Then the medicine-man bade those present to sing five songs, himself leading in the chant.

While they were singing the last song, he said,

"Now I am going into a trance. While I am in the trance you must smoke just as you did before; not a word must be spoken while I am in the trance."

About fifteen minutes after the smoking was over, he began to make a noise as if he was crying a great way off. The noise came nearer and nearer, until he breathed, and after he came to, he kept on crying. And then he prophesied, and told the people that my father's dream was true in one sense of the word—that is, "Our people will not all die at the hands of our white brothers. They will kill a great many with their guns, but they will bring among us a fearful disease that will cause us to die by hundreds."

We all wept for we believed this word came from heaven.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear from this passage, as well as from many others and my own data, that the mystic number of the Paviotso was Five, not Four.<sup>2</sup> This is a matter of considerable comparative interest since tribes in both Oregon and California share the trait.

The Paviotso have a notion that when one twin dies, the other will also die.

When a Paviotso sneezes, the other people say, "Maybe someone is thinking about you."

The idea that there were bullet-proof men also obtained among the Wind River Shoshoni, the one-time war chief Pitu being cited as an example of one through whom bullets would not pass. Another man, called Big Nez Percé, was often knocked down by bullets but would get up with nothing worse than a blue spot on his body.

Power such as that possessed by these men is obtained in dreams. Some being appears and tells the person favored that he should do so and so, go to the mountains, and so forth. He would obey and receive the blessing of a charmed life. Similarly the power of curing disease was

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 15 f.

<sup>2</sup>*ibid.*, 13, 47, 48, 50, 57.



obtained through dreams. Long ago the Shoshoni would go to the hills or rocks in the mountains where there was "a kind of writing." There they would sleep for from one to three nights in quest of a dream, but without fasting; in the morning they went back home. Some animal or person might appear to the would-be visionary and tell him he was to be a physician. Not all the shamans used the same form of treatment, but all sang some songs. They made different marks near the fireplace and perhaps stuck a feather up by the mark. The shaman (*púhagant*) would place a feather on the affected part of the sufferer's body and suck at the other end, then blow away or vomit the disease. Only the doctor himself saw what he vomited. If a shaman cures his patient, he gets \$5 or possibly a horse. Once a white man cured by an Indian doctor gave him \$20 or \$25. If there is no cure, there is no fee. My informant had never heard of evil shamans trying to kill personal enemies. The shaman administers no drugs, though all Indians have knowledge of certain medicinal roots or weeds, which is not acquired through dreams. Nowadays medicinemen get power by dreaming while at home. One informant had heard of a shaman who doctored gonorrhoea, like Tumodzo of the Lemhi,<sup>1</sup> by suction; this probably made him bald-headed. His treatment was based on dreams and he never used roots.

Some people claimed to receive power from dwarfs called *nü'nümbi*, who are described as only from two and a half to three feet in height but with big muscles. This would fit the dwarfs of Crow mythology, but these are uniformly benevolent, while the *nü'nümbi* are regarded as generally of evil disposition, killing people with bow and arrows so that the Shoshoni are still afraid of them. They are always naked.

The Wind River Indians owned medicine bundles, especially for war-like purposes. These were composed of bear claws, otterskins, etc. Most of them contained eagle feathers as part of the sacred aggregate. The bundles were generally kept on a tripod behind the tipi, being only taken inside when it rained.

When one informant was a boy he heard that there was one part in the human being called *mūgua* different from the body and surviving it. Though this idea was said to have been derived from Mormon teaching, the concept and term were obtained among the Lemhi<sup>2</sup> and its occurrence among the Paviotso in practically the same form establishes its antiquity.

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, 228.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 226.



Wáwanabìdi mentioned a hunting medicine carried with arrows. When a hunter finds fresh elk tracks he puts it into the tracks and says to it, "Do you overtake that elk where he lies down. When you are there he'll get uneasy and begin to come back, back-tracking himself." This medicine, called *tōyanátowora*, grows only high up in the mountains and has a pretty, pink flower; it is chief of all medicines. Only a small piece of it is broken off at one time. The elk soon returns, the hunter merely having to sit down and wait for it. Wáwanabìdi was skeptical at one time and made a test once when tracking deer. He talked to the medicine in the fashion described. Soon two deer came along, one after another, and he shot and killed both. He went to a spring for a drink, saw elk tracks and put some medicine into the tracks. After a while he saw an elk approach and shot him. This happened only about fifteen years ago (1912). With red paint the same medicine was rubbed on the body and back of the head in war time, and the following prayer was addressed to it, "If the enemy comes, give me power so that even if he aims at me and pulls the trigger, the trigger will not work and he will not hit me." When enemies were stealing horses this medicine put on the track caused the horses to become exhausted. Once my informant's father-in-law escaped through this root when all the other Shoshoni were killed. Any one might use it, but it was rare because it was hard to get it. Sometimes the seeds were mashed and rubbed on the neck when children had a sore throat.

A little girl came to Wáwanabìdi's lodge wearing, probably as a charm, a sausage-shaped buckskin necklace stuffed with pine-needles (*woñgo gwāna*), an infusion of which is used to cure bad colds.

When a Shoshoni sneezes, the people say that some girl is making a remark about him and wishing that the sneezer were with her.

Wolf and Coyote are not prayed to by the Wind River people, so far as Wáwanabìdi knows.

When people whistled through rushes, they caused clouds and rain to come.<sup>1</sup>

A whirlwind is considered a ghost (*dzōap*). When a person dies, a whirlwind is caused thereby.

Once Wáwanabìdi was fishing at Jackson's creek when he heard a baby crying, but paid no particular attention. Suddenly he came upon it. It was a *pāona*,<sup>2</sup> which looked like a baby with yellow body, but it had big arms and hands and long curly hair. My informant was frightened,

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, 232.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *ibid*, 234.

but it suddenly dived into the water and was seen no more, though the sound it made was heard all night until morning.

Wáwanabìdi had never seen a water-buffalo but had heard other Indians describe it. It resembles a buffalo, but its horns are somewhat different. An Indian now dead told my informant he had once seen a pretty woman with long hair on the ice covering Bull Lake; as he came close, she suddenly went under the water.

Wáwanabìdi, when a child, was terribly afraid of the ogre known as Dzōabits, who plays a part in Shoshoni folklore. After hearing a tale about him he would be afraid to go out in the dark. A water variety of this monster, Pán-dzōabits, was used as a bugbear to terrify children; he was said to carry children in a big bag.

When buffalo were scarce, the Shoshoni would cut out the sinew of one buffalo they had killed, blacken their fingers with charcoal and dot the sinew black with them. Then they placed the sinew on the ground and built a fire over it, causing it to draw up so that the ends would come together, when they removed it. This symbolized the coming together of buffalo from opposite directions, and a few days later they expected to find buffalo.

The Paviotso have a curious belief that the horned-toad speaks the Paviotso language and is able to kill a rattlesnake and Annie Lówry even declared that she had seen a contest specially arranged for the benefit of skeptical whites in which the toad worsted the snake. This notion is shared by the Ute. On the Uintah Reservation I was told that sometimes a rattlesnake would find a young horned-toad (*tsinqámqatsits*) and kill it, then its mother would get furious and kill the snake.

When there was measles or smallpox in a Shoshoni camp, the doctor would give a dance in which both men and women participated, shaking dewclaw rattles known as *tōcitōmp*. The dance was called Horn Dance (*āp nōqára*). It lasted for two or three days and was limited to the period of an epidemic.

### CEREMONIES AND DANCES.

Both in number and complexity of ceremonials the Plateau Shoshoneans are noticeably inferior to the Plains and Pueblo Indians, and even of the slender stock of performances known to them in modern times some are demonstrably due to recent borrowing. This applies to the Sun dance of the Ute and Wind River Shoshoni, which has been dealt with in a separate publication and to the wailing ceremony of the Southern Paiute, already mentioned (p. 279).



The Bear dance (*mamáqomip*) of the Southern Paiute has also been recently borrowed, but in this case the origin of the performance may certainly be ascribed to a fellow-Shoshonean group, the Ute, whose Bear dance has been dealt with in a previous publication.<sup>1</sup> The Ute ceremony (*mamáqunikap'*) is performed early in the spring in a circular enclosure. Its origin is derived from a bear and the alleged object is to conciliate the bear species. Both men and women participate, facing each other, and dance to the accompaniment of music produced by scraping a notched stick until in the last night's activities one dancer falls to the ground from real or feigned exhaustion. According to my Moapa interpreter, this dance had been adopted by his people only three or four years before my visit from the St. George Indians (Shivwits); these in turn informed me that they had quite recently borrowed it from the Uintah Ute. I witnessed part of a dance held at Moapa by the resident Indians and a group of Shivwits visitors. My observations follow.

Arriving on August 24, 1915, I was informed that the Indians had been holding a "pow-wow" that was expected to terminate that night, which however proved not to be the case. After driving to the site, I found that the dance was not held in an enclosure, but in an open space along the road, bounded only unilaterally by the fences enclosing the Indian lands and rendered shady on one side by a clump of cottonwoods. Within the site there were several groups of Indians, men and women, most of whom paid very little attention to the dance, being absorbed in card-playing. None of the old people participated; the majority were or seemed to be very young and the oldest could at best be classed as middle-aged. There were several musicians, at one time as many as five. These were seated round a tin wash-tub inverted over a pit; another pit a few feet away had been used yesterday. The pit was very shallow, probably not over 6 inches deep and about 16 inches in diameter. The musicians all used crudely notched sticks of obviously recent manufacture, rasping them with shorter sticks, of which only one was seen that corresponded to the cylindrical Ute scraper. One end of the notched instrument rested on the tub. The rasping was accompanied with singing and accelerated at the end of each song. The instrument, like the ceremony itself, was said to be of recent origin.

The women invited men to become their partners by tapping them on the shoulder with the hand or a stick; the men generally made a pretense of coyness. At first each couple, partners facing each other, danced several steps without joining. Later they took hold in several

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<sup>1</sup>Vol. XI of this series, 823-831.



distinct fashions. One way, observed several times, was for the girl to place her right hand on the left side of her partner's waist, while he put his right hand on her left or right shoulder. In some instances he put his arm on her waist. Several times one man danced with two girls; such a one might place his left hand on the right shoulder of the girl to his left, and his right hand on the left shoulder of the girl to his right. Some of the women placed their right hand on one of the partner's shoulders. The step was a "one-step,"—usually six steps backward and six forward, and this figure was continued throughout the dance. Some couples showed a much greater tendency to hopping than others. No native costume of any kind was worn by either sex.

On August 25 I arrived at the dance site at 9.20 a.m. and found the Indians camped very much as on the previous day, with several groups playing a Mexican card game. This morning several girls and small boys began to make music and the most striking peculiarity was that boys asked girls to become their partners in the earlier part of the forenoon's entertainment. Thus it happened in one or two cases that one girl came to dance with two boys or men. In scraping the stick some musicians moved the rasp away from, others towards themselves. The method of holding partners was again seen to vary widely. One standard way was for the girl to place her right hand on the man's waist or left hip, while he put his right hand on her left shoulder; her left hand might then be placed on his right arm or elbow. After a while the girls reasserted their privilege to choose partners. This was done either by tapping them as before or by throwing a little stick at them. While the girls were making music, one of the boys chose his partner by gently kicking one of the musicians. In one of the dances a girl threw her partner down, which put a stop to that dance. A middle-aged woman, assisted by a man, dragged one reluctant girl to the site and made her dance. She seemed eager to get people to take part. According to Mr. Hess, the Government teacher, she was a medicine-woman, while an Indian said she was "boss of the dance."

At about 11.20 another mode of dancing was noted. Instead of facing each other, partners now stood beside each other, the man's hand resting on the woman's shoulder. The step was the same as before. This figure was, however, very soon replaced by the customary one. At 11.26 the dancing ceased and the Indians had their midday meal, which had been prepared outdoors, firewood having been piled high on one side of the road. At 12.40 several men and boys began to scrape the stick again and a quarter of an hour later three couples began to dance. Two men

armed with sticks dragged reluctant men into the dance and jabbed them in the back when from fatigue they did not swing properly but fell into a simple walk. At times there were as many as five couples dancing on each side of the centrally located musicians. At the beginning of a dance the girls, joining hands, generally stepped backwards and forwards in pairs, or even in quartets, before seeking partners. The women always faced the musicians. In the afternoon there were as many as fourteen or fifteen couples dancing simultaneously. Once I noted three couples joining for a dance.

On August 26 I arrived at the dance ground at about 9:30 a.m. and found several couples already in motion. I was told that during the night the Indians had revived an old Paiute dance, the *nō'qáp'*, for which see below. I was myself made to dance, first with two girls, later with one alone. A man armed with a whip made all the shy young men and women dance. This morning the musicians used a pit several feet away from that used the day before, possibly because it was in a shadier spot; it was the one I had observed as not in use on the day of my arrival. I contributed \$2 to the Indians, who were getting up a feast.

The last dance in the forenoon began at about 11.20, and the musicians continued scraping much longer than ever before, with the obvious intention of exhausting the performers. After a while most (but not all) of the dancers changed their positions so that instead of partners facing they were alongside of each other, with the man's arm on the woman's shoulder. Thus they continued to dance with increasing fatigue till one stout young woman fell down, theoretically, I presume, from total exhaustion. Then the performance ceased at once.

While the people were eating, an old man from St. George rose to address the crowd, expressing the visitors' appreciation of the hospitality offered them and the mutual good-will obtaining between the Moapa and Shivwits Indians. He also stated that he wished to start homeward in the afternoon. Accordingly preparations for departure were made immediately after the feast and with many farewells the visitors, about twenty in number, departed.

While the formal dancing had apparently ceased with the morning's performance, several young men and women began to scrape the notched instrument at about 1.15 or 1.30 p.m., and then the dancing recommenced.

It was perfectly clear that the Bear dance as here performed was wholly lacking in esoteric or religious features and was a purely social affair.



On January 6, 1872 Powell's party observed a Kaibab ceremony. The Indians, "had stripped a cedar tree of all branches but a small tuft at the top, and around this the whole band formed a large circle, dancing and singing. The dancing was the usual hippity-hop or "lope" sideways, each holding hands with his or her neighbor. In the center stood a man, seeming to be the custodian of songs and a poet himself; He would first recite the piece, and then all sing it, circling round at the same time." The white visitors were invited to participate and did so to the great amusement of the Paiute.<sup>1</sup>

The most important of the old dances was the *nö'qáp'*, known under this appellation to both the Moapa and Shivwits. A phonetic equivalent among the Lemhi seemed to be a generic term for "dance." In the Paiute *nöq'áp'* men and women formed a circle, neighbors interlocking fingers. One man sang and the performers moved round clockwise. Any one who chose might participate. Sometimes a woman would step between two men. The dance was held during any season of the year and in the night. One informant called it a "war dance." The participation of both sexes, the clockwise motion and the interlocking fingers all suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nũakin*.<sup>2</sup>

Another dance, the *mã + inöqop*, was under the direction of a master of ceremonies, who would send out messengers in different directions announcing that a performance was to be held in so many days. He would select men and women with a light dance step, and no one else was permitted to dance. There were from four to six men, who removed their clothes and were painted by the singers, and from two to three girls in the dance. The performers did not hold one another but jumped round a big fire, the dance being held in the night-time. The manager led in the singing.

The Ute dances have been sketched in a previous publication.<sup>3</sup> The Bear dance is easily the most important among them and doubtless spread from this tribe to other Shoshonean groups, such as the Lemhi.<sup>4</sup> Specific information about the others seems too sparse to permit a definite identification with performances of other peoples, but the frequent participation of both sexes in dancing may turn out to be a distinctive Shoshonean or Plateau or even Ultramontane feature.

While I obtained no evidence of any form of the Bear Dance among the Paviotso, the highly characteristic notched instrument appears there

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<sup>1</sup>Dellenbaugh, 178.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, 217.

<sup>3</sup>Vol. XI of this series, 823-835.

<sup>4</sup>Lowie, 219.



in association with the ceremonial antelope hunt. It is interesting to note that the association of this stick with game-charming occurs among the Cheyenne and Arikara,<sup>1</sup> though the connecting links are not clear and the resemblance may turn out to lack significance. I will begin by quoting Sarah Hopkins.

My people capture antelopes by charming them, but only some of the people are charmers. My father was one of them, and once I went with him on an antelope hunt.

The antelopes move in herds in the winter, and as late in the spring as April. At this time there was said to be a large herd in a certain place, and my father told all his people to come together in ten days to go with him in his hunt. He told them to bring their wives with them, but no small children. When they came, at the end of ten days, he chose two men, who he said were to be his messengers to the antelopes. They were to have two large torches made of sagebrush bark, and after he had found a place for his camp, he marked out a circle around which the wigwams were to be placed, putting his own in the middle of the western side, and leaving an opening directly opposite in the middle of the eastern side, which was towards the antelopes.

The people who were with him in the camp then made another circle to the east of the one where their wigwams were, and made six mounds of sagebrush and stones on the sides of it, with a space of a hundred yards or more from one mound to the next one, but with no fence between the mounds. These mounds were made high, so that they could be seen from far off.

The women and boys and old men who were in the camp, and who were working on the mounds, were told to be very careful not to drop anything and not to stumble over a sagebrush root, or a stone, or anything, and not to have any accident, but to do everything perfectly and to keep thinking about the antelopes all the time, and not to let their thoughts go away to anything else. It took five days to charm the antelopes, and if anybody had an accident he must tell of it.

Every morning early, when the bright morning star could be seen, the people sat around the opening to the circle, with my father sitting in the middle of the opening, and my father lighted his pipe and passed it to his right, and the pipe went round the circle five times. And at night they did the same thing.

After they had smoked the pipe, my father took a kind of drum, which is used in this charming, and made music with it. This is the only kind of musical instrument which my people have, and it is only used for this antelope-charming. It is made of a hide of some large animal, stuffed with grass, so as to make it sound hollow, and then wound around tightly from one end to the other with a cord as large as my finger. One end of this instrument is large, and it tapers down to the other end, which is small, so that it makes a different sound on the different parts. My father took a stick and rubbed this stick from one end of the instrument to the other, making a penetrating, vibrating sound, that could be heard afar off, and he sang, and all his people sang with him.

After that the two men who were messengers went out to see the antelopes. They carried their torches in their right hands, and one of them carried a pipe in his left hand. They started from my father's wigwam and went straight across the camp to the opening; then they crossed, and one went around the second circle to the

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<sup>1</sup>Vol. XI, this series, 675, 896.

right and the other went to the left, till they met on the other side of the circle. Then they crossed again, and one went round the herd of antelopes one way and the other went round the other way, but they did not let the antelopes see them. When they met on the other side of the herd of antelopes, they stopped and smoked the pipe, and then they crossed, and each man came back on the track of the other to the camp, and told my father what they saw and what the antelopes were doing.

This was done every day for five days, and after the first day all the men and women and boys followed the messengers, and went around the circle they were to enter. On the fifth day the antelopes were charmed, and the whole herd followed the tracks of my people and entered the circle where the mounds were, coming in at the entrance, bowing and tossing their heads, and looking sleepy and under a powerful spell. They ran round and round inside the circle just as if there was a fence all around it and they could not get out, and they stayed there until my people had killed every one. But if anybody had dropped anything, or had stumbled and had not told about it, then when the antelopes came to the place where he had done that, they threw off the spell and rushed wildy out of the circle at that place.

My brother can charm horses in the same way.<sup>1</sup>

A Pyramid Lake informant whose father had likewise been an antelope charmer differed from Sarah in setting the length of the entire hunt at three days, with the middle day specially devoted to the killing of the game. Early in the spring, when the ground was muddy and some one had seen a big herd, the Indians would gather together for the communal chase. One man acted as master of ceremonies and was called an Antelope man; apparently two or three others sharing this title acted as his assistants. These put on antelope heads and daubed themselves with war paint. They notched a stick, which was placed on a blanket and rasped as an accompaniment to the singing. A loud noise was produced. There was a big fire in the middle, round which the men danced. The women did not participate but were allowed to be present as spectators. The musicians were seated between the fire and the Antelope men, who were near the circumference of the circle.

Two scouts were sent out to watch all the movements of the antelope and returned at night to report their location. They would announce, "They are all there yet, they are not yet moving." The Antelope man would say, "We are sure the antelope are coming to our corral." They always told the truth and always killed plenty of antelope. In the center of a circular enclosure a big pile of sagebrush was heaped up, and from the sides of the gate two big diverging fences from three to four feet high were made of sagebrush, planted roots up, with the women camping along both wings. Some alert men on foot drove the game toward the structure and the sagebrush wings were set on fire while the central pile was left

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 55-57.



undisturbed. The two scouts drove the game between the wings and the women scared the antelope back whenever they got too close to the fences. This was begun before sunrise and after a while the antelope were tired out, being kept going round and round continually. When they were quite exhausted, the women knocked them down, cut them up, and dragged them all into one pile. The first two or three killed were put on top of the sagebrush heap for the Antelope men. The children would aid in slaughtering the worn-out animals. The sagebrush pile was left alone.

Some of my informant's statements suggested a definite circular enclosure such as is specifically denied by Sarah, while at one time he also explained that there was no circular corral but that the Indians were merely grouped in that way round the pile. A real enclosure was again mentioned by a Fallon authority, who supplied some other details. According to him both men and women took part in the dance, which might last one night. The notched stick was scraped till it broke, then the performers ceased. As the song of an Antelope shaman he gave the following, which unfortunately remains cryptic:—

wázunaq	ína	hāũBa	wō'nai	ína
Ear like a mule	?	?	flapping	?
hāũBa. nō'mönáqa	ína	hāũBa.		
? . Somebody's ear	?	?		

These words were repeated. The shaman went into a trance, falling down in a faint, quivering and imitating the call of an antelope. When he fainted, everyone threw brush on him. The sagebrush corral was put up by all the people, the details of its construction varying according to the Antelope man in charge. Menstruating women were obliged to stay far away. Within the enclosure there were fires all around. Nothing was eaten until the game had been killed; all sat watching round the fires inside the corral. Little boys played at hunting antelope in imitation of their elders' actions. The first animals killed were carried to the shaman, who would say, "Now, everyone get in and help to kill them!" Thus good meat was obtained.

In the fall, about September or October, there was a communal rabbit hunt under the direction of a special master of ceremonies. Before setting out on the hunt the people had a Rabbit dance (*gamú nō'qá*), which was held all day but about which I did not obtain any particulars. According to a Fallon informant, the dance is now performed from about eight to ten o'clock p.m. on the eve of the chase. Here Steve Dick is "boss of the fandango" like his father before him. He calls all the people together and generally they dance for five days. Not being a singer himself, he has others do the singing, including some women.



In May, when the *kuyúí* fish came up, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the *kuyúí*—*nö'qa*, for which there was also a special master of ceremonies. There was no structure for this any more than for the other Paviotso dances. "In five days," the conductor would say, "get ready." Then the people got ready, moved toward the appointed site and erected their wikiups there. They only danced in the night-time and for five nights. Men and women joined in a circle, the sexes alternating except in so far as young men having no female partner were ranged beside one another. The dancers interlocked fingers. There was no instrument, but one man sang. Meager as are these notes they suffice to suggest a connection with the Lemhi *nũakin*, which was also a spring festival held partly to ensure a plentiful supply of fish.

In the *toBú* *nö'qá* men and women went round fast, jumping up. This was the beginning of the dance and was enjoyed by the young people. Another name was *ahĩ* *nö'qa*, Love dance.

The *hĩ'nöqá<sup>wa</sup>* was described as more popular among the Walker River Paviotso and said to have come from Esmeralda County. Nowadays a nickel or a dime is given to some of the Indians to make them dance; formerly the presents consisted of fish or beads. The men pull off all their clothes, but their breechclouts. They did not hold one another's hands but went round like turkeys and would assume a squatting posture. There are only about ten men in the performance; sometimes about three women joined, these receiving gifts from members of their sex. At Fallon I was told that six men dance without clothes, stamping their feet, and receive a quarter from all the spectators. Three women back of the men merely shuffle their feet. This was said to be a dance of the Bannock (*Kutcutiqa*, Buffalo-eaters), though coming directly from Indians south of Walker River. I got the impression that this might be a form of the Grass dance.

The only other dances mentioned at Pyramid Lake were the *nöcába*, Circle dance, and a modern war dance the *panák'iniq*, said to have been taught by Blackfoot visitors. The notched stick (*ná+idanàq*) so prominent in the antelope hunt was said not to be used for any of the dances.

At these dances men sometimes got fighting about a woman, then the strong men of the tribe got together and pulled the combatants apart.

At Fallon I heard of a "squaw dance" that was generally kept up for five days, sometimes longer.

Sarah Hopkins describes a "festival of flowers" celebrated in the spring. The girls named for flowers would go to see whether their floral namesakes were in bloom and talk about them at home, saying, "Oh,

I saw myself today in full bloom!" The girls were full of expectancy until some evening they would hear the chief announce that in five days the festival was to take place. Then on the day stated the flower girls danced along together, the other girls likewise forming a group of their own. The dance ground had been prepared by the girls' elders.

. . . Each one gathers the flower she is named for, and then all weave them into wreaths and crowns with scarfs, and dress up in them.

Some girls are named for rocks and are called rock-girls, and they find some pretty rocks which they carry; each one such a rock as she is named for, or whatever she is named for. If she cannot, she can take a branch of sagebrush, or a bunch of rye-grass, which have no flower.

They all go marching along, each girl in turn singing of herself; but she is not a girl any more,—she is a flower singing. She sings of herself, and her sweetheart, dancing along by her side, helps her sing the song she makes.

I will repeat what we say of ourselves. "I, Sarah Winnemucca, am a shell-flower, such as I wear on my dress. My name is Thocmetony. I am so beautiful! Who will come and dance with me while I am so beautiful? Oh, come and be happy with me! I shall be beautiful while the earth lasts. Somebody will always admire me; and who will come and be happy with me in the Spirit-land? I shall be beautiful forever there. Yes, I shall be more beautiful than my shell-flower, my Thocmetony! Then, come, oh come, and dance and be happy with me!" The young men sing with us as they dance beside us.

Our parents are waiting for us somewhere to welcome us home. And then we praise the sagebrush and the rye-grass that have no flower, and the pretty rocks that some are named for; and then we present our beautiful flowers to these companions who could carry none. And so all are happy; and that closes the beautiful day.<sup>1</sup>

The dances of the Wind River Shoshoni have already been sketched in another publication.<sup>2</sup>

Two Paviotso dances were enumerated with their games, but come more properly under this heading. In the *toBú nigàBa* ten women and men formed a ring, and moved round, holding one another's hands, jumping and stamping their feet. Each man stood between two women. They continued jumping as long as the singing lasted.

The *hĩ negã Ba* was a war dance. Six men did not move, but only stamped their feet alternately. Two women danced, moving from their positions.

### SWEATBATH.

The Shivwits Paiute declare that the sweatbath does not represent a native custom of theirs but was only borrowed in recent times from the Walapai.

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<sup>1</sup>Hopkins, 47 f.

<sup>2</sup>Vol. XI, this series, 813-822.



Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.<sup>1</sup>

However, according to other observers water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.<sup>2</sup>

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pouring water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*töpinabāgia*) was constructed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat, but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side; Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was accompanied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory "*nabárinana*." Here also the rocks were put on one side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also for other ailments.

Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.<sup>3</sup> Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

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<sup>1</sup>Matthews, 227.

<sup>2</sup>Franciscan Fathers, 342.

<sup>3</sup>The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 75.



would pray over the sick ones who had come in, saying, "I wish that I and my companions may feel well and have good luck." He poured water on the rocks till steam rose. When it got to be too hot, they raised the bottom of the coverings a little. The custom was called *náskugarìñgen*.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### PAVIOTSO.

The Paviotso never ate magpies, wolves, coyotes or skunks. Possibly they did eat them when starving.

In telling a story the raconteur expects the listeners to repeat verbatim every paragraph, this corresponding to the Crow custom of answering "Yes." A similar usage was observed by Mooney in his interview with the Paviotso prophet Wovoka:—

Each statement by the older man was repeated at its close, word for word and sentence by sentence, by the other, with the same monotonous inflection. This done, the first speaker signified by a grunt that it had been correctly repeated, and then proceeded with the next statement, which was closely repeated in like manner.<sup>1</sup>

The Paviotso formerly brushed bedding with a swan's wing feathers; nowadays they brush stoves with them.

Formerly the cradle was not covered with canvas but the child was wrapped up and tied to the willow frame.

In the mountains there is a root which when boiled is drunk as a cure for venereal disease, also for a cold. A Fallon informant sold me two medicines. One was a root to be spread several times a day under a poultice on a sore knee. The other consisted of mashed leaves to be drunk for a cold or stomach ache.

### WIND RIVER.

The Wind River Shoshoni say that in the early days they had no parfleches. These only came in with the horse. Before that time there was no way of packing.

Medicine bundles were kept by the shamans on tripods.

It is said that the moon dies but comes to life again.

Mountain-sheep horn was split and used for cups. Some used only buffalo horn cups because it would be against their medicine to use anything else.

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<sup>1</sup>Mooney, 770 f.

Horn is burnt and pulverized, then put on a sore or scummy eye. A mountain-sheep horn is used more than a buffalo's for this purpose. This recalls a Lemhi practice.<sup>1</sup>

I bought specimens of a number of medicines and obtained the following information as to their use.

After discarding the rind of the root of a weed called *to'dza*, the natives boil the shavings of the root and drink this infusion as a remedy for smallpox, the measles, and eruptive affections generally. When a person is ailing, a little piece of the root is sometimes smoked and placed under the patient's face. This makes his nose run and cleanses it. The same treatment is administered to sick horses.

A small piece of the *bāwō-inump* medicine is broken off, boiled and drunk as a tonic by a woman after delivery and also after leaving the confinement lodge. Though mostly a woman's medicine, this is taken by both sexes for rheumatism and numbness of limbs.

A tea is also prepared from the *tü'mbi* or *tü'mbai* medicine. This is a remedy for gonorrhoea. Chewed raw instead of boiled, it serves as a cure for toothache, coughing, and an itching throat.

If a man suffers from cramps and diarrhoea, he chews some *ko'hoi* medicine in raw form. Sometimes it is mashed and boiled into a tea. In this latter form it is administered to horses afflicted with diarrhoea.

Both sexes, but especially men, use *pāwága* to recover strength when tired and drowsy. Though sometimes taken raw, it is usually boiled.

A plant bearing berries, which the Indians, however, do not eat, supplies the *ìc'andōnump* medicine, which is pounded up and spread on a swelling. Sometimes an infusion is drunk for the same purpose. Both because the plant grows plentifully about the reservation and because there are many cases of swelling, this remedy is used more commonly than other medicines at the present day.

For nose-bleeding *píə nàdçu* is pounded up, boiled, and drunk from time to time after cooling off. It was not snuffed into the nose. For headache the head was washed with this potion.

A person with fever sores, especially on the arms, applies the *kūnokip* root, pounded up and wetted with water. The same medicine is used for wounds. One of the roots, strung together in the sample secured would suffice for one application.

A very scarce medicine (*wo'ngo-gwāna*) was obtained by boiling the needles of a small pine species growing on river banks. This was used a

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, 227.

good deal for bad colds. The Shoshoni both drank the infusion and also smoked themselves with the needles. The latter method was used when this medicine was mixed with the *to'dza* root mentioned above.

Another rare medicine is called *éwuhigàre*. It is applied to wounds, but can also be drunk. The Ute used it a great deal. Pounded and rolled up with grass, it could revive an exhausted horse.

E. N. Wilson mentions the rubbing of skunk oil on the legs to make a wound heal; also in another connection, the preparation of a poultice from mashed weeds and the washing of the wound with an infusion of sage leaves.<sup>1</sup>

A Shoshoni is ashamed to pronounce his own name. This has no connection with the *Nünümbi* belief.<sup>2</sup>

Wawanabidi had an iron flute three feet long, with fur wrapping at the top for about eight inches and in the same place a hoop from five to six inches in diameter with a bunch of yellow-hammer feathers hanging from it. The flute was carried in horizontal position. Flutes are used for charming girls. Each flute has a slightly different sound and the girl would recognize the man blowing it and join him at night for a rendezvous. Once a woman heard a fine flute player, who was very ugly on account of a disfigured lip. She was charmed by his playing and joined him at night without knowing who he was until she discovered his identity, when she left him.

The following seasons are recognized:—

Late in fall—"Little month" (*tü've mö'ə*), when the ice begins to appear on the edges of creeks.

Big moon (*píə mö'ə*), creeks are all frozen over, except the middle which might be open.

Cold month (*ö'djö möə*), creeks all frozen.

*Pösitc*, thawing of ice and big snowflakes come down.

*ícarũə mö'ə*, wolves are having their young and ice has gone from creeks.

*mö'dzarũə*, mountain sheep have their young and grass is beginning to come up.

*bádzamak kímia*, water going down.

*tógwetäts*, midsummer.

#### PAIUTE.

The Moapa put on face paint in the morning; *úmp<sup>i</sup>*, the red paint, is not found among them but in Shivwits territory; *turũB<sup>i</sup>*, the black paint, is found about five or six miles from Moapa.

Stories were told in the winter at night, one story in one evening. Women only knew a few of the myths.

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, 17, 99 f.

<sup>2</sup>See Lowie, 235.



A'panàwö's second toe is markedly longer than his big toe. Several other individuals with this trait were noted among both Moapa and Shivwits.

The Man in the Moon is called *toγo'n*, maternal grandfather.

There is a dialectic variation between the speech of the Shivwits and Nevada Paiute, possibly mainly in vocabulary. Thus, *qūtc* is "cow" among the Shivwits, while the Las Vegas and Moapa say *wañgási*.

The Shivwits believe that Wolf is still living in the sky; about Coyote they do not know.

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